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THE

MODERN PART

OF AN

Univerſal Hiſtory,

FROM THE

Earlieſt ACCOUNT of TIME.

VOL. XXIV.

THE

MODERN PART

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Univerſal Hiſtory,

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Earlieſt ACCOUNT of TIME.

Compiled from

ORIGINAL WRITERS.

By the AUTHORS of the ANTIENT PART.

VOL. XXIV.

LONDON:

Printed for S. RICHARDSON, T. OSBORNE, C. HITCH, A. MILLAR, JOHN RIVINGTON, S. CROWDER, B. LAW and Co. T. LONGMAN, and C. WARE.

M.DCC.LX.

223. i 169.

Modern Hiſtory:

BEING A

CONTINUATION

OF THE

Univerſal Hiſtory.

BOOK XIX.

CHAP. IV.

The Hiſtory of France.

SECT. VII. *Continued.*

The Reigns of Charles VII. *or the* Victorious, Lewis XI. *and* Charles VIII. *in whom ended the direct Line of* Philip de Valois.

The ſtate of France *under her two kings,* Henry *and* Charles, *who are both proclaimed.*

AT this time, the whole *French* nation had the heavy misfortune of being conſidered as rebels and traitors, whatever ſide they took. At the interment of *Charles* the ſixth, *Henry* of *Windſor* was proclaimed king of *France* and *England*, being then about ten months old; but the ſword of ſtate was carried before the duke of *Bedford*, who, with the title of regent, had all the power of king[a]. The Dauphin *Charles* was in the twentieth year of

[a] Annales de France, MONSTRELET, vol. ii. Hiſtoire de JEAN CHARTIER, Hiſtoriographe de Charles VI. GAGUINI Hiſt. Fr. Henault.

A. D. 1421. his age, a mild prince, of a very gentle and affable disposition, by which he became very acceptable to all who approached him. We meet with very different characters of him in history; but, if we advert to facts only, we shall find that he very much resembled his grandfather; and that those who say his good fortune, in having able ministers and great captains in his service, stood him instead of courage and conduct, do him great wrong; for, if he had not been both a wise and a steady prince, he had never raised *France* from the wretched condition in which he found her [b]. About ten days before his father's death, he was preserved, by what was then esteemed a miraculous interposition of Providence, from a sudden and miserable death. The room, in which he was giving audience at *Rochelle*, fell all at once, by which very many were wounded, and some, amongst whom was lord *James Bourbon*, killed on the spot [c]. The Dauphin, sinking in his chair, fell upon a thick wall, and there rested, from whence he was taken down without the least hurt. At the time of his accession he was at a little castle, where the first day he put himself in mourning, and dedicated it to grief; the next he appeared in scarlet, and took the title of king, without any other ceremony than displaying the banner of

1422. *France*, and the acclamations of his little court [d]. The *English*, and the *French* who adhered to them, stiled him, in contempt, the king of *Bourges*, though, except the duchy of *Guienne*, he had all the provinces on the other side of the *Loire*, the princes of the blood, the best captains, the ablest lawyers, and, which was of much more consequence, the laws themselves on his side [e].

Earl of Buchan *defeated and made prisoner in the battle of* Crevant *by the* English.

ALL the events at the beginning of this reign were unfortunate: the important town of *Melun* was taken by the *English*, through a misunderstanding between the *French* generals and the earl of *Buchan*; and this was followed by a revolt of many *French* lords, who thought the cause of *Charles* was now become desperate. The duke of *Bedford* was not inferior to his brother, the deceased king, in point of courage; and, in respect to prudence, he was his superior [f]. He saw the difficulties with which his post, as regent of *France*, was incumbered; and he foresaw those with which they were like to be augmented. To remove the former, and to prevent the latter, he resolved to unite, if possible, the dukes of

[b] Ancien Chronique de France, J. CHARTIER. P. ÆMIL. J. DE SERRES, LE GENDRE. [c] MONST. vol. ii. J. CHART. MEZERAY. P. DANIEL. [d] MONST. vol. ii. GAGUINI Hist. [e] Histoire d'Artus III. Duc de Bretagne, Pr. Henault. BOULANVILLIERS. [f] Histoire d'Artus III.

Burgundy

Burgundy and *Bretagne* inſeparably to his intereſts [g]. The former had two ſiſters, *Mary*, the widow of the late Dauphin *Lewis*, and *Anne*, who had never been married. He demanded the latter for himſelf, and procured the former to be given to *Arthur*, earl of *Richmond*, brother to the duke of *Bretagne*, who had been taken priſoner at the battle of *Agincourt*, and whom, by this ſtep, he thought ſufficiently attached to the *Engliſh* intereſt [h]. The battle of *Crevant*, in *Burgundy*, was another fortunate event to him, and a terrible blow to *Charles*. The earls of *Saliſbury* and *Suffolk* defeated there the earl of *Buchan*, with the beſt corps of troops that *Charles* had in his ſervice, made that earl priſoner, and killed a great many brave officers who commanded under him [i]. He was, however, ſoon after exchanged, and was received with great marks of favour and affection by *Charles*, who was the better ſerved by his expreſſing his content with men's ſervices, whether attended with ſucceſs or not [k]. A. D. 1423.

HE had known great difficulties and diſtreſs before; to ſay the truth, he had known nothing elſe ſince he knew any thing; but he was never ſo cloſely preſſed, or with ſo little hopes of ſuccour. The countries that owned his authority were already exhauſted of men and money; the *Engliſh* were not only poſſeſſed of the beſt part of the kingdom, but, by attacking him on the *Loire*, and debarking an army in *Guienne*, which was abſolutely in their power, might deſtroy him in one campaign. He was himſelf very young, and, which was worſe, void of all education; and yet he was ſo far from deſpairing, that he invited other men to ſhare in his hopes [l]. The earl of *Buchan* had been ſtiled conſtable of the *Scots*, moſt of whom were ſlain in ſucceſſive actions; the king, to conſole him, and to draw greater ſuccours from the ſame country, gave him the ſword, and created him conſtable of *France*; he beſtowed likewiſe the lordſhip of *Aubigny* upon Sir *John Stuart* of *Darnley*, on whom he afterwards conferred the county of *Evreux*. This had a good effect; the duke of *Albany* concluded an alliance with him on the terms which he propoſed, and ſent over the lord *Douglas* with ſix thouſand men, to whom *Charles* gave the duchy of *Touraine*, and declared him lieutenant general [m]. The duke of *Milan* ſent him ſix hundred horſe, and a thouſand croſs bows; many of his own ſubjects raiſed conſiderable corps at their own expence; by

Charles endeavours to draw aſſiſtance from foreign princes to ſupport his title.

[g] MONST. vol. ii. GAGUINI Hiſt. P. ÆMIL. MEZ. P. DANIEL. [h] J. CHART. Hiſtoire d'Artus. [i] Annales de France. J. DE SERRES, Pr. Henault. [k] Ancien Chronique de France. [l] DUPLEIX. DU TILLET. LE GEND. [m] MEZ.

this means he brought a conſiderable army into the field, leaving the operations to the diſcretion of his generals, which he might do with greater propriety, ſince, ſtrictly ſpeaking, he had not either experience or troops of his own. One of his captains had ſurprized *Yuri*, which, being a place of great conſequence, the *Engliſh* had inveſted; the conſtable marched to his relief with fourteen thouſand men, of whom one half were of his own country; but the place ſurrendered before their arrival. The conſtable turned ſhort upon *Vernueil*, which was a place of as great conſequence; and, pretending that he had raiſed the ſiege of *Yuri*, engaged the garriſon to ſurrender [n].

His troops beat at the fatal battle Vernueil, *in which the conſtable and the earl of* Douglas *are killed.*

THIS ſo much provoked the regent duke of *Bedford*, that he marched in perſon, attended by the earls of *Saliſbury* and *Suffolk*, with a ſuperior army to recover it. Several of the *French* generals were for leaving a ſtrong garriſon in the place, and declining a battle, which they had formerly found the beſt method of proceeding; and which, perhaps, had been moſt expedient. But the conſtable and the other generals of his country were of a contrary opinion; and, notwithſtanding the *French* lords urged that their king had no army but this, which if beaten he had no reſource, yet they perſiſted in their reſolution of fighting, aſſerting, that a battle gained would change the face of affairs, give a reputation to the king's arms, and very probably excite inſurrections in his favour in moſt of the provinces in the kingdom: the duke of *Alenſon*, and one or two other great lords, being of the ſame mind, it was determined to fight [o]. On the 16th of *Auguſt*, the duke of *Bedford* appeared with his army drawn up in one line, the conſtable made the like diſpoſition with great ſkill, intending to have remained firm, and to have received the charge; but the viſcount of *Narbonne*, full of impatience, marched directly to attack the *Engliſh* with his own cavalry, and was followed by other *French* lords, which obliged the conſtable to follow them, and to loſe the advantage of his poſt and of his diſpoſition [p]. The duke of *Bedford*, on the contrary, halted, as ſoon as they began to move; ſo that they were fatigued and out of breath when they began to attack; and, being vigorouſly repulſed, and their general killed, were quickly broke. But, notwithſtanding this, the *Italian* horſe broke through the archers, and fell upon the *Engliſh* camp, which they were tempted to plunder; this left the main body open on all ſides; and, after a diſpute of an hour, it was

[n] Ancien Chronique de France, MONST. vol. ii. DU TILLET. Pr. Henault. BOULANV. [o] J. CHART. P. ÆMIL. J. DE SERRES. [p] GAGUINI Hiſt. Hiſtoire d'Artus III.

broke,

broke, and the *French* totally defeated. There fell in this fatal field, the conſtable, the earl of *Douglas*, his ſon, the counts of *Aumale*, *Ventadour*, and *Tonnere*, with upwards of one hundred other lords, beſides the viſcount of *Narbonne*, whoſe body the duke of *Bedford* cauſed to be broke on a wheel, and then expoſed on a gibbet, becauſe he was one of the ten preſent at the death of the duke of *Burgundy* [q]. Five thouſand private men were killed in the battle and in the flight; the duke of *Alenſon*, his baſtard brother, and the marſhal *de l'Eſſiat*, were made priſoners. The loſs on the other ſide was ſo conſiderable, that the duke of *Bedford* forbid any rejoicings for a victory that had coſt him ſo dear; and granted an honourable capitulation to the garriſon of *Vernueil*, as being very well pleaſed to recover the place without the fatigue of a ſiege [r].

This reduces the affairs of Charles VII. *into a diſmal condition, in which he ſuſtains himſelf by his temper.*

The affairs of *Charles* were now in ſo low and ſad a ſituation, that they could not well be in a worſe; he had but very few ſtrong places, no army, moſt of his generals killed, and, which was the greateſt misfortune of all, was totally without reſource. His ſubjects were exhauſted to ſuch a degree, that no violence could have extorted much; inſtead of attempting this, he ſeemed to take a ſatisfaction in ſharing their miſery, lived as they did, and demanded nothing. He loſt none of the few friends he had left; on the contrary, many abandoned their eſtates, and came to join their ſhattered fortunes to his [s]. He received them with open arms; he careſſed and commended them; and declared, upon all occaſions, his inclination to reward as ſoon as it was in his power: to ſay all, in a few words, his condition was now ſo ſunk, that his affability was his ſole prerogative; and the reputation he had eſtabliſhed of gratitude, the only remnant of revenue. The duke of *Bedford* might have marched to the *Loire* the next ſpring, and have buried the ruins of the *French* monarchy, with its monarch, in the ſucceeding ſummer; but, as if he had been aſhamed of oppreſſing ſo feeble an enemy, he indulged them as long a time to breathe in as they could deſire [b]. Yet the duke of *Bedford* was as vigilant as he was brave; and this inactivity, which ſaved the *French*, proceeded from his misfortune, not his fault. The prodigious ſucceſs of the *Engliſh*, and the glory attending it, had corrupted even the greateſt minds. *Humphry* duke of *Glouceſter*, regent of *England*, and the duke of *Bedford*'s brother, not ſatisfied with the

[q] Annales de France. Monst. Polyd. Virgil. P. Dan. Pr. Henault. [r] Ancien Chronique de France. J. Chart. Hiſtoire d'Artus III. Le Gendre. [s] Du Tillet, Pr. Henault. [b] Mez.

poſſeſſion of *Jaqueline*, counteſs of *Hainault*, whom he had taken from her huſband the duke of *Brabant*, would likewiſe tear from him the countries which he held in her right; and, with this view, had debarked a numerous *Engliſh* army, more than ſufficient to have completed the conqueſt of *France*; where they had eaſily cruſhed the duke of *Brabant*, if his couſin, the duke of *Burgundy*, had not ſtepped in to his relief[c]. This was that unexpected diverſion which ſaved *Charles* from deſtruction, by obliging the regent duke of *Bedford* to turn all his views on this ſide; and to employ thoſe great parts and that perſuaſive eloquence with which he was bleſſed, to reconcile his brother and his brother-in-law, and to prevent the empire, which the victorious *Henry* had raiſed, from mouldering into ruins before it was well eſtabliſhed. In this neceſſary deſign he met with ſo many obſtacles, that, notwithſtanding the apparent danger of his leaving *France*, he was conſtrained to make a tour to *England*, where the management of ſeveral important affairs detained him for ſome months, to the great prejudice of his nephew's concerns, in this his new kingdom[d].

A. D. 1424.

The duke of Bretagne and his brother the earl of Richmond reconciled to king Charles.

CHARLES having this leiſure to look round him, might have fortified ſome principal towns, entered into alliances, or at leaſt have raiſed a new army; but none of theſe could be done without treaſures; and he was diſtreſſed for a ſubſiſtance. But there was ſomething to be done within the compaſs of his power, and this was done. He underſtood that *Arthur*, earl of *Richmond*, notwithſtanding his cloſe alliance with the duke of *Bedford*, had received ſome offence from being refuſed the command of the *Engliſh* army, which he thought due to his high rank, and very ſuitable to his being an *Engliſh* peer. The miniſters of *Charles*, knowing he had been bred up at the *French* court, and had behaved very gallantly at *Agincourt*, thought it not impoſſible to recover him; and, by his means, the duke of *Bretagne*, his brother. With this view a negotiation was ſet on foot, which, tho' put into the hands of a very able man, miſcarried[e]. This was the preſident *Louvet*, the companion of the king's misfortunes, and the director of his finances; but he had the misfortune to be odious to the houſe of *Bretagne*; and, therefore, nothing that came from him was regarded. The king thereupon had recourſe to his mother-in-law, the queen dowager of *Naples*, who, taking with her his prime miniſter *Tannegui du Chaſtel*, went to the

[c] MONST. Ancien Chronique de France. DU TILLET, Pr. Henault. BOULAN. [d] Annales de France. P. ÆMIL. J. DE SERRES. P. DANIEL. [e] J. CHART. GAGUINI, Hiſt. LE GEND.

court

count of *Bretagne*, and by dextrously playing the conſtable's ſword in the eyes of the earl of *Richmond*, who was eager to be at the head of an army, carried her point, though on pretty hard conditions, ſince the king was forced to give hoſtages, and even cautionary places, for the ſecurity of the earl's perſon, who farther declared he could not enter into his ſervice, but with the conſent of the duke of *Burgundy* [f]. This was alſo admitted in hopes that it might prove a means of entering into a negotiation with the duke of *Burgundy*; and it had this effect; for the duke conſented to the earl of *Richmond*'s promotion; and, having lately married the lady *Bona* of *Artois*, ſiſter to the count of *Eu*, ſhewed ſome inclination to reconcile himſelf to the king; but, how acceptable ſoever theſe tranſactions might be in one light, they cauſed no ſmall chagrin, when viewed in another; for the duke of *Bretagne* inſiſted on the removal of the preſident *Louvet*, and two or three other perſons who had been always about the king; and the duke of *Burgundy* would hear of nothing while the king had for his firſt miniſter the man who had the chief hand in murdering his father [g]. This was *Tannegui du Chaſtel*, a perſon, in all other points, irreproachable, and who acted in that affair from his zeal for the memory of the duke of *Orleans*, in whoſe ſervice he had been brought up from his youth. His behaviour at this critical juncture gained him credit, even with his enemies; for he went to the king, and, after a modeſt recapitulation of his ſervices, declared, the only reward he ſought was his leave to retire [h]. The preſident *Louvet* and the reſt were alſo forced to give way; but they did it with a bad grace, and the preſident inſiſted upon naming the *Sieur Giac* his ſucceſſor. Theſe precautions taken, *Arthur*, earl of *Richmond*, received the ſword of conſtable. He ſoon after took the field, and recovered ſeveral places from the *Engliſh* upon the frontiers of *Normandy* [i]. A. D. 1425.

THE earl of *Warwick*, who commanded for king *Henry* in *Normandy*, being informed that the duke of *Bretagne* had done homage for his duchy and county of *Montford* to king *Charles*, made himſelf maſter of *Ponterſon*, and of St. *James de Beuvron*, which being conveniently ſituated, he made continual inroads from thence to the very gates of *Rennes*. The new conſtable of *France* marched ſpeedily to the relief of his brother, recovered *Ponterſon*, and blocked up *Beuvron*; but *The earl of* Richmond, *conſtable of* France, *governs the king and kingdom.*

[f] Annales de France. Hiſtoire d'Artus III. P. ÆMIL. DU TILLET. P. DAN. [g] MONST. vol. ii. Ancien Chronique de France. Hiſtoire du Heraut de Berri. MEZ. Pr. Henault. [h] Hiſtoire d'Artus III. J. DE SERRES. [i] Annales de France. J. CHART.

was obliged to raiſe the ſiege for want of ſupplies [k]. In the firſt tranſport of his paſſion he ſeized the chancellor of *Bretagne*, and carried him to *Chinon*, where the king then was, who pacified him with ſome difficulty; and, having got the chancellor out of his hands, ſent him with a commiſſion to the court of *Burgundy*. The conſtable then fell upon *Giac*, and finding him involved in a quarrel with another of the king's favourites, whoſe name was *Trimouille*, he took him into his councils. With his aſſiſtance, he forced the caſtle in which *Giac* lay, and taking him out of bed, carried him to a place entirely in his own power; and there, with an odd and irregular form of juſtice, cauſed him to be condemned for embezzling the king's money; and without farther ceremony threw him into the river [l]. The violence of the conſtable was leſs condemned than the wickedneſs of *Trimouille*, who had an intrigue with *Giac*'s wife (the ſame perſon who was the duke of *Burgundy*'s miſtreſs), and married her. Soon after the king replaced his unfortunate miniſter by a gentleman of *Auvergne*, whoſe name was *Camus de Beaulieu*; and he had likewiſe the misfortune not to pleaſe the conſtable, who ordered him to be ſtabbed near *Poictiers*; then going to court, inſtead of excuſing it, he told the king that he was but an ill judge of miniſters, and for the future he would chuſe for him. *Charles*, who without being either a coward or a fool, could ſubmit to neceſſity with a better grace than ever prince did, deſired to know who was to be his miniſter, the conſtable anſwered *Trimouille*; it ſhall be ſo replied the king; but I know him better than you, and that he will give you cauſe to repent it [m]. *Montarges* was at this time beſieged by the *Engliſh*; and, being a place of conſequence, the king was very deſirous to relieve it: an army was aſſembled to eſcorte a great convoy of proviſions, and the conſtable would have charged himſelf with the enterprize; but, being told it was beneath his dignity, the command was given to the baſtard of *Orleans*; who not only performed what was expected from him, but was ſo fortunate as to oblige the earl of *Warwick* to raiſe the ſiege [n].

A. D. 1427. But, while his arms were ſucceſsful on this ſide, the regent duke of *Bedford*, who had reconciled himſelf to the duke of *Burgundy*, invaded *Bretagne* with a great army, compelled the duke to ſubſcribe the treaty of *Troye*, and to give him all poſſible aſſurances of remaining an obedient ſubject to his nephew king *Henry*. *Trimouille*, to make his court to his maſter,

[k] Monst. Gaguini Hiſt. J. de Serres. Mez. Le Gend. [l] Annales de France. J. Chart. P. Æmil. P. Dan. Pr. Henault. [m] Ancien Chronique de France. [n] Hiſtoire d'Artus III. Boulany.

adviſed

adviſed him to lay hold of this opportunity to humble the conſtable; but, as this miniſter had rendered himſelf odious to ſeveral of the princes of the blood, they took part with the earl of *Richmond*, which produced a kind of civil war; in which, however, the king had the better[o]. In this ſituation the people deplored alike their domeſtic troubles and apprehenſions from the *Engliſh*.

THE war was carried on with great ſpirit, and with different ſucceſs in all corners of the kingdom; and brave men on both ſides ſignalized themſelves by their exploits; which, however, decided nothing, but ſerved to breed many experienced officers, and to introduce a more regular diſcipline, as well as to improve the art of managing artillery and ſmall arms, beyond any thing that had been ſeen in former wars[p]. But the regent duke of *Bedford*, having once more fixed the dukes of *Burgundy* and *Bretagne*, recurred to his former plan, and reſolved to make the entire conqueſt of *France*. He was already in poſſeſſion of a place upon the *Loire*, which enabled him to paſs that river at his pleaſure; but it was at too great a diſtance; and he was apprehenſive, that if he had attacked *Charles* with his whole forces in this manner, he might paſs the river in another place, and march to *Paris*[q]. After mature deliberation, therefore, he appointed *Thomas Montague*, earl of *Saliſbury*, to command a body of ten thouſand veteran troops, and gave him inſtructions to beſiege *Orleans* (tho' ſome ſay he undertook it of himſelf), a place of great extent, and, for thoſe times at leaſt, well fortified. *Saliſbury* executed this command with equal vigour and capacity, he ſpent the ſummer in reducing all the fortified poſts in the neighbourhood of that city, and formed the ſiege at the entrance of autumn[r]. On the other hand, *Charles*, conſidering the loſs of *Orleans* as the prelude to the loſs of his dominions, took all the precautions poſſible for its defence. Very conſiderable magazines were raiſed, and a great quantity of military ſtores lodged in the place. The lord *de Gaucour*, a perſon of great 1428.
experience and reputation, was the governor, and he was aſſiſted by the Sieur *la Hire* *Saintrailles*: in a word, moſt of the brave men who had raiſed themſelves to rank and fame, threw themſelves into this city, in order to defend it as long as it was poſſible; the ſiege laſted all the winter, and the earl of *Saliſbury* had the misfortune to be killed by a cannon ſhot; but the earl of *Suffolk*, on whom the command

The earl of Saliſbury beſieges Orleans, and is killed before the place.

[o] Annales de France. MONST. GAGUINI Hiſt. J. DE SERRES, Pr. Henault. [p] Ancien Chronique de France. P. ÆMIL. J. CHART. P. DAN. [q] MEZ. BOULAN. [r] MONST.

devolved,

devolved, continued it with equal vigour and vigilance; and by receiving continual ſupplies, the army was increaſed to twenty-three thouſand men [s]. The method of inveſting was at this time very rude; for we find that they had ſix great and fifty-four ſmall forts round the place; but, as there were open ſpaces between them, the baſtard of *Orleans* and other gallant officers found means to introduce ſuccours; and the garriſon from twelve hundred, was, by the end of the year, ſwelled to three thouſand men [t]; amongſt whom were the flower of the *French* nobility.

The famous battle of Herrings, *in which the* French *are beat by Sir* John Faſtolph.

AT the approach of Lent, the regent duke of *Bedford* ſent a convoy of ſalt-fiſh to the camp, with an eſcort of ſeventeen hundred men, commanded by Sir *John Faſtolfe*, or *Falſtaffe*, of which *Charles* having intelligence, he ſent the count *de Clermont*, with a corps of troops, to attack that convoy, upon which depended the continuance of the ſiege. Sir *John*, perceiving the approach of the enemy, drew his men behind his carriages; and not only ſuſtained the ſhock with great intrepidity, but repulſed the aſſailants, and put them into diſorder; upon which, ordering ſome of the carriages to be withdrawn, he ſallied with his forces, and defeated the *French* entirely [u]. This was ſtiled the battle of *Herrings*, and makes a great figure in the hiſtory of thoſe times [w]. The baſtard of *Orleans*, who with four hundred men had marched from *Orleans* to ſupport this attack, had the good fortune to return, and to get ſafe into the city, which, notwithſtanding, was ſoon reduced ſo very low, and there was ſo little appearance of any relief, that the garriſon at length offered to ſurrender to the duke of *Burgundy*, which the *Engliſh* generals rejected; and this, in all probability, preſerved both the city and the crown to *Charles*, who, upon its ſurrender, muſt have retired into the mountains of *Dauphine*, as having no force ſufficient to keep the field [x]. But while things were in this ſtate, a miracle, as the *French* would have us believe, a ſingular and lucky ſtratagem, as the penetration of later times have taught us to call it, ſaved *Orleans*, and delivered *Charles* from the neceſſity of ſeeking ſhelter in inacceſſible places from the purſuit of his victorious enemies [y]. An event which has afforded matters for volumes, but of which we ſhall ſpeak very ſuccinctly [z].

[s] Annales de France. J. Chart. Gaguini Hiſt. Du Til. Chalons. [t] Monst. Ancien Chronique de France. P. Æmil. J. de Serres. Dupleix. [u] P. Dan. [w] Mez. Pr. Henault. [x] Le Gend. [y] Monst. Boulan. [z] Annales de France. Hall. Holinshed. Stowe.

A LITTLE

A LITTLE before the battle of *Herrings*, a young woman, whoſe name was *Joan d'Arc*, a native of the village of *Domremi*, near *Vaucouleurs*, came to the governor of the laſt mentioned place, and demanded that he ſhould ſend her to the king, as having been promiſed by a divine revelation, that, under her command, the king's forces ſhould raiſe the ſiege of *Orleans*. But the governor conſidering ſhe was but between eighteen and twenty, and a perſon no way diſtinguiſhed amongſt the country people for underſtanding, refuſed, for fear of making himſelf ridiculous [a]. She came after the battle, and reproached him with want of zeal for his maſter's ſervice, and told him, that if he did not now ſend her, *Orleans* would be loſt. Upon this the governor ordered two gentlemen to attend her to *Chinon*, where the king was; and, tho' there could not be a more dangerous journey, yet, as ſhe had confidently promiſed, they performed it ſafely [b]. Upon her arrival, the council made ſome difficulty of admitting her to the royal preſence; but at length this was effected. The king was in his apartment, ſurrounded by many perſons of diſtinction, without any marks of his high rank, to whom ſhe immediately addreſſed herſelf, and told him that ſhe had a commiſſion from Heaven to deliver his city of *Orleans*, and to conduct him afterwards to *Rheims*, in order to celebrate his coronation [c]. The king either was or affected to be in great doubt, demanded ſome evident inconteſtible marks of her miſſion, cauſed her to be examined by a committee of divines, and ſent her afterwards to *Poictiers* to confer with the parliament. Having had the advice of both, he ordered a body of ten or twelve thouſand men to aſſemble, in order to ſerve as an eſcorte to a great convoy, which ſhe undertook to conduct ſafely into the city. This ſhe performed, ſhut herſelf up afterwards in the place [d], with the aſſiſtance of the baſtard of *Orleans*, harraſſed the beſiegers ſo much, that at length they were conſtrained to retire, after having lain before, and in the neighbourhood of, the city, upwards of a year. From this exploit ſhe was ſtiled *La Pucelle d'Orleans*, or, *the Maid of Orleans*: ſhe wore the dreſs of a man, appeared on horſeback like a young cavalier, charged at the head

The maid of Orleans firſt relieves, and then raiſes the ſiege of that city.

[a] Annales de France. Chroniques de MONST. GAGUINI Hiſtoria. P. DAN. Pr. Henault. [b] GUIL. DU BELLAY Traite de la Diſcipline Militaire, lib. ii. fo. 56. Hiſtoire de la Pucelle d'Orleans, imprimée ſur un manuſcrit anonime, par M. GODEFROI. LE GEND. MEZ. BOULAN. [c] Hiſtoire de Charles VII. par J. CHART. CHALONS. [d] Abrege Chronologique. P. ÆMIL.

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of the troops with great courage, affected an extraordinary piety, and was irreproachable in point of morals.

She performs many great things, and is highly eſteemed and gratefully rewarded by the king.

La Pucelle remained but two days in *Orleans* after the raiſing of the ſiege, and then repaired to the king, whom ſhe preſſed [e] exceedingly to take the reſolution of going to *Rheims*, there to receive his crown, after the accuſtomed forms; which however, was vehemently oppoſed by ſome of the great lords, and moſt of the experienced officers, as a thing utterly impracticable; but the *Pucelle* had her party likewiſe, who prevailed; and it was at laſt reſolved that it ſhould be attempted [f]. The difficulties were great, but the *Pucelle* had the honour of overcoming moſt of them, by which her reputation was highly raiſed, the courage of the *French* troops elevated, from a notion that they were conducted by a perſon inſpired; and this likewiſe made no ſmall impreſſion on the *Engliſh* and *Burgundian* troops, who were no longer invincible in their garriſons, or even in the field, where victory had accompanied them before [g]. In fine, *Rheims* opened her gates, the king was ſolemnly crowned on the 17th of *July*, puſhed his conqueſts as far as the *Seine*, and even made an attempt upon *Paris*, where the *Pucelle* expoſed herſelf extremely, but at length was obliged to deſiſt [h]. In the mean time a new negotiation was ſet on foot with the duke of *Burgundy*, which, however, was baffled by the induſtry and addreſs of the duke of *Bedford*, who, notwithſtanding, declined fighting the *French* army; and, it is remarkable, that the forces of the kingdom were now ſo much reduced, that the troops on both
1429. ſides, at the cloſe of this campaign, did not exceed twenty-five thouſand men [i]. The *Pucelle* demanded the king's leave to retire, as having completed her miſſion; but her preſence was thought ſo neceſſary, that the king conſtrained her to remain; and, as a mark of his favour and gratitude for paſt ſervices, ennobled her family, beſtowed on them the name of *Du Lif*, and all their deſcendants males and females; the latter part, however, of this grant has been ſince aboliſhed [k].

[e] Du Bellai Traite de la Diſcipline Militaire, lib. ii. fo. 56. Hiſtoire de Charles VII. par J. Chart. J. de Serres. Le Gend. Chalons. [f] Annales de France. Chroniques de Monst. Gaguini Hiſt. Du Tillet. Mez. [g] Abrege Chronologique Hiſtoire de la Pucelle d'Orleans, P. Æmil. P. Dan. Pr. Henault. [h] Wilhelmi Wyrcester Annales rerum Anglicarum. Boulanv. [i] Hiſtoire de la Pucelle d'Orleans. P. Dan. Pr. Henault. [k] Annales de France, Dupleix.

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THE duke of *Bedford*, in order to ſecure the dukes of *Burgundy* and *Bretagne*, concluded new treaties with each of them, giving to the former *Champagne* and *Brie*, and to the latter the county of *Poitou*, when they ſhould be able to conquer them; he likewiſe amuſed the people of *Paris* with the hopes of ſeeing the young king *Henry*, who was to come and keep a magnificent court amongſt them; but, finding that they were privately taking meaſures to put their city into the hands of king *Charles*, he ſeized about one hundred and fifty of the wealthieſt citizens who were in that intereſt, beheaded ſome, broke others upon the wheel, and obliged the reſt to deliver themſelves by paying a heavy ranſom, which furniſhed him with money, of which he ſtood in great need [l]. *Amadeus* the eighth, duke of *Savoy*, and *Lewis de Chalon*, prince of *Orange*, who had hitherto profeſſed themſelves friends to king *Charles*, believed it very practicable to ſhare *Dauphine* between them, by which the duke was to have *Grenoble* and the mountainous country about it; and the prince *Vienne*, and as much of the reſt of the province as he could keep [m]. However, *Ralph*, lord of *Gaucour*, governor for the king, having very early intelligence of this confederacy, attacked and beat the prince of *Orange*, who narrowly eſcaped with his life, and afterwards reconciled himſelf to the king, and entered into his ſervice [n]. But the moſt important event of this year was the ſiege of *Compeigne*, which the duke of *Burgundy* inveſted with a numerous army. The place was gallantly defended by the Sieur *de Flavy*, and the *Pucelle* throwing herſelf into it with an additional force, made a ſally on the 26th of *May*, in which ſhe had the misfortune to be taken priſoner by a gentleman of *Burgundy*, who ſold her to the *Engliſh* [o]. Notwithſtanding this misfortune, *Compeigne* was ſo well defended, that the count *de Vendoſme*, having aſſembled a competent number of troops, forced the beſiegers in their camp, and obliged them to retire in ſuch haſte, that they left their artillery and baggage, which ſo raiſed the ſpirits of his forces, that he offered the duke of *Burgundy* battle, which that prince thought it prudent to decline [p].

Is however taken in a ſally at the ſiege of Compeigne, *and is delivered to the* Engliſh.

1430.

[l] Hiſtoire de Charles VII. Hiſtoire de la Pucelle d'Orleans. J. DE SERRES. DU TILLET. MEZ. [m] Abrege Chronologique Hiſtoire de la Pucelle d'Orleans. GAGUINI Hiſt. P. DAN. CHALONS. [n] Annales de France. Chroniques DE MONST. P. ÆMIL. LE GEND. Pr. Henault. [o] Hiſt. de la Pucelle d'Orleans. HALL. HOLINSHED. STOWE. DUPLEIX. BOULANV. [p] Abrege Chronologique Chroniques DE MONST.

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Carried to Rouen *and burned there as a sorceress and a witch, while* Henry VI. *was in that city.*

THE war was carried on with as much vigour on both side as the shattered state of their finances and the exhausted condition of the provinces would allow; so that every day produced either the surprisal of towns, excursions for plunder, or disputes in the field; which, however, determined nothing [q]. The disputed succession of the duchy of *Lorrain* augmented the differences between king *Charles* and the duke of *Burgundy*, the former took part with *Rene d'Anjou*, brother to *Lewis*, king of *Sicily*, who had married *Isabella*, the daughter of the last duke *Charles*; and the duke espoused that of the count *de Vaudemont*, brother to the deceased duke of *Lorrain*. This affair was for the present decided by a battle, in which *Rene* was made prisoner [r]. The regent duke of *Bedford*, who had caused the young king his nephew to pass the sea to *Calais*, from whence he came to *Rouen*, made use of his presence there to countenance the prosecution of the *Pucelle*, who was charged with heresy, sorcery, and seducing the people from their duty. She defended herself with great firmness and spirit, during a trial that lasted for several months; but, being condemned, she submitted herself to the censure of the church, abjured her heresy, resumed the habit of her sex, and was condemned to perpetual imprisonment, without receiving any other sustenance than bread and water. A few days after, her dressing again in man's apparel was adjudged contumacy, and she condemned, by the bishop of *Beauvois* and the inquisitors, who were her judges, to the flames; and, being delivered to the secular power, was accordingly burnt in the market place of *Rouen* [s]. She suffered with courage, and asserted she was no impostor. Her memory was justified twenty-four years after, when the crown of *France* was the strongest, by the papal authority; but the dispute is not yet settled amongst the learned, whether she was a saint, a witch, or, what the moderns call, a girl of spirit. On the second
1431. of *December*, *Henry* made his entry into *Paris*, by the gate of St. *Denis*, was received with all apparent marks of duty and submission, and of joy likewise; he paid his respects to his grandmother the queen dowager, and on the 17th was crowned in the cathedral of *Notre Dame*, by his uncle, the cardinal bishop of *Winchester*, which disobliged the bishop

[q] Chroniques de MONST. Annales de France. P. ÆMIL. P. DAN. Pr. Henault. [r] Histoire de Charles VII. par J. CHART. Chroniques de MONST. J. DE SERRES. MEZ. [s] Annales de France. POLYD. VIRG. Hist. Angl. Proces M.S. de la Pucelle. DUPLEIX.

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of *Paris* extremely [t]; there were only two ſpiritual and none of the temporal peers preſent. On the 21ſt he held his bed of juſtice in open parliament, and received the homage of all the members. Before the cloſe of the year he returned again to *Rouen*, with an intention of reviſiting *Paris* the following [u].

THE reaſon for which the duke of *Bedford* ſent him thither, was, that his perſon might be ſecure, the troops of king *Charles* making frequently incurſions as far as the *Seine*, and there being ſtill ſome ſuſpicions as to the fidelity of the people of *Paris*. Yet this ſtep, that was equally prudent and well executed, was very near producing a bad effect, a *French* gentleman ſurprizing the caſtle, with one hundred and twenty men; and the city had been likewiſe taken if the troops employed for that purpoſe had not quarrelled about the diviſion of the booty before the place was taken, which gave the *Engliſh* and the townſmen an opportunity of recovering the caſtle, and of executing the beſt part of the garriſon, who had ſurrendered at diſcretion [w]. The baſtard of *Orleans*, now ſtiled count of *Dunois*, had been more fortunate in ſurpriſing *Chartres*; and the *Engliſh*, in their turn, made themſelves maſters of *Montargis* [x], which the *French* attempted to recover, but failed, thro' the negligence of *la Trimouille*, the king's firſt miniſter, who becoming thereby very odious, the conſtable reſolved to treat him as he had done his predeceſſors. Having concerted meaſures with ſome of the principal perſons about the court, who abhorred him for his pride, they ſeized him in the caſtle of *Chinon*, in the very next room to the king; and, after a ſtruggle, in which the miniſter was wounded, carried him away priſoner, and ſhut him up in the caſtle of *Montreſor*, where he remained long confined [y]. The king at firſt ſhewed himſelf highly exaſperated at this outrage on his authority; but finding there was no remedy, and having himſelf alſo juſt cauſe to be offended with the miniſter, who was very near as arbitrary as ever the conſtable had been, he ſuffered himſelf to be pacified by the queen, and beſtowed his confidence on her brother the count *de Maine*, who had been one of the moſt active in ſeizing *Trimouille* [z], and who was excited to 1432.

The conſtable ſeizes la Trimouille, the king's prime miniſter.

[t] Hiſtoire de Charles VII. par J. CHART. Chroniques de MONST. HALL. HOLINSHED. STOWE. MEZ. P. DAN.
[u] Journal de ce qui eſt arrivè a Paris. WILHELMI WYRCESTER Annales rerum Anglicarum. POLYD. VIRG. Hiſt. Angl. P. DAN. Pr. Henault. [w] Annales de France. DUPLEIX.
[x] Abregè Chronologique MONST. GUINI Hiſt. [y] Annales de France. D'ARGENTRE. [z] Hiſtoire de Bretagne. P. ÆMIL.
[a] Annales de France.

this behaviour by the promiſe of the conſtable that he ſhould be his ſucceſſor.

Charles conciliates his own inclinations to eaſe and pleaſure, with the intereſts of his government.

CHARLES went yet farther, which, perhaps, was going too far: he called a kind of aſſembly of the ſtates at *Tours*, where his chancellor declared in his name to the aſſembly, that the king was not offended with thoſe who had ſeized *la Trimouille*, but held them ſtill in his good graces. This was the third time that the conſtable had changed the miniſtry by violence; and yet, at the perſuaſion of the count *de Maine*, the king was reconciled to him, and received him again at court as if nothing had happened [a]. The modern hiſtorians ſay, that *Charles*, who was young and much addicted to his pleaſures, hated buſineſs, and was very glad to let any body govern, provided they left him to divert himſelf in peace. He was certainly young, amorous, and well enough pleaſed with ſpectacles; but he was very far from wanting either parts or courage, and he very often ſhewed both when they were leaſt expected; but hitherto he had been always governed, and thoſe who governed him did his buſineſs well. Many of the princes and great lords were both able and inclined to ſerve him, but they would do it in their own way; and, whatever might be in his will, it was certainly not in his power, to render them more ſubmiſſive [b]. He ſaw, therefore, that, by purſuing his pleaſures, to which he was no enemy, his own affairs and thoſe of the ſtate would not ſuffer; ſince the nobility, who affected to be independent, were willing and able enough to carry on the war [c]. He knew that the conſtable, though very impetuous and overbearing, was an excellent officer, had a great influence over his brother, and had the honour of the crown and the welfare of the public ſincerely at heart, which were motives ſufficient not to make him very difficult about a reconciliation; but, beſides all this, he very well knew, that how much ſoever he might be obliged to ſtoop, while his crown was in diſpute, he might reſume the monarch at any time, when in full poſſeſſion of his dominions [d]. He contented himſelf, therefore, with being a ſpectator, and with carrying on ſome intrigues with the duke of *Orleans* in *England*, which turned highly to his advantage. In the mean time ſome inſurrections in the *Low Countries* embarraſſed the duke of *Burgundy*; and his ſiſter, the ducheſs

1433.

[a] Chroniques de MONST. Annales de France. P. ÆMIL. P. DAN. [b] Hiſtoire de Charles VII. par J. CHART. Abrege Chronologique J. DE SERRES. MEZ. [c] Journal de ce qui eſt arrivè a Paris. MONST. GAGUINI Hiſt. Pr. Henault. LE GEND. [d] Abrege Chronologique. Annales de France. DUPLEIX.

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of *Bedford*, dying, ſome diſputes aroſe between him and the regent, who, without conſulting him, had married a ſecond wife. The cardinal of *Wincheſter*, in order to reconcile them, propoſed an interview at St. *Omers*, to which place they both came, but, notwithſtanding, never met; for the duke of *Burgundy* inſiſting upon the firſt viſit, they withdrew more exaſperated than ever, each determined to purſue his own meaſures [e].

The king, by the arts of the duke of Orleans, engages his competitor Henry VI. *to conſent to a treaty.*

THE war had occaſioned a famine through the greateſt part of the kingdom: in *Normandy* more eſpecially the people ſuffered ſo much, and thought themſelves ſo ill uſed by ſome of the *Engliſh* commanders, that they revolted both in the *Upper* and *Lower Normandy*, took ſeveral places, and, if they had been joined in time by any of *Charles*'s forces, might have recovered their province. As it was, they were in a ſhort time reduced, partly by promiſes and partly by force; and all that their riſing produced, was an increaſe of thoſe miſchiefs which they aſſigned as the cauſes of their taking up arms [f]. The duke of *Bourbon* being dead, after a long captivity in *England*, his ſon the count *de Clermont*, who now bore that title, made a potent diverſion on the ſide of *Burgundy*, notwithſtanding he had married the duke's ſiſter. At firſt, in all probability, the war was in earneſt, but by degrees they fell to treat, and at length they made a particular treaty, which produced ſome inſinuations of the king's inclination to compromiſe the diſputes that had ſo long ſubſiſted between them. The conſtable then renewed his intercourſe with the duke of *Burgundy*, who perceiving that he ſhould find equal inconveniences in caſe the *Engliſh* prevailed, which was not now at all probable, or, if *Charles* carried his point, without coming to a previous agreement, reſolved to treat at once, and ſecure to himſelf thoſe advantages which could not well be refuſed him, as things then ſtood [g]. In the mean time the duke of *Orleans*, in concert, as it may be reaſonably ſuppoſed, with king *Charles*, had amuſed the government in *England* with the hopes of an advantageous treaty of peace, which was to be negotiated at *Calais*. The deſign of this ſeems to have been to procure the conſent of the *Engliſh* court to treat at any rate; to which, when they had once yielded, they could not avoid ſending their plenipotentiaries to *Arras*, where two legates were arrived, one from the pope, and the other from the

1434.

[e] Annales de France, MONST. P. ÆMIL. DUPLEIX. LE GEND. [f] Hiſtoire de Charles VII. par J. CHART. HALL. HOLINSHED. STOWE. GAGUINI Hiſt. MEZ. P. DAN. [g] Annales de France, MONST. J. DE SERRES. DU TILLET. Pr. Henault.

council at *Basle*, and where the duke of *Burgundy* not only assisted by his ministers, but also in person [h].

Concludes the famous treaty of Arras, *with* Philip the Good, *D. of* Burgundy, *on hard conditions.*

THE offers made by the *French* plenipotentiaries were that duchies of *Normandy* and *Guienne* entire, the usual homage only reserved, which the *English* ministers absolutely and scornfully rejected; insisting, that both parties should keep what they had got, excepting only the exchange of such towns and districts on both sides as were situate within each other's general bounds, and might thereby prove the source of new disputes. As they would not depart in the least from these terms, the mediators declared in favour of the propositions made by *Charles*; and upon this the *English* plenipotentiaries withdrew [i]. This was precisely what king *Charles* and the duke of *Burgundy* wanted, who had already settled, at least in a good measure, all their disputes; and the treaty being quickly reduced into form, was signed and ratified by both parties. It was mortifying enough, in many respects, to the monarch who made it, and as advantageous, in all respects, to the duke of *Burgundy*, as he could desire. Therefore the necessity on one hand, and the advantages expected on the other, secured the king against any reproaches for making a treaty, which, in many respects, derogated from his dignity, and which would have been highly prejudicial to his interest, if he could, with any propriety, be said to have any interest, capable of standing in competition with the peace [k]. In the space of a week after the peace was concluded died *Isabella*, queen-dowager of *France*, of a broken heart, occasioned, in a great measure, as the *French* historians say, by the reproaches thrown upon her by the *English* soldiers, who told her, to her face, that she knew her son *Charles* to have no relation to the king her husband. She had lived long in a private condition; her death made little impression, and her coffin, being put into a boat, with four of her domestics, was sent by water to *St. Denis*, and there interred, without so much as a bishop to perform the funeral ceremonies [l]. In her will she expressed great tenderness for the regent duke of *Bedford*, whom she stiled her son. There has been a tomb erected for her since, though it cannot be said, with any propriety, to do honour to her memory, since a wolf is placed at the feet of her effigies, as a symbol of her cruel, rapacious,

[h] Abrege Chronologique, Monst. Gaguini Hist. Mezeray, P. Daniel. [i] Annales de France, Histoire de Charles VII. par Jean Chart. P. Æmil. Du Tillet, Le Gendre. [k] Histoire de Charles VII. par Chart. Annales de France. Monst. Mez. P. Daniel. [l] Annales de France, Act. Fab. Monst. Chalon.

and

and unnatural diſpoſition [m]. In the month of *December* following died the regent duke of *Bedford*, at *Rouen*, concerning whom the *French* and *Engliſh* hiſtorians ſeem to contend which ſhall ſpeak beſt. He was, in all reſpects, one of the ableſt and braveſt men of his time, equally reſpected and regretted by both nations. The *French* recovered this year *Dieppe*, and ſeveral other places in *Normandy*; and the ill reception the duke of *Burgundy*'s notification of his treaty met with in *England* gave them good reaſon to hope, that this prince, who by this peace was become neuter, would be, in conſequence of it, obliged to declare himſelf their ally; tho' this was far enough from being his original intention [n]. A. D. 1435.

THE duke of *York* ſucceeded the late king's brother, the duke of *Bedford*, in the regency of *France*; but, though a prince adorned with many good qualities, yet having a high ſpirit, and expecting as deep a ſubmiſſion when things went ill as when they were ever ſo proſperous, he was much leſs fit for that employment [o]. However, having clear courage and great activity, he might perhaps have done tolerably well, if he had been ſent over immediately; but the factions in *England* prevented that, and thereby made way for ſuch misfortunes as were afterwards without remedy. The conſtable of *France*, though he had not an army ſufficient to attempt the ſiege, laboured to diſtreſs the city of *Paris* by a diſtant blockade, and preventing regular ſupplies of proviſions, in which he ſucceeded ſo far as to make the inhabitants very uneaſy [p]. Sir *Robert Willoughby* commanded in that capital with a garriſon of about fifteen hundred men; and, as long as the duke of *Burgundy* was in the *Engliſh* intereſt, held the people in great order; but, after the treaty of *Arras*, he found himſelf under great difficulties, which put him under the neceſſity of treating them more ſeverely; upon which they entered into a ſecret negotiation with the conſtable, and offered, provided they might have a general indemnity, and a confirmation of their privileges, to ſeize one of their gates, and to admit his forces. This the conſtable readily promiſed, and undertook that the king ſhould confirm it: and, having ſurprized a part of the garriſon, the citizens fulfilled their promiſe, and delivered him one of their gates: the *Engliſh* governor, *Willough-*

The city of Paris *is delivered to* Charles VII. *who from this time is conſidered as monarch of* France.

[m] Hiſtoire de Charles VII. par CHART. MONST. Annales de France, DU TILLET, P. DANIEL. [n] Abrege Chronologique. Hiſtoire de Charles VII. par CHART. MONST. P. ÆMIL. Pr. Henault. [o] Annales de France. HALL, HOLINSH STOWE. GAGUINI Hiſt. P. DANIEL. LE GEND. [p] Hiſtoire de Charles VII. par CHART. Journal de ce qui eſt arrive a Paris. MONST. P. ÆMIL. Pr. Henault.

by, aſſiſted by ſuch prelates as yet adhered to king *Henry's* intereſt, did all that was poſſible to repel the *French*, and preſerve the place; and at length, when this was found impoſſible, retired into the *Baſtile*, where they were preſently blocked up [q]. Some diſputes aroſe whether any terms ſhould be offered, or whether they ſhould inſiſt upon their ſurrendering at diſcretion; but the conſtable, perceiving that the people of *Paris* inclined to treat the *Engliſh* garriſon mildly, he offered that they ſhould be ſent to *Rouen*, either by land or water: they choſe the latter, and the capitulation was punctually executed [r].

Philip *D. of* Burgundy *beſieges* Calais, *but is conſtrained to raiſe it by the D. of* Glouceſter.

THIS glorious action reſtored the conſtable entirely to his maſter's favour, who did not immediately repair to *Paris*, but firſt ſolemnized the marriage of his ſon the Dauphin with a princeſs of *Scotland*, *Margaret* daughter to *James* II. and next took care to regulate every thing in the beſt manner poſſible in the provinces on the other ſide of the *Loire*. The duke of *Burgundy*, finding that the *Engliſh* were negotiating an alliance with the emperor *Sigiſmund*, and ſuſpecting that they encouraged inſurrections in the *Low Countries*, reſolved to declare openly in favour of *France*, which he did; and, with a numerous army, beſieged *Calais*. But the duke of *Glouceſter* coming over with a competent ſtrength, compelled him to raiſe the ſiege, and afterwards ravaged *Artois* and other provinces adjacent. The duke of *York* likewiſe landing in *Normandy*, with a body of *Engliſh* troops, quickly recovered moſt part of the *French* conqueſts, and made the neceſſary diſpoſitions for taking the field early the next ſpring with a competent army, while a formidable rebellion in the *Low Countries* put it out of the power of the duke of *Burgundy* to give his new allies any kind of aſſiſtance [s].

The king makes his entry with great pomp into his capital.

THE winter proving very hard, general *Talbot*, one of the ableſt and one of the moſt fortunate of the *Engliſh* officers, took advantage of a great fall of ſnow, and, having dreſſed his ſoldiers in white, ſurprized *Pontois*; and the *French*, who made a like attempt upon *Rouen*, not only failed, but ſuffered extremely in their retreat [t]. The parliament and other ſovereign courts being returned to *Paris*, the inhabitants were very deſirous the king ſhould alſo return thither: but *Charles*,

[q] MONST. Abrege Chronologique. Annales de France. GAGUINI Hiſt. DU TILLET. [r] Hiſtoire de Charles VII. par CHART. Journal de ce qui eſt arrive a Paris. MONST. P. ÆMIL. P. DANIEL. [s] Annales de France. MONST. Abrege Chronologique. P. DANIEL. BOULANV. [t] Hiſtoire de Charles VII. par CHART. Abrege Chronologique. P. DAN. BOULANV.

who

who knew the rumours that had been ſpread to his prejudice, perſiſted in the reſolution he had formed, of not going thither till he had performed ſome action of importance: he ſent orders, therefore, to the conſtable, to aſſemble as many troops as he could, in order to beſiege *Montreau*, which, by commanding the *Seine*, gave the people at *Paris* much diſturbance: as the place was ſtrong, and had a good garriſon, it made an obſtinate defence; however, when an aſſault was practicable, the king aſſiſted in perſon, paſſed the ditch up to the middle, mounted the ladder that was raiſed againſt the breach, and was among the firſt who entered the place, which was quickly taken, the garriſon retiring into the caſtle, which alſo capitulated in a few days [u]. This had the effect the king propoſed, raiſed his reputation highly, and contributed not a little to the univerſal joy that was expreſſed at his making a ſolemn entry into *Paris*, on the 17th of *November*, after an abſence of about nineteen years [w]. This joy, however, was of very ſhort duration, ſince, in ſix weeks time, he was obliged to abandon it on account of the plague, which was accompanied with famine and another ſevere winter, in which wolves paſſing the river in the night, deſtroyed numbers of people in the ſtreets [x]. This ſcarcity extended itſelf through the greateſt part of the kingdom; and the long continuance of the war having, in a manner, extinguiſhed induſtry, multitudes had no other way of ſubſiſting than by rapine; at the ſame time the general poverty was ſo great, that it was not eaſy to find any who had much to loſe [y]. A. D. 1437.

THE king paſſed the next year on the other ſide of the *Loire*, where he had an affair of great importance to manage [z]. The council of *Baſil* had quarrelled with pope *Eugenius* the fifth. Having taken ſeveral reſolutions to bridle the papal power, they ſent them by five ambaſſadors to the king, deſiring that, by his authority, they might be obſerved throughout his dominions. *Charles*, upon this, called an aſſembly of the clergy at *Bourges*, where, in the preſence of the princes of the blood, and of the chief nobility of the kingdom, he cauſed theſe canons to be examined; and finding them, for the moſt part, to be very wiſe and juſt, and perfectly calculated to ex- *Charles, in an aſſembly of the clergy, lays the foundation of the liberties of the Galli-can church.*

[u] Annales de France. MONST. Abrege Chronologique. DU TILLET. LE GEND. [w] Abrege Chronologique. Annales de France. Hiſtoire de Charles VII. P. DANIEL. Pr. Henault. [x] Journal de ce qui eſt arrive a Paris, Hiſtoire de Charles VII. GAGUINI Hiſt. [y] Abrege Chronologique. Journal de ce qui eſt arrive a Paris. P. ÆMIL. P. DANIEL. [z] Hiſtoire de Charles VII. Annales de France. GAGUINI Hiſt. CHALONS.

tinguiſh the capital grievances [a] that had been ſo long complained of, he cauſed them to be compiled into a law, for the benefit of the *Gallican* church, to which he gave the title of the *Pragmatic ſanction*: by this the power of nominating to eccleſiaſtical dignities, granting expectatives, penſions, exemptions, and other acts of power, were taken from the ſee of *Rome*; and thoſe branches of the papal prerogatives, which were not aboliſhed, were ſo curtailed, as to be leſs injurious to the people and detrimental to the monarchy [b]. But when the council afterwards depoſed the pope, he would not withdraw his obedience [c]; neither would he yield to the interceſſions of this or of the ſucceeding pontiffs, with relation to the *Pragmatic ſanction*, which has been juſtly conſidered as the great bulwark of the rights of the *Gallican* church, againſt the tyrannical pretenſions of the *Roman* pontiffs [d].

A. D. 1458.

A treaty with England, which comes, in the end, to nothing, tho' both parties ſtand in need of it.

THE ducheſs of *Burgundy*, who, as a daughter of *Portugal*, was nearly related to *Henry* the ſixth, being both deſcended from *John* duke of *Lancaſter*, prevailed upon that monarch to ſend over his uncle the cardinal of *Wincheſter* to confer with the plenipotentiary of *France*, about the means of procuring a peace, which was alike neceſſary to both parties; but theſe conferences, though often renewed, came at laſt to nothing [e]. In the mean time the conſtable, with ſome difficulty, took *Meaux*; but, having beſieged *Avranges*, general *Talbot* ſurprized his forces, and conſtrained him to raiſe the ſiege [f]. The king was ſo much chagrined at this, that he ſent orders to the conſtable to keep the army aſſembled, in order to undertake ſome other enterprize; but, from the licence of thoſe times, that was found impracticable: upon which the king, by the advice of the conſtable and chief officers, contrived the beſt plan of diſcipline that the then ſtate of his affairs would admit; and, having provided for the conſtant and regular pay of the forces, declared his intention to ſee that plan carried into execution for the public benefit, and without reſpect of perſons; which, though perfectly well intended, was, however, very ill taken, by many who found their private account in the public diſorders, and pretended

[a] MONST. Abrege Chronologique. Hiſtoire de Charles VII. par CHART. J. DE SERRES. P. DANIEL. [b] Annales de France. MONST. Abrege Chronologique. DUPLEIX. LE GEND. [c] Hiſtoire de Charles VII. Abrege Chronologique. Annales de France. GAGUINI Hiſt. P. DANIEL. [d] Annales de France. Hiſtoire de Charles VII. P. ÆMIL. Pr. Henault. [e] Abrege Chronologique. Annales de France. [f] Annales de France. Hiſtoire de Charles VII. par JEAN CHART. MONSTREL. P. ÆMIL.

that

that paſt ſervices were ill requited; becauſe, after having defended the king's ſubjects, they were not allowed to plunder them [g]. But *Charles*, who ſaw the reaſonableneſs of the new regulations, and who alſo foreſaw their conſequences, tho' he gave good words to the malecontents, remained firm to his reſolution, which was, in effect, the firſt attempt made to introduce a true ſcheme of duty, and to ſubject military men to military laws [h]. A. D. 1439.

THE dukes of *Bourbon* and *Alenſon* were among the number of the malecontents; and the count *Dunois*, who could not bear the ſuperiority of the conſtable, was amongſt them likewiſe: but the principal author and mover of this ſedition was *la Tremouille*, who, having recovered his liberty, thought he muſt of courſe be reſtored to the poſt of prime miniſter [i]. By his advice they practiſed upon the Dauphin, and, notwithſtanding the honeſty and integrity of the count *de la Marche*, his governor, drew that young prince, who was but in his eighteenth year, to join them. They made choice of *Blois* for their rendezvous, to which city the conſtable came by choice, ſo that they had every thing in their power; and yet were ſo imprudent, as, after affronting, to let him go. It was with ſome difficulty he joined the king, who could not help ſaying, at the ſight of him, "Now I have my conſtable, "I am afraid of nobody:" which, however, was not exactly the truth; ſince he propoſed to ſhut himſelf up in a fortreſs: to which the conſtable anſwered, "Remember the fate of "*Richard* of *England*, don't ſhut up yourſelf [k]." The king then began to arm, ſent a herald to demand his ſon from the duke of *Alenſon*, and, with the few troops he had about him, marched directly againſt the malecontents; who, when they came to raiſe a rebellion in earneſt, found themſelves ſtrangely miſtaken; for moſt of the cities ſhut their gates againſt them, and ſent troops and money to the king. The Dauphin then applied himſelf to the duke of *Burgundy*, who aſſured him of his friendſhip, and, as a mark of it, promiſed to ſend an envoy to recommend him to the clemency of the king [l]. *The Dauphin concurs with the malecontents in the ſedition called the* Praguerie.

[g] Abrege Chronologique. Hiſtoire de Charles VII. par CHART. Annales de France. DUPLEIX. Pr. Henault. [h] Annales de France. MONST. Abrege Chronologique. J. DE SERRES. LE GEND. [i] Hiſtoire de Charles VII. Journal de ce qui eſt arrive a Paris. GAGUINI Hiſt. Pr. Henault. [k] Abrege Chronologique. P. DANIEL. [l] Hiſtoire de Charles VII. par CHART. MONST. Abrege Chronologique. GAGUINI Hiſt. LE GEND.

Is forced to return and to ſubmit to the king his father's clemency, with a bad grace.

THUS abandoned, he retired with the duke of *Bourbon* into his domains, where they were quickly ſaluted with a meſſage, requiring them to come to court, which they reſolved to obey; becauſe the count of *Dunois*, who deſerted them early to throw himſelf at the king's feet, had been received into full favour. They ſet out with *La Tremouille*, *Chaumont*, and *de Prie*; but when they came within half a league of *Cuſſet*, where the king was, they received a meſſage that thoſe lords had no favour to expect [m]. The Dauphin would have retired with them, but the duke of *Bourbon* adviſed and prevailed upon him to go on. Upon their arrival the king bid the Dauphin retire to his apartment; the duke kneeling to kiſs his hand, he ſaid, "This is not the firſt time you have "offended me, but take my advice, and let it be the laſt." The Dauphin came the next day to his father, told him he had engaged his word to the three lords, and that, if he would not pardon them, he would leave the place. "With all my "heart," replied *Charles*, "the gate is open; and, if you "don't think it wide enough, I'll order twenty yards of the "wall to be broke down [n]." However, the Dauphin ſtaid, and his father changed all his domeſtics, except his confeſſor and his cook. Thus ended this piece of confuſion, which was ſtiled the *Praguerie*, the etymology of which word is not known; but we learn from *Comines* that it is the ſame with *Briguerie*. While the Dauphin was employed in diſturbing his father's government, the earls of *Somerſet* and *Dorſet*, with the famous general *Talbot*, beſieged *Harfleur*, notwithſtanding all the efforts the *French* captains made to preſerve it [o]. In the mean time the duke of *Orleans* ſettled his ranſom in *England*, at three hundred thouſand crowns; two thirds of which ſum were paid by the duke of *Burgundy*, out of pure generoſity, as the *French* authors affirm; our records, however, much reduce the duke of *Burgundy*'s favour; by which an end was put to the feuds between the two families. The two princes exchanged their orders of the golden fleece and the porcupine; and the duke of *Orleans*, as ſoon as he was releaſed, married the daughter of the duke of *Cleves*, who was the duke of *Burgundy*'s niece, with which cloſe conjunction between the two dukes king *Charles*, however, was ſo much
1440. diſpleaſed, that he would not permit the duke of *Orleans* to come to court, with the nobles of *Burgundy* who attended

[m] Annales de France. P. ÆMIL. MEZER. P. DANIEL. Pr. Henault. [n] MONST. Journal de ce eſt qui arrive a Paris. GAGUINI Hiſt. DU TILLET. P. DANIEL. [o] Abrege Chronologique. CHALONS. BOULANY.

him;

him; at which he was ſo much offended, that he retired to his own eſtates [p].

THE king, perceiving how much his reputation was raiſed, by the vigour he had ſhewn in ſuppreſſing the malecontents, reſolved to command his army in perſon, and to carry on the war with ſpirit, which was the more neceſſary, as the duke of *York* was returned into *France*, with the title of regent, after the death of the earl of *Warwick* [q]. His firſt enterpriſe was againſt *Creil*, upon the *Oiſe*, which he took after a ſiege of no long continuance; and this encouraged him to inveſt *Pontoiſe*, a place of great conſequence to the *Pariſians*, who therefore applauded the king highly on this expedition: but the place was not taken with the ſame facility [r]. The duke of *York* and general *Talbot* relieved and ſhifted the place five ſeveral times, and many of the nobility began to quit the army, their time of ſervice being expired [s]. The king, upon this, withdrew to *Poſſi*; where hearing that the people of *Paris* made very free with his character, he returned ſuddenly before the place, and ordered a general aſſault to be given on the 19th of *September*, in which he mounted the breach in perſon, entered the town at the head of his troops, and carried it by ſtorm [t]. This once more eſtabliſhed his reputation, and ſhewed, what his grandfather was too wiſe a man ever to ſhew, that it was not for want of courage he ſometimes declined action, but becauſe he thought he had about him better officers than himſelf. The Dauphin was there alſo, and behaved as became him, for he was now all ſubmiſſion; and as his great talent was diſſimulation, he performed his part perfectly well, and the king, who was honeſt and brave, never ſuſpected the deceit [u].

Charles diſtinguiſhes himſelf exceedingly in reducing Pontoiſe, which is taken ſword in hand.

1441.

THE king marched the next ſpring into *Poitou*, being abſolutely bent upon reducing the governors of cities and forteſſes in thoſe parts to an exact diſcipline, in which the duke of *Orleans*, who had great eſtates thereabouts, concurred, and the king received this mark of ſubmiſſion with great civility, though he knew very well the correſpondence he held, and the ſteps he was taking [w]. On his arrival at *Limoges*, the Burgun-

New troubles excited in the kingdom by the dukes of Orleans, Burgun-

[p] Annales de France. Hiſtoire de Charles VII. par J. CHART. J. DE SERRES. MEZER. P. DANIEL. [q] Abrege Chronologique. GAGUINI Hiſt. DUPLEIX. [r] Hiſtoire de Charles VII. MONST. Journal de ce qui eſt arrive a Paris. CHALONS. LE GEND. [s] Annales de France. Pr. Henault. [t] Abrege Chronologique. Journal de ce qui eſt arrive a Paris. [u] Annales de France. Hiſtoire de Charles VII. Pr. Henault. [w] Hiſtoire de Charles VII. par CHART. P. DANIEL.

whole

dy, and Bretagne. whole ſcheme broke out, and he received their deputies from the princes and great lords who were diſpoſed to think that he managed public affairs very ill, and that it was impoſſible he ſhould manage them otherwiſe, till he did it by their advice: the dukes of *Orleans*, *Burgundy*, and *Bretagne*, were at the head of theſe complaints, and were ſeconded by the dukes of *Bourbon* and *Alenſon*, with the whole body of the antient malecontents. *Charles*, by the mouth of the biſhop of *Clermont*, condeſcended to enter into the whole detail of the grievances which they produced, and proved plainly, that many of them did not ſubſiſt, that others ſlowed either from themſelves or their creatures, and that he was very willing to redreſs the reſt, as ſoon as it was in his power [x]. He conducted himſelf, upon this occaſion, with great temper and moderation, but, at the ſame time, with great dignity and firmneſs. After he had given his anſwer, he added, that he was much obliged to the duke of *Orleans* for the great concern he had for the public, and was very ſenſible of the hardſhips he muſt have ſuffered in twenty-five years captivity; and, therefore, ſetting all diſputes aſide, if he would come and ſhare the amuſements of the *Whitſun*-holidays with him at *Limoges*, he would have no cauſe to repent of his journey.

The king, by taking off th D. of Orleans, *diſſipates the league of the malecontents.* THIS meſſage brought the duke, whom the king received very graciouſly, gave him one hundred and forty thouſand franks towards his ranſom, and ſettled a handſome penſion on him, out of reſpect to his patriotiſm [y]. *Orleans* immediately acquainted the dukes of *Burgundy* and *Bretagne* that they were quite miſinformed as to the king, who was the wiſeſt and beſt prince in the world: and thus the old malecontents were once more left to his mercy. The king, after diſſipating this ſtorm, proſecuted his march into *Languedoc*, in order to ſave the town of *Fortas*, which belonged to the lord of *Albret*, and which had capitulated with the general of the *Engliſh* army in *Guienne*, in caſe the *French* king did not come to its relief by a day aſſigned. The Sieur *de Albret* had ſerved *Charles* with the utmoſt fidelity, in his loweſt fortunes; the king, who was the moſt grateful prince of his age, was bent upon this expedition, which the malecontents had made it a point to hinder. He carried it however with a high hand, kept the day, and offered the *Engliſh* battle, who, being much inferior in number, declined it; but very honourably releaſed the ſon of the Sieur *de Albret*, whom his father had given in hoſtage for

1442.

[x] MONST. Abrege Chronologique. CHALONS. LE GEND.
[y] Abrege Chronologique. Hiſtoire de Charles VII. par CHART. P. DANIEL.

the

the performance of this agreement [a]. The king's ſteadineſs did him a great deal of ſervice, and attached to him the lords in that neighbourhood extremely, the fear of which was one great motive that influenced the malecontents.

THE *Engliſh* having turned the ſiege of *Harfleur* into a blockade, preſſed it ſo cloſely, that it was in great danger of being loſt. The king had ſent the count of *Dunois* to relieve it, which he had done more than once; but the *Engliſh*, having built a redoubt before it, the inhabitants found themſelves diſtreſſed to the laſt degree. At length the king ſent the Dauphin with a ſtrong detachment from his own army, who inveſted the redoubt, attacked, and carried it ſword in hand, by which he gained great credit [a]. *Charles* was ſo far from being diſpleaſed with the riſing character of his ſon, that he ſent him into *Gaſcony*, where himſelf had raiſed a kind of civil war by an act of juſtice, in ſetting the old counteſs of *Cominge* at liberty, whom her huſband had confined twenty years; and the old lady dying ſoon after, left her county to the king. The count of *Armagnac*, the count of *Foix*, and the huſband of the deceaſed counteſs, who had determined to ſhare it amongſt them, took up arms; and the count of *Armagnac* carried his reſentment ſo far as to promiſe his daughter to *Henry* the ſixth of *England*, in order to obtain his aſſiſtance. The Dauphin, charged with the management of this war, proſecuted it with ſo much courage and conduct, that he not only recovered the county of *Cominges*, and broke the confederacy, but compelled the count of *Armagnac* to renounce his treaty with *England*, and to demand the king's mercy [b]. This reſtored him intirely to his father's favour, and gained him the eſteem of the nation in general.

The Dauphin reduces Harfleur, and then reduces the count de Armagnac, who had revolted.

1443.

THE deſire of peace continued ſtill equally ſtrong, becauſe the neceſſity of it was equally felt by both parties; and, therefore, to ſatisfy their ſubjects, the two kings, *Charles* and *Henry*, conſented to a kind of congreſs at *Tours*, where, after many altercations, a truce was concluded, to commence the middle of *May*, this year, and to end on the firſt of *April* in the next [c]. At the ſame time a marriage treaty was adjuſted between king *Henry* and the princeſs *Margaret*, daughter to *Rene* the titular king of *Naples*, duke of *Lorrain* and *Bar*. This truce, as the *French* hiſtorians ſay, was a great ſtroke in politics on the ſide of the *Engliſh* miniſters;

A truce with England, and the armies in France diſbanded according to the king's plan.

[a] Hiſtoire de Charles VII. par CHART. MONST. POLYD. VIRGIL Hiſt. Angl. HALL. HOLINSH. LE GEND. [a] Hiſtoire de Charles VII. P. DANIEL. [b] Abrege Chronologique. MEZER. Pr. Henault. [c] MATTHIEU DE CONIC. Hiſtoire de Charles VII. DU TILLET.

niſters; but in *England* it was conſidered in a very different light: and the authors of it were looked upon, and ſome of them at leaſt ſuffered in the end, as traitors. Be this as it may, both parties then boaſted of their moderation, and both were equally at a loſs what to do with the troops they had on foot, that they might not be tempted to make war for themſelves when no longer employed by the two crowns. *Charles* thought this a point of ſuch conſequence, that he conſented his ſon ſhould lead a numerous army for the ſervice of the houſe of *Auſtria*, againſt the *Switzers*; and the *Engliſh*, who apprehended the ſame inconvenience, took this opportunity to ſend a body of ſix or eight thouſand under his command [d]. The king, at the head of another army, marched to beſiege the city of *Metz*, in the quarrel of *Rene* of *Anjou*, duke of *Lorrain*. The Dauphin made himſelf maſter of *Montbilliard* by compoſition, and beat a body of *Swiſs* troops near *Baſil*; but, at the requeſt of the council that was ſtill ſitting, he entered into a negotiation with the cantons, and concluded the firſt treaty that was ever made between them and the crown of *France* [e]. On the other ſide, the king, finding a much more obſtinate reſiſtance than he expected from the citizens of *Metz*, came at length to a compoſition, and agreed to accept of a very large ſum of money for the expences of the war; and procured, at the ſame time, the releaſe of a large debt that was due from his brother-in-law the duke of *Lorrain* to that city. On the return of theſe armies into *France*, the king, with the aſſiſtance of the Dauphin, the princes of the blood, and the great lords, carried into execution his great ſcheme of diſcipline. Having gratified the principal officers with employments and penſions, he obliged the greateſt
1444. part of the private men to diſband, and betake themſelves either to agriculture, to the ſeveral trades to which they had been bred, or to ſome other honeſt employment. At the ſame time, he made uſe of the beſt of the troops, now divided into regular corps, and a proper fund ſettled for their aſſiſtance, to ſcour the roads, and to keep the country clear of thieves and vagabonds; by which the public tranquility was ſooner and more effectually reſtored, than, after ſo long and bloody a war, could have been eaſily imagined [f]: for which, with

[d] Abrege Chronologique. Hiſtoire de Charles VII. par CHART. DUPLEIX. POLYD. VIRGIL. MEZER. LE GEND. [e] Recueil de Traites, par LEONARD, tom. iv. Abrege Chronologique. MONST. P. DANIEL. [f] MATTH. DE CONIC. Hiſtoire de Charles VII. Abrege Chronologique. LE GENDRE. DUPLEIX.

good

good reaſon, a medal was ſtruck, to perpetuate the memory of this tranſaction.

Charles reſolves to improve this interval of peace to reſtore his domeſtic affairs.

It is admitted by the *French* hiſtorians, that, as the whole of this ſcheme was contrived, ſo the moſt difficult part in the execution was perſonally performed, by the king. After a general review, he ſignified to the troops that were to be diſbanded, his reſolution to treat as rebels ſuch as ſhould continue in arms, ſhould aſſemble together in bands, or ſhould, in any manner, trouble the peace of the kingdom; which, conſidering the miſchiefs that had followed the peace of *Bretigny*, and the terrors ſpread by the companies, ſeems to be a full proof, that *Charles* was as little wanting in conduct and firmneſs as in ſpirit and courage: but becauſe he did things coolly, and was willing to enjoy peace when he had obtained it, men of warm ſpirits have taken the liberty of repreſenting him as an indolent prince, continually immerſed in pleaſures. One may ſuſpect that his condeſcenſion and moderation in reſpect to his neighbours, might likewiſe contribute to this; for it is certain that the king, in treating with the ducheſs of *Burgundy*, in behalf of her conſort, and with the new duke of *Bretagne*, was very far from aſſuming or inſiſting upon more than his right, but rather the contrary. This, though very poſſibly it might be the effects of his temper, it was very ſuitable to his circumſtances, and to the dictates of ſound policy, whatever the lovers of ſuperiority and advocates for his regal rights might ſuggeſt [g]. He acted with the ſame temper, and juſt regard to the ſtate of his own affairs, and thoſe of his neighbours, when he declined entering into a formal war with the ſtate of *Genoa*, which, after having, in expreſs terms, demanded his protection, and received his aſſiſtance, excluded his troops, and refuſed to comply with their engagements; but he kept *Final*, which they had put into his hands, and referred their chaſtiſement to a more convenient time [h]. In the like manner he let ſlip the claim of the duke of *Orleans* to the duchy of *Milan*, which, by the aſſiſtance of the power of *France*, he might poſſibly have made good. But *Charles*, who had his own quiet and the good of his ſubjects in view, did not care to plunge himſelf into a new war on the other ſide the *Alps*, before his people had recovered themſelves from the miſeries and misfortunes to which they were expoſed during the weak reign of his unfortunate father. As a concluſive proof that, in all this, he acted prudently, and on right principles, let us obſerve, that *Henry* the ſixth having

[g] D'Argent. Hiſtoire de Bretagne. Abrege Chronologique Du Tillet. P. Daniel. [h] Monstrel. Hiſtoire de Charles VII. par Chart. P. Æmil. Mezer. Le Gend.

ſtipulated

ſtipulated to reſtore the city of *Mons* and its dependencies t his conſort's uncle, and the *French* king's brother-in-law *Charles* count of *Maine*, which, out of fear of his own ſubjects, he had hitherto delayed; this monarch made no ſcruple of cauſing it to be inveſted by a competent body of troops while, with a more potent army, commanded by himſelf in perſon, he carried on the ſiege; and, by this ſtroke of vigour, recovered a place that was of more importance to him than t

1448. the prince whoſe title he ſeemed to eſpouſe [1]. The place being taken by capitulation, he ordered his troops to return into their quarters, inſiſting that, by this, he had not at all infringed the truce. As the ſituation of *Henry*'s affairs made the renewing of the war very inconvenient to him, he choſe to receive in good part an apology that would have been looked upon as an inſult, while the dukes, either of *Bedford* or of *York*, had been intruſted with the management of his concerns in that kingdom.

The Engliſh *unaccountably break the truce when their concerns were in great confuſion.*

THE care that *Charles* had taken to improve theſe few years of peace, by all the methods poſſible, had been attended with all the ſucceſs he could expect, ſo that the face of the country was quite changed, and all the great cities were ſuddenly, and, in a manner, imperceptibly, repeopled. On the other hand, he had omitted nothing that might raiſe his reputation abroad, having, with great prudence and policy, compoſed that ſchiſm which had ſo long diſturbed the church; he had likewiſe renewed his treaty with *James* the ſecond king of *Scots*, on very honourable terms for that prince, notwithſtanding the demiſe of the Dauphineſs his ſiſter; and, from the ſame degree of foreſight, had renewed his engagements with the crown of *Caſtile*; ſo that his concerns were in as good a condition as he could deſire for renewing the war, which, however, it is probable, he would have deferred for ſome time longer, if the unaccountable infatuation of the *Engliſh* had not put it out of his power. The duke of *Somerſet* had been, by the queen's faction, ſent over to replace the duke of *York*, whom ſhe both hated and feared; and he, without any due conſideration of the miſerable ſituation that things were in at home by the murder of *Humphrey* duke of *Glouceſter*, one of the king's uncles, and the death of the cardinal of *Wincheſter* another of them, which happened immediately after, ſuffered Sir *Francis Surienne*, knight of the garter, but an *Arragoneſe* by birth, to ſurprize *Fougeres*, a rich town on the frontiers of *Bretagne*, two months before the truce expired [k]. The

[1] Abrege Chronologique. J. DE SERRES. DUPLEIX. DU TILLET. P. DANIEL. [k] Hiſtoire de J. CHART. MATTH. DE CONIC. Hiſtoire de Charles VII. LE GEND.

duke

duke of *Bretagne* complained of this to both kings, inſiſting on reſtitution from the one, and demanding aſſiſtance from the other. *Charles*, according to his accuſtomed manner, declined proceeding with vigour, and conſented to conference after conference, but, in the mean time, provided ſilently and ſpeedily for the war he meditated. After providing for a diverſion on the ſide of *Scotland*, the aſſiſtance of a *Spaniſh* fleet, and an offenſive and defenſive alliance with the duke of *Bretagne*, he firſt began as his auxiliary, and, as ſoon as every thing was diſpoſed for the execution of his ſcheme, declared in his own name, and followed that declaration by entering *Normandy* with four armies at once, the ſtrongeſt of which he commanded in perſon [l]. The duke of *Somerſet* and general *Talbot* did all that could be done in putting garriſons into the ſtrongeſt places, which, however, diſabled them from taking the field, and ſcarce left them troops ſufficient for the defence of *Rouen*.

Charles ſeizes this opportunity and reduces Rouen and great part of Normandy.

THE *French* armies were ſo numerous and ſo well ſupplied, that, in a few weeks, they made many conqueſts; and, in the month of *October*, the count of *Dunois* appeared with his troops in order of battle before *Rouen*, in hopes of exciting a revolt, but without effect. Upon his retreat, however, ſome of the townſmen ſent to let him know, that, if he would advance again into their neighbourhood, they would give his troops an opportunity to ſcale the town, which they performed; but, being ſurprized by general *Talbot*, when a few only had entered, he cut them, and the citizens who had joined them, to pieces, and threw their ladders over the wall [m]. This unſucceſsful attempt, as it appeared, had an event very different from what both parties expected; for tho' hitherto the inhabitants had been divided into parties, yet the next day, from very different motives, they unanimouſly agreed to compel their governor to ſurrender the town. Accordingly, having extorted his conſent, they ſent their deputies to treat with king *Charles*, who conſented to all their demands, which were, an act of oblivion, the confirmation of their privileges, and leave for ſuch as deſired it to retire to *England* [n]. The duke of *Somerſet*, however, and general *Talbot*, having ſeized the bridge, the old palace, and the caſtle, reſolved to defend them to the laſt extremity. But *Charles* gave them no opportunity of ſhewing their valour, but kept them blocked up till the appearance of famine obliged them to treat. The duke

1449.

[l] MATTH. DE CAUCI. DUPLEIX. POLYD. VIRG. Hiſt. Angl. HALL. HOLLINSH. J. DE SERRES. MEZER. de J. CHART. DU TILLET. P. DANIEL. VIRGIL. LE GEND.

[m] Hiſt.

[n] POLYDOR.

demanded leave to retire, to which the king conſented, provided they rendered *Honfleur*, *Harfleur*, and the reſt of the places they poſſeſſed at the mouth of the *Seine*, to which, at length, (*Harfleur* excepted) *Somerſet* agreed; and, with infinite regret, was forced to give general *Talbot* as a hoſtage for the performance of articles [o]. The king made his entry into *Rouen*, with great ſplendor, on the 10th of *November*; and, though it was ſo late in the ſeaſon, and his troops were ſo much fatigued, he cauſed *Harfleur* to be inveſted, which was reduced before the end of the year, which put him in poſſeſſion of all *Normandy* on that ſide the *Seine* [p].

Completes the conqueſt of that duchy in the beginning of the year enſuing;

THE fair opportunity the *French* now had of completing the conqueſt of *Normandy*, baniſhed all diſtinctions of ſeaſons, and the care of the king in providing his forces plentifully with all things neceſſary for their convenience and ſupport, made this ſo practicable, that *Honfleur* was inveſted on the 10th of *January*, and the ſiege proſecuted with ſo great vigour, that, on the 18th of *February*, it was ſurrendered [q]. Some domeſtic troubles hindered the king from proſecuting the war, as he intended, without interruption, and gave time to the *Engliſh* general *Kyreil*, who landed with a body of three thouſand men, to reduce *Valogne*; but the young count of *Clermont*, eldeſt ſon to the duke of *Bourbon*, marching againſt him, the two armies engaged near the village of *Fourmigni*, and the *French*, being fortunately joined by the conſtable with ſome freſh troops, and ſome of the officers on the other ſide miſbehaving, Sir *Thomas Kyreil*, after performing all that from a brave man or a great captain could be expected, was defeated and taken priſoner, with the loſs in the whole of about five thouſand men [r].

after defeating the Engliſh *forces in the battle of* Fourmigni.

THIS action, which happened on the 15th of *April*, was deciſive as to the fate of *Normandy*; for at leaſt one half of theſe, being drawn out of the garriſons, left them ſo much weaker; a circumſtance of which the king did not fail to profit: for he immediately cauſed *Caen* to be inveſted, into which the duke of *Somerſet* had retired with about four thouſand men. The place was ſtrong and well fortified, ſo that when the conſtable came before it on the 5th of *June*, it was believed it would make a long defence. Upon the king's arrival in the camp, he cauſed the outworks to be attacked; and, though repulſed with loſs, made another attempt the

[o] Abrege Chronologique. Hiſtoire de J. CHART. HALL. HOLLINSH. DU TILLET. [p] MATTH. DE CAUCI. DUPLEIX. P. DANIEL. CHALONS. Pr. Henault. [q] POL. VIRG. STOWE. J. DE SERRES. [r] Abrege Chronologique. LE GEND.

next

next day, in which he ſucceeded; he then ſprung a mine with ſuch ſucceſs as obliged the duke to capitulate, and the garriſon marched out with all the honours of war on the firſt of *July*; but the king cauſed him and his garriſon to be tranſported to *England*[s] at his own expence; and preſently after ordered *Falaiſe* and *Domfront* to be inveſted. This being within land, the king left it to be taken at leiſure, but directed *Cherbourg* to be puſhed with all the vigour imaginable, ſo that it ſurrendered on the 12th of *Auguſt*, by which all *Normandy* was recovered in ſomething more than a year[t], which gave credit in thoſe days to the prophecies of the *Pucelle d'Orleans*. Before the end of the year, ſome progreſs was made in the reduction of *Guienne*: but it is now time to ſpeak of thoſe intrigues that embittered all theſe proſperities, and filled *Charles* with chagrin, while his kingdom reſounded with acclamations for his victories. A domeſtic evil, ſo much the more intolerable, as it appeared from the beginning irremediable.

Lewis Dauphin retires into that province, and affects an independency of his father.

THE Dauphin, after his famous expedition into *Guienne*, and reduction of the count of *Armagnac*, demanded the king's leave to retire into *Dauphine*, which, after ſome deliberation, was granted. *Charles* was ſomewhat doubtful of his ſon's diſpoſition, though from the time of his ſubmiſſion he had behaved with the moſt exact obedience[u]. The king, that his retreat from court might wear the better appearance, left ſome diſputes that he had with the duke of *Savoy* to the Dauphin's determination, who performed therein all that the king could poſſibly expect; and ſent the treaty he had negotiated to him, for his approbation[w]: but this was all artifice; for the Dauphin ſtill continued to hate his father, and every body about him, in proportion as they ſtood in his favour. At the head of theſe was *Pierre de Breſe*, ſeneſchal of *Poitou*, a man of high quality and great merit. Him he charged with crimes of all ſorts, againſt the crown, the public welfare, and the king's perſon, demanding that he ſhould be diveſted of power, and left to a fair trial. The king immediately complied, removed him from his ſeat in council, from all his employments, and from his preſence; and then ordered his proceſs to be formed. From having the faireſt, he had the fouleſt character in *France*; all the world abandoned him, and many became his accuſers; they had every advantage given them;

[s] Hiſtoire de J. CHART. POLYD. VIRG. HALL. HOLINSH. DUPLEIX. P. DAN. [t] MATTH. DE COUCI. Abrege Chronologique. DU TILLET. LE GENDRE. Pr. Henault. [u] Hiſtoire de J. CHART. [w] Hiſtoire des Comtes de Valentinois; Traite & Ratification tires des Archives de Turin, Memorial de la Chambre des Comptes de Paris.

but, upon a full trial, there could be nothing proved: the king gave him immediately the government of *Rouen*, and reſtored him, if poſſible, to more credit than he had before; which of conſequence recalled his friends [x]. The Dauphin's reſentment, however, was more fatal to the king's miſtreſs, *Agnes de Sorel*, by ſome called *The lovely Agnes*, and the *Demoiſelle de Beauté*, from the royal caſtle of *Beauté*, which the king had given her. She had followed the king into the neighbourhood of *Rouen*, to acquaint him with a diſcovery ſhe had made of a deſign againſt his perſon, which the king at firſt judged to be ridiculous, but found afterwards was not entirely groundleſs; but ſhe did not ſurvive this journey, being A. D. ſeized with a diſtemper which hurried her to her grave in a 1450. few days [y] (A). Such as are for attributing all the ſucceſſes of

[x] Hiſtoire de J. Chart. Duplein. Du Tillet. Mez.
[y] Matth. De Couci. P. Dan.

(A) It is very certain that one of the great cauſes of the miſunderſtanding between the king and his ſon the Dauphin, was the averſion of the latter to *Agnes Sorel*, to whom it is ſaid he once gave a blow on the cheek, which might probably draw upon him great ſuſpicions when that lady came to die, as it was commonly conceived by poiſon (1). By her will *James Cœur*, the king's goldſmith; that is, in the language of thoſe times, the perſon intruſted with the management of his finances, was named one of her executors; and yet he was accuſed of being the inſtrument of her death, and this proved three years afterwards one of the principal cauſes of his diſgrace, though, upon a ſtrict examination, he was acquitted of that charge, and *Jane de Vendome*, ſtiled commonly the *Demoiſelle de Montagne*, who appeared to be the author of it, was declared guilty of calumny, forbid the court, and ſent into exile (2). But notwithſtanding this piece of juſtice, he likewiſe ſuffered, notwithſtanding all the great ſervices he had performed, which obliges us to ſay ſomething more particular of the man. *James Cœur* was the ſon of a merchant of *Bourges*, came early to court, and being intruſted in money affairs, acquitted himſelf with great honour and reputation. It is very difficult to know which he did beſt, the king's buſineſs or his own; for he was the richeſt ſubject of that age in *Europe*. The chymiſts have from thence taken occaſion to put him into the liſt of their adepts (3); but his philoſopher's ſtone was commerce, which he carried on to all parts

(1) *Matthieu de Coucy, Jean Chartier, Mezeray, Le Gendre, Chalons.*
(2) *Matthieu de Coucy, Gaguini Hiſtoria, P. Daniel, Mezeray, Le Gendre.*
(3) *Borel Antiquites Gauloiſes, Hiſtoire de Charles* VII. *Hiſtoire de la Philoſophie Hermetique, tom.* i. *p.* 248. *Du Clos, Hiſtoire de Louis* XI. *Mezeray.*

of

of this reign to fortune, tell us, that *Charles* was in nothing more happy than in the choice of this miſtreſs, who frequently admoniſhed him, that his duty as a king was inconſiſtent with his aſſiduity as a lover; and affirmed that it was to her perſuaſion *France* owed ſome of the greateſt actions of his reign, which the hiſtorians, in ſucceeding times, were not inclined ſhould be attributed to the king, though he performed them.

THE count *de Dunois*, whom the king for his paſt ſervices had created count *de Longueville*, rendered him ſuch as were *The count* de Du-

of the then known world; and is allowed to have had in this reſpect a more extenſive correſpondence than all the reſt of the merchants in the kingdom taken together. It is true, that, for the ſupport of it, he made uſe both of the king's money and credit; but, on the other hand, whenever it was neceſſary, the king had likewiſe the uſe of his; and it was owing to his prudence and integrity that the king really had both money and credit (4). It was this *James Cœur* who put his affairs in order, enabled him to carry into action his project for diſciplining the army; he deviſed the method of maintaining the new militia, and managed the public treaſure ſo carefully, that in the midſt of his misfortunes his maſter never oppreſſed either clergy or laity by new or extraordinary impoſition. On the contrary, when the ſervice required it, he was always ready to furniſh money out of his private fortune, which if he had not done, the conqueſt of *Normandy* could not have been effected. He was alſo intruſted with ſome important negotiations in *Italy*, which were likewiſe expenſive; and yet all theſe great things could not preſerve him; for being accuſed of a variety of crimes, rather through envy of his power and wealth, than from any real cauſe (5), he was ſentenced to pay a fine of four hundred thouſand crowns, to forfeit his eſtate, and to ſuffer perpetual baniſhment; but, upon a reviſion not long after, the parliament declared him innocent, and reſtored him to his honours and eſtate. At the time his misfortunes fell upon him, his factors in foreign countries lent him ſixty thouſand crowns, with which he retired into *Cyprus*, married a ſecond wife, by whom he had children, for whom he procured various ſolid eſtabliſhments, and became through his induſtry and integrity, more opulent than ever (6). He was indeed, in all reſpects, one of the ableſt and moſt extraordinary men of his time; and his ill uſage is, by all hiſtorians, repreſented as the greateſt blemiſh of this reign. The Sieur *Dammartin* was the great author of this violence, and felt the weight of a like perſecution in the next reign.

(4) *Borel, Antiquities Gauloiſes, Hiſtoire de Charles* VII. *Le Gendre.* (5) *Jean Chartier, Matthieu de Coucy, Gaguini Hiſt. P. Daniel, Le Gendre.* (6) *Matthieu de Coucy, Jean Chartier, Borel, Lonnel, Recueil des plusieurs Harangues, Remonſtrances, &c.*

nois, *now count* de Longueville, *reduces* Guienne *in the ſpace of one campaign.*

ſtill more important in *Guienne*, where he proſecuted the war with ſuch vigour and ſucceſs, that, in the ſhort interval between *May* and *Auguſt*, he reduced all that country, which had been ſo long in the hands of the *Engliſh*, and which was remarkably well affected to them [z]. It is true that *Bourdeaux* ſubmitted on a capitulation, under which all the adjacent diſtrict was comprehended, by which the king precluded himſelf from ever impoſing on the inhabitants any greater taxes than thoſe to which they were ſubject at this time, and promiſed to eſtabliſh a parliament or ſovereign court of judicature at *Bourdeaux*, where all things relative to that province were to be finally determined [a]. *Bayonne* was the only place that defended itſelf after the ſubmiſſion of *Bourdeaux*; but the place being inveſted, and ſomething appearing in the heavens which the inhabitants thought a white croſs, which was then the cognizance of *France*, in oppoſition to the red croſs of St. *George*, they took occaſion from thence to capitulate on the beſt terms they could obtain. The count of *Longueville*, having reduced
1451. all *Guienne*, with the title of the king's lieutenant general, left, by the king's orders, the command to the count *de Clermont*, whom he eſtabliſhed his governor in thoſe parts [b].

Charles *makes a ſudden peace with the duke of* Savoy, *in order to recover* Bourdeaux.

THE Dauphin, who governed his own country as a ſovereign, and who governed it wiſely and well, held an intercourſe with, and made himſelf reſpected by, all the princes in *Europe*, maintaining a proper behaviour towards every one, except his father. He did not, however, treat him with any exterior marks of diſreſpect; thoſe were only beſtowed upon his miniſters; but he negotiated on every ſide, and took his meaſures as if he had not been either the ſon or the ſubject of *Charles*, which, though the king diſſembled, he could not eaſily digeſt. At length *Lewis* carried this ſo far as to conclude a treaty of marriage between himſelf and the princeſs *Charlotte*, daughter to the duke of *Savoy*, not only without the king's conſent, but in direct breach of his command; upon which *Charles* came to *Bourges*, and, without mentioning any particular cauſe, declared war againſt the duke; but, before any hoſtilities were committed, the cardinal *d'Eſtouteville* came to the king from the duke, and ſo pacified him that a peace was concluded at *Feurs* in *Forez*, one article of which was, that the duke's ſon ſhould marry the princeſs *Yoland*, or *Violante*, the king's daughter [c]. This ſudden turn was not

[z] Abrege Chronologique. DUPLEIX. DU TILLET. LE GEND. POLYD. VIRG. P. DAN. [a] MATTH. DE COUCI. Hiſtoire de J. CHART. MEZERAY. [b] Abrege Chronologique. Hiſtoire de J. CHART. MEZ. LE GEND. [c] GUICHENON Hiſt. de Savoye.

the

the effect of weakneſs or mutability in the king, but of an event which he could not either foreſee or avoid. His deſire to eaſe his new ſubjects in *Guienne* induced him to leave as few troops there as poſſible; this tempted the people, who were ſtill *Engliſh* in their hearts, to invite their former maſters to return. *Charles*, that he might obtain *Cherbourg* the ſooner, had been content to make that place the price of general *Talbot*'s liberty, who, from a hoſtage, became a priſoner of war, on the governor of *Honfleur*'s refuſing to ſurrender that place in obedience to the duke of *Somerſet*'s orders. This general, thus at liberty, landed with five thouſand *Engliſh* troops, was admitted by the inhabitants into *Bourdeaux*, ſurprized the *French* garriſon, and, being ſupported by a fleet and army from *England*, quickly over-run a great part of the province. It was this reverſe of affairs that engaged the king to act as he did, that he might be at liberty to ſtifle effectually that flame which had been once put out already; and which, if at all neglected, might quickly grow too ſtrong for the forces he had on foot [d]. A. D. 1452.

THE king began the campaign in *Guienne* early the next year; and, in the firſt place that was taken, cauſed about fourſcore perſons to be beheaded as traitors. On the 17th of *July*, general *Talbot*, contrary to his own ſentiments, and purely to gratify the people of *Bourdeaux*, attacked the *French* army before *Caſtillon*, in their intrenchments: though at firſt he was ſucceſsful, yet his horſe being killed by a cannon ſhot, and himſelf immediately after by a wound in the throat, his forces were beaten; and, though the loſs was not very great in the action, yet, in its conſequences, it proved the loſs of *Guienne*. *Caſtillon* immediately ſurrendered at diſcretion, and many other places followed this example. The king proceeded very cautiouſly with reſpect to *Bourdeaux*, in which there was a garriſon of four thouſand *Engliſh*, and as many *Gaſcons*. He formed the blockade by land and ſea, as faſt as poſſible; but he proceeded very ſlowly to the ſiege, and kept the ſame meaſure during the time it continued. Had he perſiſted in this method, the place muſt ſoon have ſurrendered at diſcretion; but diſeaſes beginning to ſpread in his army, he conſented to a capitulation, which was ſigned on the 17th of *October*, by which the inhabitants obtained an amneſty for themſelves, twenty only excepted, who were to be baniſhed, but at the expence of all their privileges; and the *Engliſh* were permitted to retire [e]. This year the king renewed, with great

General Talbot (*earl of* Shrewſbury) *ſlain in the battle of* Caſtillon, *which decides the fate of* Guienne.

1458.

[d] MATTH. DE COUCI. Abrege Chronologique. Hiſtoire de J. CHART. DU TILLET. [e] DUPLEIX. POLYD. VIRG. HALL. HOLINSHED. STOWE. MEZ. LE GEND. P. DAN.

ſolemnity, his treaty with the *Swiſs* cantons. The next he did the ſame, with reſpect to his alliance with the king of *Caſtile*. The baron *Leſparre*, a nobleman of *Gaſcony*, who had been pardoned for the laſt revolt, engaging in new intrigues, loſt his head. The count *de Charolois*, eldeſt ſon to the duke of *Burgundy*, eſpouſed, with the king's conſent, *Iſabell*, daughter to the duke of *Bourbon*. The count *d'Eu* made an attempt upon the ſmall remains of the *Engliſh* territory in *France*, and proceeding with that temerity which ſucceſs commonly inſpires, received ſo ſevere a check, that he loſt all inclination to attempt any thing farther. It was the diſorder at home which was the bane of the *Engliſh* abroad, and not any miſbehaviour in their troops [f].

A. D. 1454.

The Dauphin having in vain attempted an inſurrection, demands the duke of Burgundy*'s protection.*

ALL this time the Dauphin was, in appearance, a quiet ſpectator of his father's good fortune, who, with all his wiſdom, knew not how to act with his ſon. At certain times, when his orders quadrated with his own views, the Dauphin was exactly obedient; but when he received commands of another kind, he underſtood theſe to proceed from the miniſters, and paid no regard to them at all. He interfered in the wars of *Italy*, to the prejudice of his father-in-law, the duke of *Savoy*; and, upon his preſuming to diſlike this, he declared war againſt him, and reſolved to make himſelf maſter of the marquiſate of *Saluces*; but the duke of *Burgundy* and the *Swiſs* cantons interpoſing, he found it expedient to make peace [g]. The king, who had an eye upon all his actions, who had now born with him ten years, and often ſummoned him to court, at length determined to make him ſenſible of his duty; and, under colour of a tour into *Auvergne*, diſpoſed every thing for ſeizing him in *Dauphine*: *Anthony de Chabannes*, lord of *Dammartin*, being charged with the command of the troops that were to be employed in this enterprize, no ſooner began to move, than the Dauphin applied himſelf to the duke of *Savoy*, to demand aſſiſtance both in money and forces. To prevent this, *Chabannes* received the king's orders to go himſelf to the duke's court, which he did; and received the ſtrongeſt aſſurances from that prince, that the Dauphin ſhould receive no ſupport from him [h]. This anſwer was no ſooner given, than it was communicated to the Dauphin by his ſpies. *Lewis* upon this, taking with him the Sieur *de Montauban*, and *John de Leſcun*, commonly called the baſtard of *Armagnac*, traverſed the county of *Burgundy*,

1455.

[f] Recueil des Traites par LEONARD, tom. iv. Hiſtoire de J. CHART. MARIANA. FERRERAS. MATTH. DE COUCI. DUPLEIX. LE GEND. TILLET. P. DAN.

[g] GUICHENON Hiſt. de Savoye. DU

[h] MEZ. LE GEND.

and

and retired into *Brabant* [i]. As ſoon as the duke of *Burgundy* received advice of this, he ordered the count *de Charolois* to wait upon the Dauphin, and to pay him all poſſible reſpect; but refuſed to ſee him himſelf till he knew how this meaſure would be reliſhed by the king, to whom he tranſmitted an account of it directly, deſiring to know how he was to act [k]. *Charles* returned him for anſwer, that he ſhould treat the Dauphin in the manner he would expect to be treated himſelf, in caſe any unforeſeen accident obliged him to retire into *France* [l]. Upon this, the duke ſhewed all poſſible reſpect to this illuſtrious exile; and the Dauphin thereupon demanded troops only to compel his father, as he phraſed it, to change his miniſters. Sir, anſwered the duke, againſt any other perſon, my forces and my finances are at your devotion; but it is not either you or I who have a right to preſcribe to the king; and indeed I do not ſee a wiſer meaſure for us both to take in the management of our affairs, than to refer them to the good pleaſure of a prince, alike remarkable for his prudence and his moderation [m]. The Dauphin, finding he could do no better, made choice of *Genep*, on the frontiers of *Hainault*, for the place of his reſidence, and accepted of a penſion of three thouſand florins a month for his ſubſiſtance, which, as ſome writers inform us, was afterwards advanced to double that ſum [n]. A. D. 1456.

A conſpiracy by the duke of Alenſon *to bring the* Engliſh *over again into* Normandy.

THE duke of *Burgundy*, who was a very wiſe prince, eaſily foreſaw, that, ſooner or later, this affair muſt occaſion a miſunderſtanding between him and the crown of *France*, either in the perſon of *Charles* or of *Lewis*; he ſent, therefore, two of his chamberlains, *John de Croi*, and *Simon de Lalain*, to endeavour to reconcile the Dauphin to his father; and to propoſe, that, till this could be effected, the Dauphin might be permitted to put himſelf at the head of an army, and to act againſt the *Turks*, who were growing every day more and more formidable to the Chriſtian powers. The king teſtified his ſatisfaction as to the duke's conduct in the whole affair; but did not at all approve the expedient of putting his ſon at the head of an army, alleging, it would be more agreeable to his intereſt, as well as his duty, to return into *France*, and occupy that place in his father's councils, to which nature, both by his birth and his capacity, had given him ſo fair a title [o]. Upon the receipt of this anſwer, the Dauphin ſent for his conſort, whom he had never yet ſeen; and the duke

[i] Hiſtoire du Heraut de Berri. MATTHIEU DU COUCY.
[k] Memoires d'Olivier de la Marche, l. i c. 33. [l] Hiſtoire de J. CHART. DUPLEIX. DU TILLET. [m] P. DAN.
[n] Hiſtoire de J. CHART. [o] MEYER Annal Flandr.

of *Burgundy* cauſed her to be conducted into the *Low Countries*, with all the reſpect and magnificence due to her own rank, and that of the prince ſhe had eſpouſed; in the mean time the king met with a new mortification, thro' the diſcovery of the treaſon of the duke of *Alenſon*. This prince, at a time when he was diſtreſſed for money, had ſold the town of *Fougeres* to the duke of *Bretagne*, at a low price. His affairs being now in better order, he was deſirous of having it again, upon repayment of the ſame money, which the duke of *Bretagne* having refuſed to accept, he applied himſelf for redreſs to the king, who, on one ſide, having no reaſon to be ſatisfied with this duke's conduct, who had been embarked in every diſturbance during his reign, and, on the other, having great reaſon to manage the duke of *Bretagne*, took little notice
1457. of this application [p]. The duke of *Alenſon*, provoked at this, applied himſelf to the king of *England*, laid open to him the ſtate of affairs in *France*, made a treaty for the marriage of his daughter with the ſon of the duke of *York*, and concerted meaſures for putting the *Engliſh* once more in poſſeſſion of *Normandy*. When this ſcheme was ripe for execution, he choſe a mean perſon to go over with letters to king *Henry*, which he put up in a hollow ſtaff, who carried them directly to king *Charles*. When this monarch was thus unexpectedly apprized of the duke's treachery, he could not help exclaiming, in whom can I now put any truſt, when the very princes of my own blood conſpire againſt me. He immediately diſpatched his old faithful ſervant, the count *de Longueville*, in order to arreſt the duke of *Alenſon*, whom he reſolved to bring, by an open and public trial, to juſtice [q].

The duke of Alenſon *convicted but not executed.*

AFTER he had been detained a long time in priſon, and the king had cauſed a ſtrict enquiry to be made into the privileges and prerogatives of the peers of *France*, and the duke of *Burgundy*, as the firſt peer, to be ſummoned, he held a parliament at *Vendoſme*, where the duke of *Alenſon* had all the advantages allowed him that the formalities of law could give; but the meſſenger intruſted with his letters, the letters themſelves, and the duke's own confeſſion, leaving no room to doubt of his guilt, he was convicted, and condemned to ſuffer death [r]. The duke of *Burgundy*, though he refuſed to aſſiſt at his

[p]. Hiſtoire de J. CHART. DUPLEIX. DU TILLET. MEZ. [q] MATTHIEU DE COUCI. POLYD. VIRG. P. DAN. Pr. Henault. [r] Memorial de Chambre des Comptes de Paris cotte L. fol. 147. Proces du Duc d'Alenſon publie par M. DUPUY. Lettres du Roi pour le tranſport du Parlement a Vendome Regiſtres du Parlemens du 20 Avril, 1458. LE GEND. Pr. Henault.

trial,

trial, ſent embaſſadors to intercede for him, which was the more extraordinary, as it was ſtrongly ſuſpected himſelf and the Dauphin were far from being ignorant of his intrigues; but the king thought proper to declare theſe ſuſpicions groundleſs, though he did not give any direct anſwer to the duke's application for mercy [s]. He ſhewed more reſpect to that of the conſtable *Arthur*, duke of *Bretagne*, who had juſt acquired that dignity by the death of his nephew; and, at his requeſt, converted the ſentence into perpetual impriſonment in the caſtle of *Loches* [t]; from whence, as we ſhall ſee, he was delivered in the ſucceeding reign, and put once more in a condition of plotting, which he could not forbear. In order to find ſome employment for the *Engliſh* at home, and to prevent their diſturbing his dominions, the king ſent *Peter de Breze*, ſeneſchal of *Normandy*, to inſult their coaſts, and to make a deſcent, which he did, and burnt and plundered the town of *Sandwich*, in which, as the *French* hiſtorians own, the king acted in concert with queen *Margaret* of *England* [u], who had but too much power over her huſband, and became thereby the ſource of his misfortunes and thoſe of his ſubjects. At the ſame time, the king renewed his treaties with *Denmark* and *Spain*, that, in caſe of a revolution in *England*, which might be accompanied with a revival of the war, he might not be without allies; and he took the ſame precaution with reſpect to the emperor and ſeveral princes of *Germany*, that the duke of *Burgundy* might ſee he would not be found unprepared, if, at the perſuaſion of his ſon, he ſhould undertake any thing to his prejudice, of which, tho' he thought fit to diſſemble them, there wanted not ſome very ſtrong appearances [w]. Towards the cloſe of this year died *Arthur* duke of *Bretagne*, who, notwithſtanding his acceſſion to that ſovereignty, ſtill retained the poſt of conſtable of *France*, becauſe he would honour in his old age (this was the reaſon he thought fit to give) that dignity, from which he had received honour in his youth. Some ſay he had a mind to take advantage of the troubles of *England*, to have made an invaſion on his own behalf, and at his own expence, in the proſecution of which he thought this dignity might be of uſe. However this might be, he retained to the laſt the king's favour, who gave great teſtimonies of regret for his loſs [x].

A. D. 1458. *The death of the duke of* Bretagne.

[s] Hiſtoire de J. Chartier. P. Dan. [t] Hiſtoire d'Artus III. Mez. [u] Continuation du Heraut de Berri. Du Tillet. Le Gend. [w] Matth. De Couci. Recueil de Traites par Leonard, tom. i. [x] Hiſtoire d'Artus III. D'Argentre. Hiſtoire de Bretagne. Mez. P. Dan. Pr. Henault.

Charles reduces the government in Dauphine back again to its ancient form.

THE proſperous ſituation of the king's affairs induced t*Genoeſe*, or at leaſt one of the factions in *Genoa*, to propo putting the republic again under the protection of that crow which the king received with a good grace; and ſent *Jo* duke of *Calabria*, the eldeſt ſon of *Rene*, king of *Naples*, t govern that city in his name. This opened a path to ver extraordinary events, which belong to the hiſtory of that re public; but the king, though attentive to affairs abroad, wa ſtill more ſo of what reſpected his own territories; and, there fore, he reſolved to bring *Dauphine* into the ſame ſituation i was in before he had put it into the hands of his ſon, who ſtil affected to govern it by ſome of his officers in the ſame manne as when he reſided there, and was actually preſent. We find his and his father's conduct ſo differently treated by different hiſtorians, that it is difficult to underſtand, and conſequently to reconcile them. Some ſay, that the Dauphin had governed there ſo wiſely, as to make himſelf eſteemed as much as moſt ſovereigns; ſo that he was highly admired by his ſubjects: others, that he ruined and oppreſſed them; ſo that they complained of him in the ſtrongeſt terms to his father. The former allege, that the king met with great oppoſition from the ſtates, who remonſtrated the oath they had taken to his ſon, and ſeemed unwilling to put themſelves again under the rule of the father; in all which, there is a mixture of truth and of falſhood. The Dauphin certainly did not want abilities for government, nor did he fail to give proofs of them in *Dauphine*, where, during the whole time of his reſidence, he affected in all things a perfect independence, coined money, made laws, created a parliament, and acted in every other reſpect as a ſovereign prince, which, for a time, flattered the natives exceedingly. But then, to ſupport all this, he levied great ſums, was perpetually ſolliciting free gifts, and took many other methods of filling his coffers, with which they were, and had reaſon to be, exceedingly diſpleaſed, more eſpecially during the latter part of his government, when his penſion being ſtopt, he had no way to ſupport the dignity of a prince, but with the revenues of that county. The king, in reſuming the government, ſuppreſſed theſe impoſts, which was very pleaſing; but he ſuppreſſed likewiſe many of thoſe marks of independency, which his ſon had eſtabliſhed, and
1469. this was diſliked [y]. *Charles*, however, did not regard either their clamours, or the complaints of *Lewis*; he reduced things into their old form; and, if he mortified the people's vanity, he made their circumſtances eaſy. From hence we may

[y] Hiſt. de J. CHART. MATTH. DE COUCI. DUPLEIX. DU TILLET. MEZ.

eaſily

eaſily diſcern how hiſtorians might repreſent the ſame facts differently, according to their reſpective ſyſtems.

THE duke of *Burgundy* growing daily more and more apprehenſive of *Charles*'s reſentment, and perceiving how much he was courted by all the neighbouring princes, who were proud of entering into his alliance, ſent freſh envoys to the court of *France*, with a long memorial of his griefs; the king anſwered this memorial, article by article, with great ſtrength of reaſon, and at the ſame time with great dignity; and whereas the duke had ſuggeſted a ſecret article in the marriage treaty between *Henry* the ſixth and *Margaret* of *Anjou*, to his prejudice, the king affirmed it was a mere fiction, adding, that when ſuch things came into the duke's mind, he had better acquaint him with them, who would always avow the truth, than plead them as excuſes. In ſpeaking of the Dauphin, the king obſerved that he could not do too much honour to the ſon of his ſovereign, and that he would always conſider the reſpect paid to his perſon as paid to himſelf, while he took no part in the quarrel [z]. The Dauphineſs being delivered of a ſon, *Lewis* ſent one of his houſhold to acquaint the king with it, who immediately cauſed public rejoicings to be made, and wrote him a letter of felicitation with his own hand [a]. Upon another occaſion, the Dauphin having complained that ſome who were about his father did not pay a proper regard to his requeſts, the king acquainted him that he had no need to apply to any, ſince he was himſelf always ready to receive, and willing to grant them, with which, notwithſtanding the ſtubbornneſs of his temper, the Dauphin was ſo much affected, that he wrote him a very humble letter of thanks [b]. Some writers ſuggeſt, that the king had thoughts of diſinheriting him, but without foundation; for the quarrel was entirely on the Dauphin's ſide, who, being upwards of thirty, was impatient to govern, and could not bear living in his father's court as a ſubject; whereas *Charles* was very deſirous to have him at court, preſſed him continually to return, and hinted that he had many things to communicate, which could not be committed to paper. Theſe circumſtances are directly oppoſite to the ſuppoſed intention of defeating his ſucceſſion; but the whole of their diſpute lay in this, that the father would be a king while he lived, and the ſon, with all poſſible profeſſions of duty in words, could not bring himſelf to confirm thoſe profeſſions by his actions [c].

The king exceedingly grieved by the Dauphin's conduct, and very deſirous to reclaim him.

1460.

[z] Memoires d'Olivier de la Marche. [a] MATTH. DE COUCI. P. DAN. [b] Hiſt. de J. CHART. DUPLEIX. DU TILL. [c] Hiſt. Louis XI. par M. DU CLOS.

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But finds that impracticable, and dies thro' want of ſuſtenance, for fear of ſtarving.

In the mean time the diſagreement between the king a the duke of *Burgundy* was growing ſtill wider, and had p bably ended in a rupture, but that both of them were prin of great prudence, and who had ſincerely at heart the good their ſubjects; beſides, the duke was not more fortunate in ſon than the king; the count *de Charolois* was of a moſt vi lent and turbulent temper, and the duke did not manage hi at all, but made him ſenſible upon every occaſion of t weight of his authority. He was alſo angry with his father miniſters, and particularly with the houſe of *Croy*. As there fore the king was unwilling to proceed to extremities, for fea the Dauphin ſhould retire into *England*; ſo the duke's for bearance proceeded from an apprehenſion that the count *Charolois* might demand the king's protection [d]. Some over tures of this kind were indeed made; for *Charles* having a inclination to ſupport his old competitor, *Henry* the ſixth, i the day of his diſtreſs, the count *de Charolois* made an offer to command his forces, which at firſt the king was willing to accept; but, having an intimation that the count *de Charolois* meditated ſome other deſign, and was inclined to commit ſome act of violence on his father's miniſters, he wrote to him in his laſt ſickneſs, a letter, in which was this remarkable ſentence: "For two ſuch kingdoms as my own, I would not "have the leaſt participation in an unworthy action [e]". His laſt ſickneſs was of a very ſtrange kind; one of his old ſervants intimated to him, that he would do well to be cautious, ſince he ſuſpected that there was a deſign to poiſon him, which affected the king to ſuch a degree, that he abſolutely refuſed all ſuſtenance for ſeveral days; and being at length perſuaded to eat, it proved too late, for his bowels being collapſed, nothing would paſs: in this condition he died, at *Meun* in *Berry*, on the 22d of *July*, in the ſixtieth year of his age, and in the thirty-ninth of his reign [f]. He was ſurnamed the *Victorious*, or, as others ſay, the *Well-ſerved*, from which laſt appellation, in all probability, modern hiſtorians have derived their opinion, that the great ſucceſſes of his reign were wholly owing to his miniſters and his generals; whereas contemporary writers, and even thoſe who flouriſhed in his ſon's days, aſcribe theſe great actions to the king himſelf, and particularly remark, that the high proſperity of his arms commenced at a time when he took the reſolution of command-

[d] Memoires d'Olivier de la Marche. P. Dan. Mezeray.
[e] Hiſt. Louis XI. par M. Du Clos. [f] Monst. Hiſtoire de J. Chart. Matth. De Couci. Dupleix. Du Tillet. Mez. P. Dan.

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ing in perſon. It has been even matter of doubt, whether his indolence and little regard to buſineſs in the beginning of his reign, was not the effects of a refined policy, which induced him to affect a character, that, though ſeemingly unworthy of a king, was, notwithſtanding, very ſuitable to his circumſtances; ſince, in the middle and latter part of his life, thoſe who lived in his court, and had a ſhare in the management of affairs, aſſure us, that he was a prince of aſſiduous or perpetual application, perfectly acquainted with every branch of the adminiſtration, and remarkably tender of the perſons and properties of his ſubjects (B). 1461.

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(B) There are ſo many particularities of weight, which reſpect the perſon of this prince, that we cannot avoid extending this note ſomewhat farther than uſual, or we intended. *Charles* became Dauphin and heir apparent of the crown in the fourteenth year of his age; and, from the misfortunes of thoſe times, had but an indifferent education; he incurred the diſpleaſure of his mother early, and was entirely in the hands of her enemies, and the partizans of the houſe of *Orleans*, who were moſt of them men of capacity, and ſome, particularly the preſident *Louvet* and *Tannegui du Chaſtel*, perſons of great merit and probity (1). The death of *John*, duke of *Burgundy*, was conſidered by them as an act of juſtice, and not as a murder, at which, though *Charles* was preſent, it may be reaſonably doubted whether he was in the ſecret. It muſt be allowed that he was conducted abſolutely by the great perſons about him; and, if his ſituation be conſidered, we need not wonder that he was very docile, or, that they were very indulgent, becauſe this was the intereſt of both. He had from nature, and if we recollect the characters of his parents, it will not ſeem ſtrange, a biaſs to pleaſure; and it had been impoſſible to manage his affairs, if he had been either of a reſtleſs or obſtinate temper (2). His concerns were in ſo low a ſituation at his firſt acceſſion to the throne, that he had not money to pay for a new pair of boots, and he was ſo little feared, that the tradeſman who brought them, being told ſo, carried them away (3). He had good officers; he had many of the nobility who adhered to him; but moſt of them had their particular views, in which, if he had croſſed them, they had been loſt. It is no wonder, therefore, that he bore many things which no other king would have done. At his coronation there was not one lay peer; but, for the ſake of preſerving ſtate, he nominated ſix lords, who repreſented them. Through the whole courſe of his reign, every incident, every conjuncture, was turned to his advantage; at firſt by his miniſters,

(1) *Monſtrelet, Jean Chartier, Gaguini Hiſt.* (2) *P. Æmil, Jean Chartier, Monſtrelet.* (3) *Amelot de la Houſſaie, Mémoires hiſtoriques, &c.*

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The acceſſion of

THE news of his father's death was immediately ſent to the new king by his uncle *Charles* of *Anjou*; and, though diſſimulation

proceſs of time, and by the leſſons they taught him, by himſelf (4). For this reaſon he drew as much profit from his adverſity as from his proſperity. Under the former he laid aſide his great courts becauſe they were too expenſive; he prohibited the currency of any money in his dominions but his own; in a word, he availed himſelf of neceſſity, while his territory was very ſmall, to bring in thoſe alterations which he thought for the advantage of the crown, and he made uſe of his power, in proportion as it became more extended, to eſtabliſh theſe new uſages through the whole kingdom (5). The coin was never ſo much debaſed as in his time; and yet under him it was no great evil; for, by raiſing the nominal value beyond any thing that had been attempted, he drew money into the countries that owned his authority, which, but for that expedient, had never been ſeen; and, when this was no longer neceſſary, he very wiſely laid it aſide (6). The length of the war gave him a fair opportunity to interdict private quarrels; that is, deciding them by the ſword. When they afterwards attempted to turn this upon him, by alleging, that the war had ſo reduced them, that they were in no condition to raiſe troops for his ſervice; he took them at their words, and not only diſpenſed with their raiſing troops as the conſtitution required for the preſent, but for the future; ſo that, without his permiſſion, they could never raiſe troops at all. Inſtead of theſe troops he brought in regular forces, for the payment of which he introduced the taille; and, by promiſing to put his coin on a right foot, and keep it ſo, he levied this with the good will of his ſubjects, but without the conſent of his ſtates (7). It was the gentle uſe of his prerogative that eſtabliſhed it; he made likewiſe ſome neceſſary alterations in the manner of adminiſtring juſtice; but he did every thing with ſuch an apparent view to the public good, and was ſo very tender of the lives and properties of his people, that though he altered or acted againſt all law, he was never conſidered as a tyrant. The clergy were more attached to him than to the pope; for he took nothing of them himſelf, and defended them from being ſtripped by the pontif (8). He was, in general, very grateful; and, though the caſe of *James Cœur* is ſaid to be an exception to this, yet, upon reading the record of his conviction, as we may call it, the reader may probably hold the king excuſed; ſince, whether he was guilty or not, the appearances againſt him were ſtrong, and the clamour of the people great; one of the charges againſt him being this, that, to extend his own com-

(4) *Comminet, Gaguini Hiſt. Du Tillet. P. Daniel, Le Gendre, C. de Boulanvilliers.* (5) *Jean Chartier, Du Tillet, Monſtrelet, Gaguini Hiſt. P. Æmil. de rebus Francor.* (7) *Le Blanc. P. Daniel, C. de Boulanvilliers.* (8) *Jean de Serres, Scrip. Dupleix, P. Daniel.*

merce,

diſſimulation was his principal character, it is ſaid he concealed his joy but very indifferently [s]. His firſt concern was as to his poſſeſſion; his next as to his coronation. He had ſurmiſed, in his own mind, that there might be an oppoſition to both; to prevent which, he deſired the company of the duke of *Burgundy*, and the count of *Charolois*, who at his requeſt attended him to *Rheims*, where he was crowned on the 15th of *Auguſt*; and, in the midſt of the ceremony, he drew his ſword, and had the honour of knighthood con- Lewis XI. *his coronation, and extraordinary proceedings at the beginning of his reign, contrary to*

[s] Chroniques de Monst. Meyer Chronic. Flandr. l. xvi.

merce, he had ſcarce left another merchant in the kingdom, and had acquired moſt of his wealth by applying the public caſh and credit to his own profit (9). Excellently ſerved by the men, *Charles* was yet more fortunate in the other ſex. His conſort, *Mary* of *Anjou*, loved him tenderly; and, as a proof of it, gave him little trouble in his amours, and great aſſiſtance in his buſineſs, in which the king always conſulted her. Yet her mildneſs and modeſty were ſo conſpicuous, that it appeared ſhe rather courted his favour than acted from any motives of ambition (10). By her he had *Lewis* his ſucceſſor; *Charles*, duke of *Berry*; *Violante*, the wife of *Amadeus*, duke of *Savoy*; *Katherine* who eſpouſed *Charles* the *Hardy*, duke of *Burgundy*; *Joan* who married *John* duke of *Bourbon*; and *Magdalen* who eſpouſed *Gaſcon* count of *Foix* (11). By *Agnes de Soreſ* he had three daughters, *Charlotte* who married *James de Brezze*, count of *Maulevrier*, poniarded by her huſband, who caught her in the act of adultery; *Margaret* eſpouſed to *Oliver de Coëtivi*; and *Jane*, married to *Anthony de Bueil*, count of *Sancerre* (12). The remains of this monarch were depoſited in the royal abbey of St. *Denis*; but in a manner which ſeemed to demonſtrate that the ſame good fortune that attended him through his life, was attached even to his breathleſs corpſe; for the butterflies of the court, crouding all together for *Flanders*, in order to enjoy the ſunſhine of the royal preſence; *Tannegui du Chaſtel*, the firſt favourite *Charles* had, took care of the funeral ſolemnity, which he performed very nobly at his own expence; and then retired to the court of *Bretagne*, being born a ſubject to that duke (13). On the monument of this king, there is a ſhort inſcription to this effect: *Here lies the thrice famous monarch* Charles *the* Seventh, *the* Victorious *and the* Well-ſerved (14).

(9) *Lannel, Recueil de pluſieurs Harangues, Remonſtrances, &c. Borel Antiquites Gazbiſes, Philoſophie hermetique.* (10) *Monſtrelet, Jean Chartier, Scrip. Duchesne.* (11) *P. Daniel, Le Gendre, C. de Boulainvilliers.* (12) *Menerey, Le Gendre, Pr. Henault.* (13) *Monſtrelet, Chartier, Argentre.* (14) *P. Daniel, Hiſtoire de France.*

ferred

the duke of Burgundy's *advice.*

ferred upon him by the duke of *Burgundy*, at his requeſt [h]. The duke then did him homage, not only in the ampleſt, but even in an unuſual form, which had in it more of friendſhip than policy. Some days after, they made their public entry into *Paris*, eſcorted by a great body of horſe, though there did not appear the ſlighteſt foundation for the ſuſpicions the king had that an oppoſition would be formed to his ſucceſſion [i]. He received very graciouſly the good advice given him by the duke of *Burgundy*, and his interpoſition in favour of his father's miniſters, but without ſuffering it to make the leaſt impreſſion; for he immediately turned out the chancellor *William Javenal des Urſins*, the admiral, one of the marſhals of *France*, and a great part of the parliament [k]. He diſcharged the duke of *Alenſon* from the caſtle of *Loches*, and pardoned him, not from clemency, but becauſe he conſpired againſt his father [l]. As a mark of his gratitude and affection for the count of *Charolois*, he declared him his lieutenant general in *Normandy*, with a penſion of twelve thouſand crowns a year; but at the ſame time, he ratified the treaty which his father had made with the people of *Liege*, though he knew it was made in reſentment of the protection afforded to himſelf by the duke of *Burgundy*, and had promiſed in the moſt ſolemn manner, that he would declare that alliance void, and even join with the duke againſt them [m]. At *Tours* he received the homage of *Francis* the ſecond, duke of *Bretagne*; but not ſatisfied with that, he made a journey into the duchy, under colour of a pilgrimage, that he might better judge of its ſtrength and condition; and, as ſome ſay, with an intent to ſteal the princeſs of *Bretagne* for the duke of *Savoy*, in which he was diſappointed by a ſudden froſt, and thought proper thereupon to releaſe her [n]. But while he was thus employed, an inſurrection happened at *Rheims*, where the people would not ſubmit to the taxes, which was quickly reduced, and near fourſcore citizens puniſhed with death, in hopes of ſtrengthening his authority. He had already framed in his mind the project of reſtoring his kinſman *John*, duke of *Calabria*, to the kingdom of *Naples*, and, to gain the aſſiſtance of pope *Pius*

[h] MATTH. Hiſtoire de Louis XI. J. DE SERRES. DUPLEIX. DU TILLET. [i] Memoires de PHIL. DE COMMINES. DU CLOS. Hiſtoire de Louis XI. P. DAN. MEZ. [k] P. ÆMIL. La Chronique Scandaleuſe. DU TILLET. CHALONS. [l] Proces manuſcrit du Duc d'Alonſo, publie par M. DUPUY. DUPLEIX. [m] Chroniques de MONST. Memoires de Phelippe de Commines. GAGUINI Hiſt. [n] Memoires d'Olivier de la Marche. Annales de France.

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the second, which was absolutely necessary, he cancelled the famous pragmatic sanction made by his father, the rather, because it was made by him. This was vehemently opposed in parliament by his attorney general, and that assembly absolutely refused their consent; upon which he turned out his attorney with disgrace, and sent the original instrument to *Rome*, where it was dragged through the streets to gratify the populace. But underhand he gave his attorney a sum of money, 1461
which was of greater value than his office, and allowed the parliament to maintain in execution, as a fundamental law, the very pragmatic sanction he had abolished [o]. His other project was to humble the dukes of *Burgundy* and *Bretagne*, though the former had defended him in his distress, and the predecessor of the latter had fixed his father on the throne. Such were the first exploits of this famous politician! Such the dictates of that genius, which has been considered as worthy of dictating to kings.

His ascendency over other powers, not owing to his policy but his good fortune.

THE affairs of *England* were at this time in the most distressed condition for themselves, and consequently in the most advantageous condition for *France*. *Margaret*, the consort of *Henry* the sixth, had obtained from him a small body of troops, under the command of the famous *Peter de Brezé*, not so much with a view to serve her, as to be rid of him for the present, and to have a fair chance of being rid of him for ever. He was defeated, lost his forces, and with some difficulty saved himself; the queen retired again to her father *René*, duke of *Lorrain*, and the king once more lent her twenty thousand livres, by way of mortgage upon *Calais*, for which he was to pay forty thousand crowns more when she should be able to put it into his hands [p]. About the same time he undertook to assist *John*, king of *Arragon*, against his subjects, who had taken arms to revenge the death of his son, the prince of *Viana*, poisoned by his mother-in-law, in favour of her own son *Ferdinand*, surnamed afterwards the *Catholic*, as we have shewn at large in its proper place. The *French* succours commanded by *James de Armagnac*, duke of *Nemours*, saved both the mother and the son; and *Lewis* likewise lent the monarch of *Arragon* three hundred thousand crowns, but took care to have the counties of *Rousillon* and *Cerdagne* yielded 1462
to him, subject however to a clause of redemption [q]. The general situation of things was very favourable for him, and it was this that enabled him to give law to his neighbours, whose

[o] Memoires de PHIL. DE COMMINES. Chroniques de MONST. J. DE SERRES. P. DAN. [p] HALL. HOLINSHED. STOWE. POLYD. VIRG. DU TILLET. [q] Recueil de Traites par LEONARD.

countries were in a diſtracted and diſtreſſed condition, into which, through the arts of his refined policy, *Lewis* in a ſhort time reduced his own; whereas a government like his father's had filled it with wealth and people.

Redeems the towns upon the river Somme, *from the duke of* Burgundy.

THE king of *Caſtile* having alſo ſome diſputes with the monarch of *Arragon*, *Lewis* undertook to mediate between them, in conſequence of which he was firſt preſent at the conferences held at *Bayonne*, and afterwards had an interview with the *Caſtilian* monarch, on the banks of the river *Bidaſſoa*, which ſome have thought gave birth to the implacable hatred between the two nations; for the *Spaniſh* king and his courtiers being moſt magnificently dreſſed, and, on the contrary, *Lewis* in ſo mean a garb, that he could not well be worſe, in which he was imitated by thoſe who attended him, the former treated the latter with ſcorn, while the latter looked upon them with contempt. The decree made by *Lewis* offended the *Caſtilians* highly, and yet gave the court of *Arragon* no content; but *Lewis* gave himſelf little trouble about either, having corrupted the miniſters of both [r]. This was his general expedient, from whence we may ſee the true reaſon why he acted, generally ſpeaking, according to his own notions; for knowing by experience that many had betrayed their truſts to him, he judged the only way to ſecure his own ſecrets was, to truſt them to none. He was very deſirous of recovering the towns upon the *Somme* out of the hands of the duke of *Burgundy*, to which he had a right, even by the treaty of *Arras*, on the payment of four hundred thouſand crowns; and in this he ſucceeded, by the aſſiſtance of *John de Croy*, and other gentlemen of that family; who having the ear of the duke, and being extremely hated by the count *de Charolois*, foreſaw they might one day ſtand in need of the king's protection [s]. *Lewis* had an interview with the duke upon this occaſion at *Hedin*, in which, according to cuſtom, he deceived him; for finding that he could not have the towns, unleſs he engaged to continue the governors the duke had appointed, he acquieſced; but turned them out as ſoon as he came into poſſeſſion. But, to qualify this, he put in others that were as agreeable to the duke, by which he kept things quiet [t]. All this time he was treating with *Francis* duke of *Bretagne*, whom he hated for his power, and for whoſe parts he had a great contempt; but that prince, though no pro-

[r] Chronica del Rey Don Henrique Quarto de ALONSO de Palencia. Memoires de PHIL. DE COMMINES. J. DE SERRES. DUPLEIX. DU TILLET. P. DAN. [s] Chroniques de MONST. MEYER Chronic. Flandr. [t] MATTH. Hiſtoire de Louis XI. P. ÆMIL.

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found politician himself, had very able ministers, and the king, when he least suspected it, found, that a weak man, well advised, might be too many for a prince of parts [u]. The duke of *Savoy*, being expelled his dominions by the intrigues of his younger son *Philip*, had recourse to *Lewis* for protection, who received him very graciously, and then sent for his son, that he might reconcile them. Prince *Philip* demanded a safe-conduct, which was sent him; notwithstanding which *Lewis* shut him up in the castle of *Loches*, and sent his father home to govern his dominions in quiet [w]. A stroke of justice, upon which he valued himself exceedingly. A. D. 1463.

THE facility with which he had hitherto executed his designs, and the persuasion he had of the superiority of his own talents, induced the king to form new projects of still a bolder nature. He had caused the restitution of the three towns granted to *Philip the Hardy*, in favour of his marriage with *Margaret of Flanders*, to be mentioned to the duke of *Burgundy*, who rejected it with great heat; at which the king pretended much concern, and seemed desirous of discussing this and some others points in a new conference at *Hedin*. But the real design of this interview was of a very different nature [x]. He understood that the count *de Charolois* was at the *Hague*, from whence he was to make a tour to the sea-coast: upon which he ordered the bastard *de Rubempré*, a debauched determined bravo, to embark on board one of his frigates, and sail with forty or fifty desperate men like himself; to land with as many of these as he thought proper, and to secure his person, of which, as soon as he had received advice, his next design was to post to *Hedin*, with a body of troops, in order to make sure of the duke of *Burgundy*'s person [y]. This plan miscarried thro' the imprudence of *Rubempré*; who, being seen and known in a public house, was arrested on his general character: upon which, the vessel he commanded sailing abruptly, gave a strong suspicion of his errand; with which the count *de Charolois* having acquainted his father, he retired precipitately from *Hedin*, which threw great odium upon the king [z]. *Lewis*, exceedingly vexed at this, and still more at his disappointment, sent a solemn embassy to the duke, to de- *Attempts to seize the persons of the duke and the count* de Charolois, *but miscarries.*

[u] D'ARGENT. Hist. de Bretagne. Memoires DE LA MARCHE. P. ÆMIL. J. DE SERRES. [w] Chroniques de MONST. Memoires de PHIL. DE COMMINES. DUPLEIX. DU TILLET. [x] MEYER Chronic. Flandr. MATTHIEU Histoire de Louis XI. P. DANIEL. [y] Chroniques de MONST. [z] Annales de France. Chroniques de MONST. DU CLOS. Histoire de Louis XI.

mand that *Rubempré* ſhould be ſet at liberty; that ſatisfaction ſhould be given him, for the inſolent reflections made upon his conduct in the *Low Countries*; and that *Olivier de La Marche*, and a preacher, who had been the chief reporters of theſe things, ſhould be delivered up [a]. The duke juſtified his ſon's conduct, and would comply with none of them [b]. The count *de Charolois* anſwered with great warmth the reflections made upon his conduct, and bid the archbiſhop of *Narbonne*, one of the embaſſadors, tell the king, that indeed his chancellor had rattled him ſoundly, but that he would give him good cauſe to repent it before the year came about; which
1464. was certainly a much ſtronger mark of his vivacity than of his prudence [c].

The manner in which the confederacy for the public good was conducted.

THE king, having heard the archbiſhop's report, very eaſily apprehended that ſome miſchief was brewing, but, with all his ſpies and all his ſuſpicions, he was not able to find out where [d]. The duke of *Bretagne* had entered early into cloſe connections with the count of *Charolois*, and had alſo negotiated with *Edward* the fourth of *England*, which the king knew; and it was this that ſo much raiſed his reſentments againſt them both. But they, knowing well enough that they could not aſſemble forces ſufficient to look the king in the face, began to cabal with the nobility, to aggravate the loſſes they had ſuſtained, to alarm their fears, and to make them conceive *Bretagne* and *Burgundy* were the bulwarks of the *French* nobleſſe, which, once ſubverted, all the lords in the kingdom muſt lie at the king's mercy, which, by the way, they had good reaſon to believe they ſhould not experience in any great degree [e]. The great men who had been turned out upon his acceſſion, felt the ſmart of that wound, the faithful ſervants of his father ſaw themſelves diſtinguiſhed only by marks of his diſpleaſure, and his chief miniſters were not only new men, but men of low birth and bad characters. Cardinal *Balue*, his prime miniſter, reſembled his maſter; he relied upon his own arts, which he practiſed ſo much and ſo often that nobody relied upon him [f]. There were malecontents enough of all ranks; the duke of *Bretagne*, or rather the duke's miniſters, knew how to unite them; and his emiſſaries, in

[a] Memoires de PHIL. DE COMMIN. Memoires DE LA MARCHE. DUPLEIX. P. DANIEL. [b] Chroniques de MONST. J. DE SERRES. MEZERAY. [c] Memoires de COMMIN. P. ÆMIL. DU TILLET. [d] DU CLOS. Hiſtoire de Louis XI. [e] Nouvelle Hiſtoire de Bretagne. CHALONS. [f] Memoires de PHIL. DE COMMINES. GAGUINI Hiſtoria. DUPLEIX.

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the habits of monks of different orders, met, conferred with, and engaged them in a *confederacy* for the *public good* [g], which every one of them underſtood to be the fixing himſelf where he deſired. There were two things in the conduct of this buſineſs very remarkable; the firſt, that upwards of five hundred engaged in it without betraying each other; the other, that they conferred commonly in public places, moſtly in the church of *Notre Dame:* ſo that the king's ſpies, who were hunting for cabals and private meetings, were abſolutely defeated [h]. The king, in the mean time, was puſhing the duke of *Bretagne* with violence, not perceiving that he had any ſupport; the duke ſent a miniſter to gain time for him; the king laboured to corrupt that miniſter; he ſeemed to give way, adviſed the king to advance towards the frontiers of *Bretagne*, while he was ſeducing his brother the duke of *Berry*, who, by accompanying the king in this journey, found means to make his eſcape [k]. So that, with all his intelligence, the firſt ſenſe of his danger aroſe from hearing that the duke's miniſter and his brother were withdrawn together; and thus he diſcerned the ſtorm, juſt as it began to break over his head [l].

Battle of Montl'heri, in which both parties have the ſkill to get themſelves beaten.

As ſoon as the duke of *Berry* found himſelf in ſafety, he publiſhed, or rather he ſuffered to be publiſhed in his name, a manifeſto, containing a ſevere cenſure on the king's adminiſtration, and declaring the confederates had nothing in view but reviving the ſpirit of the laws, relieving the people, and reſtoring good government, whence they denominated their cauſe the *Bien Public*, and ſtiled their enterprize, *the war of the public good* [k]. The duke of *Calabria* his nephew, the duke of *Bourbon* his couſin, the duke of *Bretagne*, and the count of *Charolois*, princes of his blood, the old count *de Longueville* his father's faithful ſervant, nay, the count *de Armagnac*, whom he had pardoned, and, in ſhort, all the great nobility, declared for this league againſt the king, and placed his brother, the preſumptive heir of the crown, at their head [l]. They armed on both ſides: the king had at firſt the better, and might have had ſome of them at his mercy, if they had not made uſe of his own arts, treated with him, and as ſoon as their friends made a diverſion in their favour, declared again for the league [m]. While the king was engaged in the

[g] Memoires de la Marche. Memoires de Commin. J. de Serres. Du Tillet. [h] Du Clos. Hiſtoire de Louis XI. Dupleix. P. Daniel. [i] Matth. Hiſtoire de Louis XI. [k] Gaguini Hiſt. [l] Memoires de Olivier de la Marche. [m] P. de Commin. Hiſtoire Louis XI. P. Daniel.

provinces, the count *de Charolois* advanced directly to *Paris*, in hopes of ſurpriſing it; but the inhabitants ſtood on their defence. He expected to have been joined by the *Bretons*, but they did not come up in time, and this gave the king an opportunity of marching to the caſtle of *Montl'heri*, about eight leagues from *Paris*; neither party intended to fight, and yet, on the 16th of *July*, a battle enſued, which was owing to one of the king's pieces of art; for, having demanded of *Peter de Breze*, who commanded his vanguard, whether he had not ſome intelligence with the confederates, he, to convince him of the contrary, engaged without orders [n]. The battle laſted five hours, and may be truly ſaid to have ended in the defeat of both armies; that is, each looked upon themſelves as defeated, and, in their firſt conſternation, a great part of both armies fled above one hundred miles [o]. After this terror was over, both ſides claimed a victory, to which neither had any title. Yet the chiefs on both ſides behaved well. The count *de Charolois*, like a gallant ſoldier, the king like a great captain, who, tho' his troops were beaten, rallied them in good time, and marched away to *Paris*.

War for the public good *ended.*

THE count *de Charolois* marched to *Eſtampes*, where he was joined by all the confederates; and the duke of *Calabria*, amongſt his troops, had five hundred *Swiſs*, which were the firſt that ever were ſeen in *France* [p]. The confederates had now an army of upwards of 100,000 men, ſo that they were clearly ſtrong enough to have carried all things at their pleaſure, but their weakneſs aroſe from their ſtrength; for their generals were ſo numerous, that their army was under no command. The king, who had once thoughts of retiring into *Switzerland* or the duchy of *Milan*, had recourſe to negotiation; and, finding that go on ſlowly, demanded a conference with the count of *Charolois*. When they met, he cried out, *Brother, am I ſafe?* and, upon his bare aſſurance that he was ſo, riſqued his perſon by putting it in his power [q]. He began his diſcourſe with an odd compliment; "I find, Sir," ſaid he, "that you are a prince of my blood, and a man of "honour; I received your meſſage by the archbiſhop; you "have kept your word, and that ſome months within your "time; ſo that I ſhall treat with you without fear of being "deceived." By the advice of the duke of *Milan*, who ſent his ſon with a corps to his aſſiſtance, the king diſpatched the treaty as ſoon as he could; and, by a ſtroke of his own

[n] GAGUIN, Hiſt. Memoires DE LA MARCHE. Memoires de P. DE COMMIN. DU TILLET. CHALONS. LE GEND. [o] GAGUINI Hiſt. DUPLEIX. [p] COMMIN. J. DE SERRES. P. DANIEL. [q] Vide auct. ſupra citat.

policy,

policy, inſtead of one made two. The firſt at *Conflans*, with the count of *Charolois*, dated the 5th of *October*, and the ſecond at *St. Maur*, with the reſt of the confederates, dated the 29th of the ſame month [r]. In theſe, as is uſual, the public good was the form, while the ſubſtance of the treaties tended only to private advantage. The king's buſineſs was to make an end of the war, and to contrive afterwards how to avoid executing a peace, in which he granted to the confederates all they thought fit to deſire, and left himſelf as much below the rank of a king, as his paſſion for arbitrary power had ſet him, while unoppoſed, above it. This ſcene was ſingular enough; and yet *France* is not the only country where this ſcene has happened. A. D. 1465.

AT the very time of his concluding theſe treaties, the king proteſted, before ſome of the officers of the parliament, whom he could truſt, againſt their validity, as being equally contrary to the intereſt of the crown and to his intentions [s]. He took care to detach the duke of *Bourbon* from the league, by owning frankly, that he had ſhewn too little regard for him, and promiſing to repair it. He was the ableſt and moſt moderate of the confederates, and therefore the king ſtudied to gain him [t]. He next made a treaty at *Caen* with the duke of *Bretagne*, who had got poſſeſſion of ſome places in *Normandy*, which, he foreſaw, would embarraſs him with his brother [w]. As ſoon as this fell out, the king marched into that province with a conſiderable army, and, ſometimes under one pretence, and ſometimes under another, reduced almoſt all the great towns, ſome by fair means and ſome by force, the count *de Charolois* being, in the mean time, engaged in a war againſt the people of *Dinant*. Theſe, during the late war, had made a diverſion in favour of *Lewis*, and being now abandoned by him, and by the people of *Liege*, were given up to the reſentment of the houſe of *Burgundy*, who puſhed it to ſo extravagant a length, that they maſſacred the inhabitants and deſtroyed the city [w]. But, being thus employed, they abandoned the unfortunate *Charles*, who was forced to fly to the court of the duke of *Bretagne*, where he was obliged to ſell his plate for his ſubſiſtence; and, being neither duke of *Berry* nor *Normandy*, was ſtiled ſimply Monſieur, as the king's brother. *Lewis*, knowing the diſtreſs of the duke of *Calabria*, which his family were in no condition to relieve, as if he

Lewis, by his arts, recovers almoſt all he had been by force obliged to yield.

[r] Memoires d'OLIV. DE LA MARCHE. Memoires de COMMIN. DUPLEIX. DU CLOS. Hiſtoire de Louis XI. [s] J. DE SERRES. FRED. LEONARD. [t] Memoires de COMMIN. LE GEND. [u] Memoires DE LA MARCHE. P. DANIEL. [w] La Chronique Scandaleuſe. DE TILLET.

had forgot what was paſſed, ſent him a large ſum of money; but, at the ſame time, he puniſhed the count *du Maine*, who had hitherto maintained a high place in his favour, for having held private intelligence with the confederates [x]. He was very aſſiduous in executing that part of the late treaty which was
1466. leaſt thought of, the naming a ſpecial commiſſion for the enquiring into and redreſſing grievances; but he had taken care to make ſo ſtrict an enquiry into the conduct of ſome of the great lords of the league, and their dependants, and to procure ſuch clear evidence of whatever he charged them with, that he converted his tribunal into an inquiſition againſt his enemies: thus, long before the end of the next year, the king had freed himſelf from the moſt inconvenient clauſes of the treaties of *Conflans* and *St. Maur*, and was in a fair way of freeing himſelf from the reſt, relying not a little on the count of *St. Pol*, of the imperial houſe of *Luxembourg*, on whom, after giving him the conſtable's ſtaff of *France*, he had alſo beſtowed the ſiſter of his queen in marriage, that he might effectually detach him from the intereſts of the houſe of *Burgundy* [y]; in which he ſucceeded but indifferently.

Death of Philip the Good, *D. of* Burgundy, *is ſucceeded by* Charles the Hardy, *or the* Terrible.

THE king, purſuing his own meaſures, took into his favour many of thoſe he had formerly diſgraced; amongſt the reſt the lord of *Dammartin*, whom he had even kept ſome time in priſon: what was very wonderful, he affected to treat him and the reſt with unuſual confidence; employed them in affairs of the greateſt importance; and, by rewarding them bountifully, really attached ſome of them to his ſervice [z]. In like manner he gained the famous earl of *Warwick*, who had acquired the ſingular ſurname of the *Make-king*: he was at this time upon bad terms with *Edward* the fourth, and, coming over to *Normandy*, *Lewis* went to meet him, entertained him at *Rouen* as if he had been a ſovereign prince, and ſent him back in ſuch a diſpoſition, that his country never enjoyed peace till he loſt the power of diſturbing it, together with his life [a]. The death of *Philip the Good*, duke of *Burgundy*, gave the king no ſmall chagrin [b]. He knew that his ſucceſſor, *Charles the Hardy*, hated him; and, which affected him more, underſtood him better than any other man in *Europe*. He ſtirred up the people of *Liege* to renew the war, and, at the ſame time, ſent the cardinal *Balue* and the conſtable *St.*

[x] Memoires de COMMIN. DU CLOS. Hiſtoire de Louis XI. DU TILLET. [y] Memoires DE LA MARCHE. Memoires de COMM. DUPLEIX. [z] J. DE SERRES. P. DANIEL. Hiſtoire de Louis XI. [a] Memoires de COMM. HALL. HOLINSH. STOWE. SPEED. [b] GAGUIN. Hiſtoire. P. ÆMIL. MEZERAY.

Pol to ſooth that prince; and, if that would not do, to try whether, if the king abandoned the *Liegois*, the duke might not be prevailed upon to give up his ally the duke of *Bretagne*. But they miſcarried in both; the duke beat the people of *Liege*, and forced them to ſubmit, while the duke of *Bretagne*, in virtue of a treaty with the duke of *Alenſon*, invaded and made a progreſs in *Normandy*. This did not hinder *Lewis* from purſuing his ſcheme, which was to enter *Picardy* with a large army, at the ſame time that the admiral, by his orders, invaded *Brittagne* with one as powerful [c]. He cauſed likewiſe a review to be made of the citizens of *Paris*, on whom he affected to rely very much, tho' in reality he had a meaner opinion of them in their military capacity than they deſerved; the whole force of their militia amounted at this time to eighty thouſand men, and of theſe about thirty thouſand were in a condition to bear arms. His miniſter made a freſh attempt to engage the parliament of *Paris* to approve the king's edict for aboliſhing the *Pragmatic ſanction* [d], but with no effect; and the king, to conciliate the minds of his ſubjects, publiſhed a declaration, importing that, for the future, he would diſpoſe of no place till it became actually vacant by death, reſignation, or forfeiture.

The aſſembly of Tours, in which the king turns the ſpecious phraſe of the public good *on his enemies.*

In order to pacify the troubles of the ſtate, and to ſecure the aſſiſtance of his ſubjects, *Lewis* called an aſſembly of the ſtates at *Tours*, in which he gave very convincing proofs of his great talents for government: he laid before them the conſequences that muſt inevitably attend the alienation of *Normandy*, in favour of his brother, expreſſed at the ſame time an earneſt deſire of executing the late treaties, as far as they tended to the public good; by which he turned that pretence upon his enemies. He pointed out the dangers to which the kingdom was expoſed from the ambition of the dukes of *Burgundy* and *Bretagne*, preſſed the ſtates to appoint commiſſioners for redreſſing grievances, and aſſured them that the beſt way of making their court to him was by relieving his people [e]. This behaviour had all the good effects he could deſire; the ſtates declared the province of *Normandy* inſeparable from the crown; aſſured the king of their inviolable duty, and their willingneſs to ſupport him againſt all his enemies; and appointed ſuch a committee for the redreſs of grievances as he deſired [f]. It is amazing that a prince, who underſtood

[c] Nouvelle Hiſt. de Bretagne. Du Clos. Hiſtoire de Louis XI. [d] La Chronique Scandaleuſe. J. de Serres. Du Tillet. P. Daniel. [e] Memoires de Ph. de Commin. [f] Dupleix.

his

his own intereſts ſo well, who was ſo capable of purſuing them in a right way, and whoſe endeavours, when he took this way, were attended with ſo much ſucceſs, ſhould, notwithſtanding, act ſo ſtrange a part as he ſometimes did, and thereby bring himſelf into greater diſtreſs and danger, with greater detriment alſo to his reputation, than even the weakeſt of his predeceſſors underwent. The ſource of this was his want of probity; for right meaſures can never be taken for wrong ends; and the prince who deceives others ſets a precedent for deceiving himſelf. At this very time he proceeded with great ſeverity againſt ſome who had ſtood higheſt in his favour, and who were not more in fault than thoſe who retained it: as for inſtance, *Charles de Melun*, great maſter of his houſhold, and governor of *Paris* during the late war, to whom he had given the confiſcation of *Dammartin*'s eſtates, being now in the king's good graces, ſet on foot a proſecution againſt *Charles de Melun*, and, being joined in it by cardinal *de Balue*, the unfortunate *Melun* was condemned and executed, and *Dammartin* retrieved his eſtates; neither was this the only ſeverity of the kind [g]; but we cannot multiply inſtances here, becauſe they would riſe of themſelves to a volume.

He reduces the D of Bretagne *to a neceſſity of making a new treaty on his terms.*

THE king having taken theſe precautions, confiding in the excellent intelligence he had, and the ſuperiority of his forces, cauſed the duke of *Bretagne* to be attacked with ſo much vigour, while he in perſon covered his frontiers againſt the duke of *Burgundy*, that the firſt-mentioned duke, perceiving moſt of the places he had taken in *Normandy* loſt, and that the duke of *Calabria*, who commanded the king's forces, was equally capable and inclined to puſh his conqueſts, found it neceſſary to treat: having, with ſome difficulty, obtained a truce for twelve days, in that ſpace a treaty was concluded at *Ancenis* [h], by which it was ſtipulated that the king ſhould grant his brother an annuity of thirty-ſix thouſand livres, till a proper appenage ſhould be ſettled by the conſtable and the duke of *Calabria*; and the king, to make the full uſe of his ſuperiority, inſiſted that his brother and the duke ſhould notify the concluſion of this treaty to the duke of *Burgundy*, with whom he was then treating, in hopes that it would influence him; but it produced quite a contrary effect; he gave ſo little credit to the news, that he was on the point of hanging the herald [i] that brought it: and, when he was ſatisfied that it was true, he began to aſſemble forces with ſuch diligence, that the

[g] Memoires de COMMIN. GAGUINI Hiſtoire. P. ÆMIL.
[h] Nouvelle Hiſtoire de Bretagne. [i] J. DE SERRES. DUPLEIX. P. DANIEL.

king, to prevent things from coming to extremities, was content to pay him thirty-ſix thouſand crowns [k]. *Dammartin* remonſtrated to the king, that he had a force ſufficient to humble him as he had done the other duke; and that the ſhorteſt way was to attack him before he had aſſembled his whole ſtrength. But cardinal *Balue*, who held an intelligence with the duke of *Burgundy* and with the other princes, did not care to ſee things decided by the ſword: he therefore perſuaded *Lewis*, that, having ſo ſuperior a talent in negotiation, he ſhould engage the duke to give him an interview, in which it was impoſſible he could avoid coming to the king's terms [l]. This propoſition ſo flattered the king's vanity, that, tho' not without ſome difficulty, he engaged the duke to name *Peronne Picardy*, then in his power, for the place of their meeting, and thither accordingly he went, unattended by guards, with a few only of his domeſtic officers, that the duke, being ſtruck by this act of confidence, might be the leſs able to defend himſelf in their conferences [m]. As another means of influencing his reſolution, he commanded ſome of his ableſt emiſſaries to enter *Liege*, and to perſuade the inhabitants to give the duke an alarm on that ſide, on which he had ever found him moſt apprehenſive. Thus, full of confidence in his own arts, he ruſhed almoſt headlong into deſtruction [n], in a manner ſcarce excuſable in the weakeſt prince that ever lived.

Throws himſelf into the hands of the D. of Burgundy who treats him in the ſame manner.

THE duke received him with all poſſible marks of regard and reſpect, cauſed him to be lodged very conveniently in the town, and ſhewed himſelf, as *Lewis* expected, highly pleaſed with this ſignal mark of confidence. While the negotiations were going on, prince *Philip* of *Savoy*, and ſome of the *French* exiles who had followed the fortune of prince *Charles*, came to *Peronne*, to pay their court to the duke; and, being moſt of them ſoldiers of fortune, brought abundance of gens d'arms along with them. The king, being alarmed at this, inſtead of quitting the town as he might have done, demanded of the duke to go and reſide in the caſtle, which was very readily granted [o]. He was ſcarce well fixed there, before the duke received intelligence that the people of *Liege*, by the perſuaſion of the *French* emiſſaries, had again broke out into an inſurrection, ſurprized the town of *Tongres*, made his brother-in-law their biſhop priſoner, cut the garriſon to pieces, and 1468.

[k] Memoires de PH. DE COMMIN. DU TILLET. MEZERAY. [l] D'ARGENT. Hiſt. de Bretagne. MATTH. Hiſtoire de Louis XI. P. DANIEL. [m] Memoires de COMMIN. [n] J. DE SERRES. DU CLOS. Hiſtoire de Louis XI. [o] Memoires de COMMIN.

murdered

murdered ſix of his canons [p]. The duke, in the firſt tranſport of his reſentment, ordered the caſtle gates to be ſhut, double guards to be poſted, and, in ſhort, made the king thoroughly ſenſible that he was a priſoner, and at his mercy [q]. It is impoſſible to expreſs the diſconſolate condition of *Lewis*, whoſe apartments were at the very foot of the tower, in which the count of *Vermandois* had confined *Charles the Simple*. In this wretched ſtate he continued three days, but had ſo much preſence of mind as to cauſe a large ſum in ready money, which he had brought with him, to be immediately diſtributed amongſt the duke's domeſtics, with a promiſe of twice as much more. This anſwered his purpoſe very well; all the duke's counſellors ſtrove to pacify him; and at length he went to the king and concluded a treaty, or rather preſcribed ſuch terms as he thought proper to a prince whoſe life and liberty was intirely in his power [r]. *Lewis* bore all with ſignal patience. The duke ſtipulated that the king's brother ſhould have *Champagne* and *Brie*, fixed every thing to his own ſatisfaction, and then obliged the king to march with him againſt *Liege*, which had revolted at his own requeſt [s]. This was undoubtedly the moſt mortifying incident of his whole life, and was very near being the laſt of it. The duke of *Burgundy* was ſo much afraid of his making his eſcape, that he poſted a guard of three hundred choice men between his own quarters and thoſe of *Lewis* to prevent it, in caſe he ſhould make any attempt. The inhabitants, guided only by deſpair, in the middle of a dark night, made a furious ſally, in which, if it had not been for that guard, they had made themſelves maſters both of the king and duke, and were at laſt repulſed with great difficulty. But the place was afterwards carried, partly by ſurprize and partly by ſtorm, the king being preſent in the attack; and, having thus fulfilled, in every particular, the purpoſe of his vaſſal, had his leave to return; and the duke had ſo much reſpect for him, as to ſuffer him to depart before he ſet fire to the town and maſſacred the inhabitants [t]. On his return *Lewis* confirmed the treaty in every particular, notified its contents to the proper tribunals, and publiſhed an edict, forbidding any perſons, under the ſevereſt penalties, from ſpeaking evil of the duke of *Burgundy*. At the ſame time he ordered all the magpyes and jays to be deſtroyed, and a note to be brought him of their maſters names;

[p] Duplex. Du Tillet. Chalons. Le Gend. [q] Gaguini Hiſt. Annales de France. Ph. de Commin. [r] Memoires de la Marche. Matth. Hiſt. de Louis XI. [s] Du Clos. Hiſtoire de Louis IX. [t] Memoires de Commin. J. de Serres.

which

which odd circumſtance was owing to their being taught to cry, *Peronne, Peronne*, which the king thought he was in no danger of forgetting, without the help of theſe ridiculous remembrancers [u].

AT the time the king took leave of the duke of *Burgundy*, he aſked him what was to be done, if his brother ſhould not be ſatisfied with the appenage he had fixed for him in the counties of *Champagne* and *Brie*? The duke, who did not penetrate the king's meaning, told him, that he ſhould not interfere any more between them; and that all he deſired was that Monſieur ſhould be ſatisfied. The king, building upon this, propoſed to his brother the duchy of *Guienne* [w], with ſome of the adjacent lordſhips, being extremely unwilling to fix his brother in a kind of independent principality, between *Flanders* and *Burgundy*, by which he would have an opportunity, in caſe any new diſputes aroſe, of introducing troops into the very heart of his dominions. But, while he had this and other negotiations in his mind, an accident diſcovered a moſt dangerous and wicked correſpondence, that had been long carried on by his prime miniſter the cardinal *Balue*, who had lately merited that title from the court of *Rome*, by betraying the intereſts of the nation, and holding a ſecret correſpondence with the duke of *Burgundy*. He and the biſhop of *Verdun*, a man of as much ſubtlety and intrigue, and whoſe morals were as bad as his own, intruſted their letters to the ſame man, who being ſeized for a ſpy, and theſe letters found about him, the king had at once a convincing proof that this man, whom, from an obſcure condition, ſuitable to the meanneſs of his birth, he had raiſed, not without violence and injuſtice, to the higheſt dignities in church and ſtate, was laying open his moſt ſecret counſels, to the prince in the world he had the moſt reaſon to dread, and, at the ſame time pointing out how they might be defeated, and all this merely to render himſelf neceſſary, to hold the king, as it were, in toils, and to ſecure himſelf a retreat if he ſhould loſe his favour.

The perfidious practices of cardinal Balue *and the biſhop of* Verdun *diſcovered.*

BOTH theſe prelates were arreſted, and convicted, partly on proofs, and partly by their own confeſſions; but the court of *Rome* interpoſing, the king contented himſelf with confining both of them in iron caſes of eight feet ſquare, the biſhop in the *Baſtile*, and the cardinal in ſeveral places, for upwards of eleven years; who was not only the leſs pitied, as he was guilty, but as he was the inventor of that cruel kind of cuſtody in which he was kept [x]. After this he found his brother

Both of them puniſhed with unprecedented ſeverity.

[u] DU TILLET. MEZERAY. P. DANIEL. [w] La Chronique Scandaleuſe. MATTH. Hiſtoire de Louis XI. DUPLEIX. [x] Memoires de COMMIN. J. DE SERRES.

more

more tractable; inſomuch, that he conſented to the propoſed exchange, and, in conſequence of a kind of reconciliation, they had an interview, where the duke of *Guienne* made profound ſubmiſſions to the king, who was ſo much perſuaded of his ſincerity, that he not only honoured him with the order of *St. Michael*, which he inſtituted about this time, but propoſed alſo a marriage between him and the princeſs of *Caſtile*, which had been a fair ſtep to the regal dignity[y] (C). He gave

[y] Dupleix. Du Tillet. Mezeray. Chalons. Le Gend.

(C) The order of the Star, inſtituted by king *John*, being ſunk into contempt, and other orders flouriſhing with great ſplendor in different countries, but more eſpecially in *England*, *Caſtile*, *Portugal*, and *Burgundy*, *Lewis* inſtituted, on the 1ſt of *Auguſt*, 1469, at *Amboiſe*, that of St. *Michael* (1), who, it ſeems, was reputed, in antient times, the protector of the realm of *France*, and, for that reaſon, his feaſt kept with great ſplendor and magnificence (2). The collar of this order was compoſed of ſcallop ſhells of gold, joined one with another, faſtened on ſmall chains or males of the ſame metal. In the midſt was annexed an oval of gold, on which was depicted a riſing hill, whereon ſtood St. *Michael*, trampling upon the dragon, all curiouſly enameled. To which, ſaith *Menenius*, was adjoined this epigraph, *Immenſi Tremor Oceani* (3). The habit appointed by the founder, was a mantle of white damaſk, hanging down to the ground, furred with ermin, having its cape embroidered with gold (4), and the border of the robe interwoven with ſcallops of gold. The chaperon or hood, with its long tippet, was made of crimſon velvet (5). The grand aſſembly was, by the ſovereign and knights, to be held, as a ſolemn feſtival, on *Michaelmas-day*, and the place appointed for the celebration of theſe pompous ceremonies was the church of *Mount St. Michael*, in *Normandy*, built by St. *Authbert*, upon St. *Michael*'s appearing to him in a viſion, and liberally endowed by *Rollo* duke of *Normandy*, and his ſucceſſors (6), but afterwards removed to *Bois de Vincennes*, not far from *Paris* (7). The king propoſed that the number of knights ſhould be thirty-ſix; of whom he named fifteen, his brother the duke of *Guienne*, the duke of *Bourbon*, and the conſtable, being the three firſt (8). By their oath of admiſſion, they ſwore to ſupport the dignity, and to defend the

(1) *Chartre de l'erection de l'ordre de St. Michael, dans les Memoires de Bethune, vol. cott.* 8445. (2) *St. Marthe de la Maiſon d: France, tom.* i. *p.* 59. 656. *Miræns, p.* 641. (3) *In delic. equeſtr.* (4) *In Statutis, art.* xxxii. (5) *Theatre d'Honneur, liv.* iii. (6) *Ar. Monſtier, Neuſtria Pia, p.* 371. (7) *Theatre d'Honneur, liv.* iii. *Ar. Monſtier in Neuſtria Pia, p.* 375. (8) *Gaguini Hiſt. Memoires de Philip de Commines. P. Æmil. de rebus Francor. P. Daniel.*

rights,

gave assistance also to his nephew the duke of *Calabria*, who, at the head of the revolted *Catalans*, gave king *John* of *Arragon* and *Navarre* so much trouble, that he was in no condition to recover the counties of *Roussillon* and *Cerdagna*, of which, under colour of a mortgage, king *Lewis* had been long in possession, and was by no means desirous they should be redeemed. But this gleam of tranquility, with which the king was highly delighted, did not last long; for that spirit of intrigue which he had introduced and encouraged, proved the perpetual source of foreign and domestic troubles, during the whole course of his reign. Such are the blessed effects of that refined system of self-interest, which is falsely called policy [z]. A. D. 1469.

THE duke of *Burgundy* had an only daughter, the greatest heiress in *Europe*, in case the duke died without issue male; and the malecontents in *France* were desirous that she should have espoused Monsieur; it is believed the duke himself was not averse to this, which induced him to fix the counties of *Champagne* and *Brie* for the appenage of that prince, and made him so much displeased at seeing that disposition altered by the last treaty, which, however, the king had, in some measure, justified, by the advice he took from the duke at his departure from *Liege* [a]. Monsieur himself also had an inclination to this match, in preference to that of *Spain*, which had been negotiated for him by his brother. The duke *de Bretagne* was likewise in this way of thinking, knowing that the king bore always in mind the desire he had of reducing his power, and he discovered this disposition by refusing the order of St. *Michael*, which *Lewis* had sent him [b]. The affairs of *England* took a very extraordinary turn; *Margaret*, queen to *Henry* the sixth, again solicited the king's favour and assist- *Assembly of nobles at Tours, by whose advice the king declares war against the D. of Burgundy;*

[z] La Chronique Scandaleuse. J. DE SERRES. P. DANIEL. [a] Annales de France. La Chronique Scandaleuse. [b] Memoires de COMMIN. GAGUINI Hist. DUPLEIX. DU TILLET. MEZERAY.

rights, of the crown, the authority of the king and of his successors, in spite of and against all persons whatever. In all probability, it was to obtain this security of the duke of *Bretagne*, that he made him an offer of his order; and it is not at all improbable, that it was on the score of this oath, tho' he pretended other matters, that the duke refused it (9). But it is out of question, that, from his refusal, *Lewis* conceived an implacable hatred against him, of which he felt the effects.

(9) *La Chronique Scandaleuse. Gaguini Histoire. Memoires de Philip de Comminet. Argent. Histoire de Bretagne. Le Gend.*

ance,

ance, having with her the prince of *Wales* her ſon, the famous earl of *Warwick*, and the duke of *Clarence*, brother to *Edward* the fourth, who had married the earl's eldeſt daughter. *Lewis*, conſidering that the duke of *Burgundy* had married the ſiſter of *Edward*, had lately accepted the order of the garter, and was intirely in the intereſt of that prince, liſtened more readily to the queen's ſollicitations than he had formerly done, and furniſhed the lords of her party with ſuch ſuccours, as enabled them to return to *England*, where they defeated *Edward*, replaced *Henry* upon the throne, and forced the former to retire for ſhelter to his brother the duke of *Burgundy* [c]. The king thought there could not be a more favourable opportunity than this to recover the cities and towns in *Picardy*; but, in all probability, he would not have ventured into an open war with the duke of *Burgundy*, if he had not been ſollicited to it by ſome of thoſe who had been formerly in cloſe correſpondence with that prince, particularly the conſtable *de St. Pol*, and the readineſs expreſſed by the dukes of *Guienne* and *Bretagne* to take arms in his quarrel [d]. He judged it, however, expedient, to give the better colour to this proceeding, that he ſhould ſeem ſollicited to it by his ſubjects, and therefore he called an aſſembly of the princes and great lords at *Tours*, where they proceeded with great warmth againſt the duke of *Burgundy*; and, upon the complaint of the count *d'Eu*, ordered him to be ſummoned as a peer of *France*, to anſwer in parliament [e]. It was foreſeen he would act as he really did upon this occaſion; that is, treat the ſummons with contempt, and ſend the uſher who brought it to priſon: therefore care was taken that the army ſhould be ready to act immediately, with which the conſtable preſently made himſelf maſter of *St. Quintin's*, before the duke could well bring an army into the field [f]: what aſtoniſhed him more than the loſs of the town, was the retreat of his natural brother *Baldwin*, whom *Lewis* had found means to corrupt; and the *Flemiſh* writers aſſert, that a plot was likewiſe laid for poiſoning the duke [g]; which, from what the reader will hereafter ſee, cannot appear at all improbable.

A. D. 1470.

who, finding himſelf

AT the time of the loſs of *St. Quintin*, the duke of *Burgundy* was at *Dourlens*, with five hundred horſe, but, as ſoon

[c] POLYD. VIRG. Hiſt. Angl. Memoires de COMMIN. HALL. HOLINSH. STOWE. [d] La Chronique Scandaleuſe. Memoires de COMMIN. GAGUINI Hiſt. [e] La Chronique Scandaleuſe. J. DE SERRES. [f] Annales de France. La Chronique Scandaleuſe. [g] GAGUINI Hiſt. La Chronique Scandaleuſe.

as he heard that the people of *Amiens* had opened their gates to the king, and that *Roie* and *Mondidier* had likewise admitted *French* troops, he retired to *Arras*, and began there to assemble forces with great diligence [h]. He was less surprized at the events of the war than at the conduct of those who made it, more especially of the duke of *Guienne* and the constable, to whom, therefore, he sent, to put them in mind of their old connections. They soon explained the secret of their new behaviour, by letting him know, that he had nothing to do but to give his daughter to the duke of *Guienne*, and that he should soon see the best part of the king's troops on his side. The duke of *Bretagne* not only held the same language, but added likewise, that the longer he hesitated about taking this step, the worse his affairs were like to go, since the king had great intelligence even in the heart of his dominions [i]. As great politicians as these princes were, they did not at all foresee the consequences of this manner of acting; the duke had no conception of submitting to the king, much less to them. He formed therefore, as numerous an army as he could, passed the *Somme*, and encamped before *Amiens*, from whence he wrote a very humble letter to the king, desiring a peace, which ended with these words; "If you had known the inside "of things, you would not have declared war against me [k]." *Lewis*, who had his reasons also to be weary of this state of things, and who began to suspect the loyalty of those who were fondest of the war, concluded a truce for a year, in spite of all they could say to prevent it [l]. In the mean time things had again changed their face in *England*; the duke of *Burgundy*, rather through interest than affection, had supplied his brother *Edward* of *England* with money and a few ships, and, as slender as these succours were, yet, having had always the affection of the people, they enabled him to succeed; so that, after beating the forces of *Henry* in two successive battles, he was quietly reseated in the throne [m]. The duke of *Burgundy*, in consequence of the truce, altered his language to the *French* malecontents, though not his sentiments, and seemed to resume the *marriage* of his daughter, as if he had been more in earnest than ever; nay, he carried the refinement of his policy so far, that he sent the bishop of *Montauban* to *Rome* to sollicit, or to pretend to sollicit, a dispensation. These pro-

hard pushed, demands a peace.

1471.

[h] Memoires de Commin. Gaguini Hist. Du Till. Mezer. P. Dan. [i] La Chronique Scandaleuse. P. Æmil. [k] J. de Serres. Duplèix. [l] Gaguini Histoire. [m] Polyd. Virg. Hist. Angl. Hall. Holinsh. Stowe. Du Till.

ceedings were attended with very ſingular events [n]. *Lewis* was ſo much alarmed, that he ſent the Sieur *de Bouchage* to his brother, to let him know that he was not ignorant of his intrigues, and that he ought to remember what he had ſworn to him on the croſs of *St. Lo*; in which caſe, whoever broke their oaths were ſure to die miſerably, within a year: he likewiſe propoſed to him the inconveniencies of that match, and the advantages that would attend his adhering ſtrictly to his duty. The duke gave the king's miniſter fair words, and took his own meaſures; notwithſtanding the king heard what his brother had promiſed, and is ſaid to have taken his meaſures likewiſe. *Edward* the fourth was no leſs alarmed at this match than *Lewis* the eleventh, and ordered his miniſters to declare as much to the duke of *Burgundy*, who, perceiving that *Lewis* was diſpoſed to negotiate upon reaſonable terms, turned the truce, at the end of the year, into a peace, which was ſtiled the peace of *Crotoi* [o]. By this, on the reſtitution of *St. Quintin* and *Amiens*, which was ſtipulated by the king, the duke abandoned Monſieur and the duke of *Bretagne* to the king's vengeance, and the king left the count *de Nevers* and the count *de St. Pol* to the duke's mercy: ſuch was the uſage of theſe times [p].

Death of the D. of Guienne, *and the rejection of the peace with the D of* Burgundy;

All poſſible appearances were in favour of the peace of *Crotoi*, which the wiſeſt men of thoſe times thought would have been final. But, on the contrary, this preſumed-to-be laſting peace proved, in the end, no peace at all; the king, who had ſhewn himſelf very ſincere thro' the negotiation, refuſing abſolutely to ratify it. The duke of *Guienne*, who had given the king his brother ſuch cruel and ſuch conſtant anxieties, was dead of a lingering diſeaſe [q]. It was reported, and believed in thoſe days, that the chaplain of this prince, who was abbot of *St. John d'Angeli*, dividing a large and beautiful peach between madame *de Monſoreau*, who was the duke's miſtreſs, and the duke, poiſoned them both, of which the unfortunate woman died immediately; but the duke, tho' he languiſhed for half a year, never recovered his colour or ſtrength [r]. The Sieur *de Leſcun*, who was the duke's favourite, ſeized this wicked monk, and ſent him priſoner to the duke of *Bretagne*, where it was intended to proceed againſt him; but he was found, not long afterwards, in the

[n] Inſtructions données par Louis XI. au Sieur du Bouchage. Memoires de Bethune. [o] Memoires de Commin. La Chronique Scandaleuſe. P. Æmil. [p] Corps Univerſal Diplomatique du Droit des Gens. [q] Gaguini Hiſt. D'Argent. Hiſt. de Bretagne. [r] Bouchet Annales d'Aquitaine. La Chronique Scandaleuſe.

tower

tower where he was confined, dead of a ſtroke of thunder, or at leaſt of ſome ſtroke or other; which did not at all diſpleaſe the king [s].

THE duke of *Burgundy*, who, ſome ſay, by the advice of the *French* plenipotentiaries, continued armed, finding the king reſolute in rejecting the peace, declared war, under pretence of revenging his friend the duke of *Guienne*'s death, and committed great cruelties. Yet ſome ſay the king was not in the wrong. He had inſiſted, prior to the ratification, that *Charles* ſhould ſend a gentleman with a letter to the dukes of *Guienne* and *Bretagne*, to ſignify to them that they were no longer to expect his protection; which he actually did, but at the ſame time acquainted the duke of *Bretagne*, by a private letter, that he had no intention to abandon them; that he made this treaty purely to get the towns of *St. Quintin* and *Amiens* reſtored; as the king had taken them without any regard to the treaties of *Conflans* and *Peronne*, he ſhould, when he had thoſe places once in his hands, pay as little regard to the treaty of *Crotoi* [t]. The moment his brother was dead, the king ſeized the dutchy of *Guienne*, reconquered the county of *Armagnac*; and, having gained the Sieur *de Leſcun*, who had the confidence of the duke of *Bretagne*, engaged that prince to accommodate matters with him [u]: at the ſame time, he drew over the famous *Philip de Commines*, one of the completeſt courtiers of his time, and the principal miniſter of the duke of *Burgundy*: but what his true motive was for quitting the ſervice of that prince, he, who has acquainted us with ſo many ſecrets, has thought fit to conceal; and time, which reveals ſo many things, has left us in the dark as to this; the traditionary conjectures on that head being ſo ridiculous as to deſerve no credit [w]. 1472.

who thereupon publiſhes a manifeſto againſt the king, and vigorouſly renews the war.

AT the time the king was engaged in *Guienne*, the duke of *Burgundy* having failed in retaking the towns upon the *Somme*, made an irruption into *Normandy*, but with no great ſucceſs. *Lewis*, upon his return from *Guienne*, according to his uſual cuſtom, was inclined to conclude a truce. Upon this ſeveral conferences were held, which ended in what the king deſired; and, upon this occaſion, the duke, who had hitherto concealed it, and probably would have concealed it longer, if he had not been provoked by the conſtable's burning his country, contrary to the rules of war, laid open all his

Being diſappointed in his views, concludes a truce, and diſcovers the conſtable's treaſon to the king.

[s] D'ARGENT. Hiſtoire de Bretagne. BOUCH. Annales d'Aquitaine. GAGUINI Hiſt. [t] Memoires de COMMIN. P. ÆMIL. DUPLEIX. [u] La Chronique Scandaleuſe. Memoires de COMMIN. GAGUINI Hiſt. [w] P. ÆMIL. GAGUINI Hiſt.

treachery to the king, and thereby explained the meaning of that dark paſſage in his letter, which has been before mentioned [x]. *Lewis* was ſo much moved at this, that, if the conſtable had been in his power, he had certainly felt the full weight of his reſentment; but his county and other eſtates lying between the dominions of the king and the duke of *Burgundy*, his keeping *St. Quintin's* in his hands, and having during the war, four hundred gens d'arms, tho' in the king's pay, yet at his devotion, with a conſiderable body of troops in his own pay beſides, *Lewis* always apprehended he would make his peace with the duke of *Burgundy*, by changing ſides; and therefore finding him univerſally odious, began to treat with the duke to concur with him in his vengeance, and to divide his ſpoils [y]. *Charles*, who never forgave him the inſolence of preſcribing to him how he ſhould diſpoſe of his only daughter, received the overture favourably enough, but deferred it for the preſent, as being engaged in the expedition of *Gueldres*, of which country he was heir by the teſtament of the laſt prince. He had alſo another and a greater deſign in his head, which was to aſſume the title of king, and to get his territories releaſed from the homage due to *France* and to the empire, in order to unite them in one independent ſovereignty, under the title of the realm of *Burgundy* [z].

1473. He had even a project of extending them by marrying his heireſs to the young duke of *Calabria*, whoſe father lived at *Barcelona*, and who, on the demiſe of his grandfather, would inherit *Lorrain*.

The duke of Burgundy is diverted from France by making war in the empire.

THE buſineſs of the conſtable was brought almoſt to a concluſion in the conferences at *Bovines*, where it was agreed he ſhould be delivered up to juſtice, and that, upon his conviction for high treaſon, his forfeitures ſhould be ſhared between the two princes. But the conſtable having, ſome way or other, gained intelligence of what was doing, applied himſelf to the king, and made him believe he received his accounts from the duke of *Burgundy*, who was deſirous to attach him intirely to his own ſervice. This *Lewis* believed; and, to diſappoint the duke, conſented to a conference with the conſtable, in which all things, for the preſent, were adjuſted; yet, notwithſtanding this, a truce was concluded between the king and the duke for a year [a]. A man was detected and executed for attempting to procure one of the king's cooks to poiſon him: the fact ſeems to be true, but even tortures did not

[x] La Chronique Scandaleuſe. Memoires de COMMIN. GAGUINI Hiſt. [y] P. ÆMIL. & al. [z] La Chronique Scandaleuſe. J. DE SERRES, DU CLOS. Hiſtoire de Louis XI. [a] GAGUINI Hiſt. & al.

force the criminal to diſcover any perſon of note, and for this reaſon it was placed to the account of the duke of *Burgundy*, as the prince who, at this juncture, was moſt likely to be ſerved by it [b]. The duke of *Alenſon* alſo, whom the king had freely pardoned at the beginning of his reign, was again found plotting to retire to the duke of *Burgundy*, and to ſell him whatever he poſſeſſed in *France*. He had likewiſe been tampering with *England*, of which being convicted, he had judgment of death, with a ſaving to the king's mercy, who again changed the ſentence into impriſonment for life [c]. The duke of *Burgundy* was, all this time, embarked in ſome diſputes in *Germany*, where he ſometimes courted the emperor's favour, and offered his daughter for his ſon, as he had done to many other princes, and at other times took ſuch ſteps as engaged them in a war againſt each other, as happened in this year by his beſieging *Nuys* [d]. Some of the ſhrewdeſt perſons in the king's council repreſented this as the moſt favourable opportunity he could deſire for cruſhing the duke, by entering into an alliance with the emperor, as to which ſome overtures were made, but with very little ſincerity; for the king, who commonly followed his own notions, had no opinion of this alliance, but judged it more for his intereſt to let the duke proceed in his own way, and gradually waſte his force; to facilitate which, he raiſed him up two new enemies, the one *Rene* duke of *Lorrain*, grandſon to *Rene* of *Anjou*, king of *Sicily*, and the other the *Swiſs* cantons, with whom he entered into a ſtrict and very uſeful alliance [e]. He laid aſleep, by the ſame arts, his diſputes with the king of *Arragon*, which we have mentioned in another place, and which, this year, had given him a great deal of trouble, and had involved him in various negotiations. A. D. 1474.

THE next year the king changed his plan of proceeding; for finding that the duke of *Burgundy* made difficulties of renewing the truce, he ordered the duke of *Bourbon* to invade *Burgundy*, and, at the ſame time, cauſed him to be attacked on the *Somme*. He propoſed alſo to the emperor the diviſion of the duke of *Burgundy*'s territories between them; to which that prince anſwered by the famous apologue of dividing the bear's ſkin before they had ſtripped him [f]. The obſtinacy of the duke of *Burgundy* got the better of the *Germans*, who, tho' they held him beſieged in his camp while Edward IV. *in conſequence of ſeveral alliances with the D. of* Burgundy, *invades* France;

[b] La Chronique Scandaleuſe. J. DE SERRES. DUPLEIX.
[c] Memoires de COMMIN. P. ÆMIL. La Chronique Scandaleuſe. DU CLOS.
[d] GAGUINI Hiſt. Hiſtoire de Louis XI.
[e] Memoires COMMIN. BOULANV. & al.
[f] GAGUINI Hiſtoire.

he beſieged *Nuys*, were, notwithſtanding, content to terminate things by a treaty, which, if not advantageous, was at leaſt honourable; and now, if his impetuoſity would have permitted him, the duke had it clearly in his power either to have brought the king to his own terms, or to have diſtreſſed him more ſeverely than when he had him in his hands at *Liege* [g]. *Edward* the fourth of *England*, under pretence of revenging the aſſiſtance which *Lewis* had given to the houſe of *Lancaſter*, but, in reality, that he might obtain a large ſupply from the houſe of commons, and a benevolence from his ſubjects, determined to invade *France*; and, with this view, had made ſix diſtinct treaties with the duke of *Burgundy*, who was to aſſiſt him in perſon with all his forces, to acknowlege and do him homage as king of *France*, and to receive from him the duchy of *Bar*, the counties of *Champagne*, *Nevers*, *Retel*, *Eu*, and *Guiſe*, with other places [h]. As ſoon as he was ready to embark his forces, *Edward* diſpatched a herald to *Lewis* to ſummon him to deliver up the kingdom. The king, who knew how much his actions would be obſerved on ſuch an occaſion, received the herald with an air of gaiety; but taking him into a place that was out of every body's hearing, told him his maſter was come upon an idle errand; that his confederates the dukes of *Burgundy* and *Bretagne*, and the conſtable, would certainly deceive him; and that it would be much better for him to make a peace upon good terms with him, and reſtore a thorough harmony between the two crowns, which might be equally beneficial to both nations [i]. The herald ſeeming to treat this propoſition in a manner as if he did not believe it at all impracticable, the king gave him three hundred pieces of gold with great ſecrecy, and then ordered *Commines* to conduct him out of the court; to take care that he converſed with no-body; and, when he diſmiſſed him, to give him publicly a piece of crimſon velvet, as a teſtimony that the king was not diſpleaſed with his meſſage [k].

but, finding himſelf deceived by his allies, concludes a

EDWARD debarked, in the neighbourhood of *Calais*, as fine an army as any of his predeceſſors had brought into *France*, and was, without queſtion, as capable of directing its operations as they were; but he found his affairs in a ſtrange ſituation [l]. The duke of *Burgundy* was making war in *Lorrain*, to revenge the inſolence, as he ſtiled it, of the duke, who,

[g] P. ÆMIL. Memoires de COMMIN. Annales de France.
[h] RYMER's Fœdera, tom. xii. POLYD. VIRG. Hiſt. Angl. Memoires de COMMIN.
[i] GAGUINI Hiſt. J. DE SERRES.
[k] Memoires de COMMIN. liv. iv. c. 5.
[l] HALL. HOLINSH. STOWE.

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at the inſtance of *Lewis*, had declared war againſt him; the duke of *Bretagne* declined ſtirring till the armies were in action; and as for the king, he ſeemed to expect, with great tranquility, what turn the war would take [m]. The duke of *Burgundy* came to the *Engliſh* camp, to compliment the king: he aſſured him that he held a correſpondence with the conſtable, and that, upon directing their march towards *Amiens* and *St. Quintin's*, he would deliver thoſe places into their hands, and declare himſelf, as others of the *French* nobility would likewiſe; which, in all probability, the duke believed [n]. But when *Edward* advanced with his army to make the experiment, the conſtable fired upon them; and yet continued to aſſure the duke of *Burgundy*, that, at a proper time, he would fulfil his engagements: the king, who could not by any means reliſh this conduct, and who apprehended a rebellion at home, if he did not carry on the war with ſucceſs, or at leaſt procure a good peace, cauſed ſome overtures to be made to *Lewis*, who very readily entered into a negotiation. This ended in ſeveral treaties, which were concluded at *Amiens*, on the 29th of *Auguſt*; but from their being ratified by the two kings at an interview they had at the bridge of that village, were ſtiled the treaties of *Pequigni* [o]. Inſtead of ſeparate articles there were five diſtinct inſtruments. By the firſt, the two kings conſented to leave all their diſputes to arbitration, naming the arbitrators. King *Edward* conſented to quit the *French* territories upon the receipt of twenty-five thouſand crowns, without committing any hoſtilities, and delivered the lord *Howard* and Sir *John Cheyney* for hoſtages. By the ſecond they concluded a ſeven years truce for themſelves and allies. The third was a fraternal alliance between the two kings, to be cemented by the marriage of the Dauphin with the princeſs *Elizabeth*. The fourth were letters patent, by which *Lewis* undertook to pay *Edward* an annuity of fifty thouſand crowns, during their lives, which the *Engliſh* writers unanimouſly ſtile tribute, and the *French* hiſtorians, though they do not like that phraſe, know not what elſe to call it. And, laſtly, *Edward* agreed to releaſe queen *Margaret* for a ranſom of fifty thouſand crowns, to be paid within the ſpace of five years, which was punctually executed on both ſides [p].

treaty with Lewis.

THE duke of *Burgundy* came to the *Engliſh* camp before things were concluded, and endeavoured to make *Edward* break off, but to no purpoſe: the king telling him that he

The D. of Burgundy, tho'

[m] Memoires de COMMIN. P. ÆMIL. GAGUINI Hiſtoire.
[n] POLYD. VIRG. [o] Annales de France. [p] Act. Public. tom. xii.

much offended with this ſtep, makes ſoon after a like treaty.

meant to include him as his ally; the duke anſwered haughtily, That he deſired no ſuch favour; and that he would not conclude either peace or truce till the king had been three months in *England* [q]. After their interview, *Lewis* received the *Engliſh* lords, knights, gentlemen, and even the ſoldiers that came to viſit the court at *Amiens*, with a frankneſs that ſurprized them, ordering tables to be ſet in the ſtreets with victuals and wine. According to his uſual cuſtom, he corrupted the whole *Engliſh* council; and, beſides immediate preſents, granted penſions amongſt them to the amount of ſixteen thouſand crowns a year [r]. *Edward* executed his engagements punctually, and delivered the conſtable's letters, in which himſelf and king *Lewis* were very inſolently treated. After his return the duke of *Burgundy* ſigned, on the 13th of
1475. *September*, a truce for nine years; and upon this occaſion the king abandoned *Rene* duke of *Lorrain*, while the duke gave up the conſtable: he alſo concluded a treaty with the duke of *Bretagne*; and hearing that the conſtable had quitted *St. Quintin's*, and had retired to *Mons*, he demanded him; and the duke, tho' with ſome reluctancy, gave him up [s]. He was brought to *Paris*, tried, and condemned to death by the parliament, which he ſuffered on the 19th of *December*, with great intrepidity and compoſure of mind [t]. The duke of *Burgundy* had his whole confiſcation, which did not balance the reproach of having delivered him to the king [u].

He runs himſelf headlong into a war, by which his treaſures are exhauſted and his force broken.

THE king now had leiſure and opportunity to have concerted meaſures for the duke of *Burgundy*'s deſtruction, which it is probable he might have done without regard to the truce; but perceiving that the duke himſelf was ſufficiently bent to that purpoſe, he very prudently gave him no diſturbance, but left him to puſh his raſh enterprizes in what manner he thought fit; and, without queſtion, he could not have taken a ſurer method. The duke, having taken *Nancy*, and ruined *Lorrain*, made war, almoſt without any cauſe, upon the *Switzers*, tho' they offered him any ſatisfaction, and even to renounce their treaty with *France*: he was totally defeated, through his own fault; and, perſiſting in the ſame wild meaſures, ſet on foot another army, with which he beſieged *Morat* [w]. The *Swiſs* ſent for *Rene* duke of *Lorrain*, whom he had driven out of his dominions, and gave him the command of their army, and it was chiefly through his courage and conduct that the duke

[q] GAGUINI Hiſtoire. J. DE SERRES. DUPLEIX. [r] P. ÆMIL. DU TILL. P. DANIEL. [s] Memoires de COMMIN. & al. [t] La Chronique Scandaleuſe, & al. [u] La Chronique Scandaleuſe. GAGUINI Hiſtoire. [w] DUPLEIX. DU TILL. & al.

of

of *Burgundy* was beat a ſecond time, after which *Rene* recovered his capital: but *Charles*, having ſet a new army on foot, obliged him to retire, leaving a garriſon in the place, which he preſently beſieged [x]. *Lewis*, in the mean time, proſecuted his uncle the old unfortunate king of *Naples*, for holding a correſpondence with the duke of *Burgundy* and his enemies, and forced him to an abject ſubmiſſion. He declined giving any aſſiſtance to Don *Alonſo* of *Portugal*, who came in perſon to demand it; he conſtrained the duke of *Bretagne* to renounce all his engagements with the duke of *Burgundy*; and, taking advantage of the declining ſtate of that prince's affairs, puniſhed the infidelity of ſeveral of his own ſubjects, and obliged moſt of his neighbours to compenſate paſt neglects, by entering into ſuch engagements as he thought fit to dictate; for he was now in the zenith of his power, and gave law at his pleaſure both at home and abroad [y]. The duke of *Burgundy*, in an unaccountable fit of violence, had ſeized the ducheſs of *Savoy*, the king's ſiſter, with whom, though *Lewis* had never lived with her on good terms, he now entered into an amicable correſpondence, and, by his interpoſition, procured her liberty; for, though the duke ſtill hated him as much as ever, inſomuch that he broke an interview concerted between them, yet his circumſtances did not allow him to give the king ſo fair an opportunity of breaking the truce, and anticipating that deſtruction to which his affairs were haſtening, by his own precipitate conduct, and contempt even of the king's admonition [z]. 1476.

The defeat and death of the duke gives Lewis *an opportunity to ſeize* Burgundy.

AMONGST the ſoldiers of fortune in the duke of *Burgundy*'s army, with which he beſieged *Nancy*, was the count *de Campobaſſo*: he commanded a corps of *Italians*, and, in revenge of a blow on the ear given him by that prince, had been long in a deſign of compaſſing his deſtruction. He offered his ſervice on every ſide, and amongſt the reſt to *Lewis*, who, from generoſity or policy, gave the duke notice of it; but he was ſo far from making a right uſe of it, that he confided in him more than ever [a]. This man betrayed him in all ſhapes, protracted the ſiege of *Nancy*, correſponded with the enemy, and, upon the approach of the duke of *Lorrain* with an army of fourteen thouſand men, raiſed chiefly with the king's money, deſerted him, and retired to a poſt, where, if the army was beat, he might cut off their retreat. He left behind him ſome officers who were embarked in the conſpi-

[x] MARIAN. TURQUET. FER. GAGUINI Hiſt. P. ÆMIL. [y] DU TILL. MEZERAY. P. DANIEL. COMMIN. La Chronique Scandaleuſe. [z] Memoire de [a] MATTH. Hiſtoire de Louis XI. & al.

racy,

racy, who, as ſoon as the battle began, on *Sunday January* the fifth, gave way, and threw the army into diſorder; others, poſted about his perſon, diſpatched the duke, in the heat of the engagement, and threw his body into a ditch; after which all was ſlaughter and confuſion [b]. *Lewis* no ſooner received the news, than he diſpoſed every thing to turn this event as much as poſſible to his advantage (D). He gave out

[b] Gaguini Hiſtoire. P. Æmil. La Chronique Scandaleuſe.

(D) The king was exceſſively uneaſy about the iſſue of this campaign. He had a cuſtom of giving magnificent preſents to ſuch as brought him good news; *Commines* and *Bouchage* had received each of them two hundred marks for bringing him an account of the duke's former defeats (6). *Du Lude* ſat up all night, in order to watch for the courier, who came about break of day, with the news of this fatal defeat of *Nancy*, but he could ſay nothing particular as to the duke's death. The king, however, was ſo overjoyed, that he told the news to all the great men at court, and invited them to dine with him. Upon which, *Commines* obſerves, that the company were ſo affected, either with concern or joy, that not one of them made a full meal, which could not happen, ſays he, thro' any awe of the king's preſence, ſince there were none who had not had the honour to dine with him many times before (7). The truth of the matter was, they were apprehenſive the king would become more abſolute than ever by the death of his rival, and they ſhould be more expoſed to his caprices and cruelties, as having now neither ſhelter nor ſupport. In the life of *Angelo Cotta*, archbiſhop of *Vienna*, at whoſe requeſt *Philip de Commines* wrote his memoirs, and who was a famous aſtrologer, we have a very ſingular ſtory (8). It is ſaid that *Lewis* was hearing maſs in the cathedral of St. *Martin* at *Tours*, at the very inſtant the battle of *Nancy* was fought; and that, when this prelate, according to cuſtom, preſented the pix for the king to kiſs, he ſaid, "Sire, God "gives you peace and repoſe, "you may enjoy them if you "pleaſe, *quia conſummatum eſt*: "your enemy, the duke of *Bur-* "*gundy*, is at this inſtant ſlain, "and his army intirely over-"thrown." But, if we conſider that this is told us by an anonymous writer, and that there is not the leaſt mention of it in *Commines*, or any other hiſtorian of credit, we can ſcarce yield our aſſent. However, the ſame author adds another ſurpriſing circumſtance in ſupport of it: he ſays the king made a vow, that, if the prediction was accompliſhed, inſtead of the iron

(6) *Memoires de Philip de Commines, liv.* v. *c.* 10. (7) *Id. ibid. Hiſtoire de Louis* XI. *p.* iii. *Du Clos.* (8) *Vie Anonyme de Angelo Cotho, ou Cotta, Archeveque de Vienne, p.* 395. *du Commines, imprime a Louvre.*

grating

out that he intended to marry the young ducheſs of *Burgundy*, who was in the twenty-firſt year of her age, to the Dauphin, who was juſt entered the ſeventh. He ſeized *Burgundy* and the county of *Artois*, and raiſed ſuch diſturbances in *Flanders*, that the people put to death their young miſtreſs's moſt faithful counſellors, on account of letters which the king put into their hands. He made uſe of the prince of *Orange* for ſome time, and then threw him off; he found means to hinder the king of *England* from interfering in favour of the houſe of *Burgundy* [c]. At length he ſuffered the marriage of *Maximilian* of *Auſtria* with that rich heireſs to take place, rather than that of the count *d'Angouleſme*, as being more afraid of a prince of his own blood than of a ſtranger [d]. This year was alſo fatal to *James d'Armagnac*, duke of *Nemours*, whom the king had cauſed to be arreſted, and convicted of high treaſon. He was a man ſo covered with crimes, that he died unpitied; and yet his conviction was brought about in ſo indecent a manner, and his death was accompanied with ſuch circumſtances of ſeverity, as drew great imputations of cruelty upon *Lewis*. He was brought on horſeback to a ſcaffold, where he was beheaded, and his blood, running through, fell upon his children, which was ſuch a ſtrain of barbarity, as never had been heard of before [e]. He diſtributed his confiſcations amongſt his creatures, many of whom were low people, particularly *Oliver le Dain*, who had been his barber; and publiſhed an edict, requiring all perſons who had the moſt diſtant knowlege of treaſons to reveal them, on pain of being treated as accomplices: a law that, after remaining long dormant, was awakened, to gratify the reſentment of cardinal *Richelieu*, in the reign of *Lewis* the thirteenth. 1477.

HOSTILITIES having again commenced between the king and the archduke *Maximilian*, who could not bear to ſee a great part of his wife's dominions torn from her by a prince, *He manages his negotiati-*

[c] P. ÆMIL. J. DE SERRES. DUPLEIX. Hiſt. MATTH Hiſtoire de Louis XI. Scandaleuſe. DU TILL.
[d] GAGUINI
[e] La Chronique

grating about the ſhrine of St. *Martin*, he would place one of ſilver, which he afterwards did, at the expence of one hundred thouſand franks. This laſt fact is undoubtedly true, for, in 1479, the king erected that ſilver grating, which weighs fifty-four thouſand two hundred and ten ounces (9). But, though the king did this expenſive work, and might do this in conſequence of a vow, it might not be this.

(9) *Gervaiſe, Vie de St. Martin, p.* 328. *P. Daniel Hiſt. de France, tom.* vi. *p.* 591. *Le Gendre, Nouvelle Hiſtoire de France, tom.* iv. *p.* 100.

whom

ons with all his neighbours with equal dexterity and ſucceſs.

whom he thought of all princes the moſt unjuſt, laboured a he could to recover them out of the king's hands; and th prince of *Orange* having quitted his ſervice, became a powe ful inſtrument in the hands of the archduke, till ſuch time the king ſent the Sieur *de Chaument* to command in *Burgund* who very ſpeedily reduced the far greateſt part of it, and eve the city of *Beſanſon*, which was then eſteemed an imperia town [f]. Upon this the archduke altered his meaſures, an was diſpoſed to conclude a truce, that he might have ſom degree of leiſure to ſettle himſelf in his new dominions, an to acquire a thorough knowlege of their force. *Lewis* ha preciſely the very ſame reaſons, with regard to his conqueſts both in *Artois* and *Burgundy*, ſo that a truce was concluded for a year at *Arras* [g]. The king then made a journey into *Touraine*, under colour of a religious pilgrimage, which was frequent enough with him, when he had a mind to viſit this or that part of his dominions, for political purpoſes. He had then a multitude of negotiations upon his hands, and he managed them all with great dexterity, which was, in reality, what ſuited beſt with his capacity. His ſiſter, the ducheſs of *Savoy*, was dead; he provided for the ſafety of her family, and the ſecurity of their dominions. He took the family of *Medicis* under his protection, and ſent *Commines* into *Italy*, to treat with pope *Sixtus* the fourth, who was the capital enemy of that houſe [h]. He diſmiſſed Don *Alonſo* of *Portugal*, who had been long ſolliciting ſuccours, and told him plainly that his intereſt made it requiſite for him to acknowlege Don *Ferdinand* and Donna *Iſabella*, with whom it was in vain any longer to diſpute [i]. He made an alliance with them accordingly, which was very convenient for his affairs, as it hindered them from entering into alliance with the emperor and his ſon the archduke; and he continued to feed the king of *England* and his miniſters with ſums of money, which, while they conſumed in the pleaſures of a luxurious court, he was left to purſue his projects at leiſure, notwithſtanding the indefatigable endeavours of the ducheſs-dowager of *Burgundy*, and of the duke of *Bretagne*, to excite the ambition or the jealouſy of *Edward*, and thereby engage him to revive the old pretenſions of his family to the crown of *France*, or at leaſt to the duchies of *Normandy* and *Guienne* [k].

[f] Memoires de Commin. Memoires de la Marche. Gaguini Hiſt. [g] P. Æmil. La Chronique Scandaleuſe. Du Till. [h] La Chronique Scandaleuſe. & al. [i] Mar. Turquet. Fer. J. de Serres. Dupleix. [k] Polyd. Virg. Hiſt. Angl. Hale. Holinsh. Stowe.

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THE new treaty, which had been ſo long negotiating in *England*, was at length concluded and ſigned in the month of *February*, and ſeems to have conſiſted of two parts. By the firſt *Lewis* ſtipulates for himſelf and ſucceſſors, that they ſhall continue to pay the penſion of fifty thouſand livres to the king during his life, and to his heirs and ſucceſſors for one hundred years to come. The ſecond, of the ſame date, was for prolonging the truce, friendſhip, and good underſtanding, between the two kings during their lives, and between their ſucceſſors for the ſpace of one hundred years, with promiſe of mutual aſſiſtance againſt their rebellious ſubjects. The other articles were, That, if one of the two princes were driven out of his kingdom, the other ſhould be obliged to receive him, and aſſiſt him with all his forces; that they ſhould make no alliance without a mutual conſent; that the king of *France* ſhould ratify this treaty, and cauſe it to be confirmed and ratified by the ſtates; and that *Edward* ſhould likewiſe procure the parliament's approbation. Laſtly, That the Dauphin's marriage with the princeſs *Elizabeth* ſhould be accompliſhed according to the agreement at *Amiens*; and this new treaty not be derogatory to the former [l]. 1478. *Concludes a new treaty with the king of* England.

THE archduke, before the end of the truce, had begun hoſtilities again in *Burgundy*, and in the *Low Countries*. In the month of *Auguſt* he laid ſiege, with a numerous army, to *Terouane*; the Sieur *d'Eſguerdes*, who commanded in *Picardy*, marched to the relief of the place, with an army ſtronger in horſe, but weaker in infantry, than that of the *Flemings*: the archduke raiſed the ſiege, in order to give him battle [m]. The *French* cavalry charged with great impetuoſity, and ſoon beat the archduke's horſe, upon which the *French* infantry fell to pillaging; but the archduke diſmounting, with ſome lords that were about him, and putting himſelf at the head of the *Flemiſh* foot, attacked the *French*, already in diſorder, and defeated them. On the whole, however, neither party had any great reaſon to boaſt of their ſucceſs in the battle of *Guinegate* [n]. The archduke ſeems to have loſt moſt from his not returning to the ſiege: it is true he took a ſmall caſtle afterwards, but he had been better without that conqueſt, ſince, in the heat of paſſion, he put the remains of the garriſon to the ſword, and, three days after, hanged the officer who commanded in it. *Lewis* was ſo much incenſed at this, that he ordered fifty of the principal priſoners, taken in the beginning of the battle, to be hanged in different places; amongſt theſe was a ſon of the king of *Poland*, who ſerved as a volun- *Gains great advantages in the* Low Countries, *makes an alteration in the militia, and inherits the ſucceſſion of the houſe of* Anjou. 1479.

[l] GAGUINI Hiſt. La Chronique Scandaleuſe. DU TILLET. [m] P. ÆMIL. Memoires de COMMIN. DUPLEIX. [n] La Chronique Scandaleuſe. J. DE SERRES.

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teer in the *Flemiſh* army, and for whom a reprieve came, jul as he was going to die [o]. The king gained a greater advan tage at ſea; for one *Coulon*, a privateer of *Normandy*, wit ſome of his aſſociates, took fourſcore ſail of *Flemiſh* ſhips i the northern ſeas; which blow affected the inhabitants of th *Low Countries* ſo much, that they carried on the war bu very languidly the next ſummer, and, towards the end of it

A. D. 1480. concluded a truce [p]. Pope *Sixtus*, being very deſirous of put ting an end to this war, ſent the cardinal *de la Rovene*, t perſuade both the king and the archduke to leave their dif ferences to his mediation; in which, though he did not altoge ther ſucceed, yet he had no reaſon to repent his coming int *France*; for, beſides renewing the truce for another year, h prevailed upon him to ſet cardinal *Balue* at liberty, and ſuffe him to retire to *Rome* [q]. The king was ſo little ſatisfie with the behaviour of the militia called *Franc-archers* at th laſt battle, that he reſolved to employ them no more. Thef men were raiſed and paid by the villages; and, in their ſtead, the king brought in *Swiſs* troops, whom he hired, and added to them ten thouſand *French* foot, to whom he gave regular pay. *Charles du Maine*, count of *Provence*, the laſt of the houſe of *Anjou*, dying without iſſue, left his eſtates to the king [r].

Death of the ducheſs of Burgundy, *the Dauphin contracted to her daughter, and the death of* Edward IV.

IN the beginning of the ſucceeding year, *Lewis* had an attack of an apoplexy, which is, with great probability, aſcribed to his indefatigable application to buſineſs. As ſoon as he was a little recovered, he went into *Normandy*, and cauſed a ſtrong camp to be formed there of the new troops, for his diverſion, and that he might examine at leiſure many things that regarded military affairs with his own eyes, and be, for the future, leſs liable to impoſitions [s]. He removed from thence to *Tours*, where he had another ſtroke of an apoplexy, but leſs violent. He ſhewed that his parts were ſtill ſound, by his prudent management of the affairs of *Savoy*, where he did many things for the intereſt of the young prince *Philibert*, his nephew, by playing the great men in the country one againſt another, by which he limited the power of all.

1481. In the ſpring of the ſucceeding year, the duke, who was about ſeventeen, came to meet him at *Grenoble*, and went with him from thence to *Lyons*, where, being ſeized with a fever, he died. His brethren *Charles* and *John*, being educated in

[o] Memoires DE LA MARCHE. Memoires de COMMIN. DU CLOS Hiſtoire de Louis XI. [p] FREDERIC LEONARD, tom. i. p. 217. [q] P. ÆMIL. GAGUINI Hiſtoire. MATTH. Hiſtoire de Louis XI. [r] J. DE SERRES. DU TILLET. BOULARV. [s] GAGUINI Hiſt. P. ÆMIL. DU CLOS Hiſt. de Louis XI.

France,

France, the king declared himſelf tutor to the former, and ſent him to take poſſeſſion of his dominions [t]. It was there he received an account of the death of the ducheſs of *Burgundy*, by a fall from her horſe, which is ſaid to have given him new ſpirits [u]. He had been for ſome time carrying on an underhand negotiation with the people of *Ghent*, which he managed with ſo much addreſs, that by their aſſiſtance he compelled the archduke to conſent to the marriage of his daughter *Margaret* with the Dauphin, which treaty was ſigned on the 23d of *December* [w]; the news of which had ſuch an effect on *Edward* the fourth of *England*, that he determined to break with *Lewis* as a falſe and perfidious prince [x]; but, before he was able to expreſs his reſentment otherwiſe than by words, an apoplexy [y], or ſome other ſudden diſeaſe (for authors ſpeak very ſuſpiciouſly), removed him out of the world, and delivered *Lewis* from the laſt enemy that he had to fear [z]. A circumſtance highly favourable to him, as it left the houſe of *Burgundy* totally without reſource.

IT may be truly ſaid, that *Lewis* only wanted health to taſte the pleaſure of ſeeing his affairs in a much better ſituation than they had ever been in during his reign. At home he had gradually increaſed his power at the expence of the nobility, and he could not well make a worſe uſe of it than ſome of them did [a]. Abroad he had nothing to fear. *Ferdinand* and *Iſabella* were very deſirous of cultivating that friendſhip which he profeſſed for them; and though he ſtill held *Rouſſillon* and *Cerdagne*, he had nothing to fear from them as poſſeſſors of *Arragon*, the crown of *Navarre* being under his protection. The king of *Portugal* was his ally, and had an intereſt in being ſo. If he was not eſteemed, he was at leaſt reſpected in *Italy*, where they were as little in a condition to deceive as to diſturb him. In *England* freſh diſturbances were broke out on the death of king *Edward*. The power of the archduke was much circumſcribed, and his force not a little broken by the king's conqueſts. He had many allies in the empire; and the *Swiſs* were as much bound to his intereſts, and ſerved him much more cordially than if they had been his ſubjects [b]. As a monarch, he might be truly ſaid to have gained his ends, and to have been ſucceſsful in his politicks: let us ſee what

Lewis *retires to his palace of* Pleſſis *near* Tours, *in a low and languiſhing condition.*

[t] Memoires de COMMIN. GAGUINI Hiſt. MATTH. Hiſtoire de Louis XI. [u] P. ÆMIL. J. DE SERRES. DU TILLET. P. DAN. BOULANV. [w] GAGUINI Hiſt. [x] HALL. HOLINSHED. STOWE. POLYD. VIRG. [y] POLYD. VIRG. Hiſt. Angl. [z] Memoires de COMMIN. [a] La Chronique Scandaleuſe. DU CLOS Hiſtoire de Louis XI. [b] DUPLEIX.

reſulted

resulted from it with regard to himself. He retired to h country palace at *Plessis*, near *Tours*, which was walled an guarded, not as a fortress but as a prison, to which his jealou humour had confined him, and where he tormented himse as much as he had tormented others [c]. Few of the princes o the blood and great lords had access to him; and, when the had, they came singly and with scarce any attendance. Hi strength decayed daily, death stared him in the face, and h never appeared more dreadful to the meanest malefactor. A he had dissembled other fears, he took every method to conceal this; he dressed better, he had concerts of music, and diver sions that were some of them wild and ridiculous, such as th hunting of rats, and other whims of the same kind [d]. He or dered relicks to be brought him from all parts, and sent fo *Francis de Paul*, a reputed saint, out of *Calabria*, to pray fo him. He had embassadors in every court of *Europe*, who were continually entering upon new negotiations; spies to manage private intrigues; and merchants to buy horses, dogs, rich furniture, curiosities, purely to discredit the rumours of his weak and dying condition [e].

His death and character, with the situation of his successor at the time of his decease. 1483.

His son, the Dauphin, was bred up at *Amboise*, under the care of *Peter de Bourbon*, count of *Beaujeu*, with equal severity and privacy. He was at this time turned of thirteen, and the king had scarce seen him for several years. He sent for him, however, when very weak, and repeated to him the advices which he had formerly given, and caused them to be registered by the parliament of *Burgundy*, and the chamber of accounts at *Paris*. His counsels (whatever his life was) were those of a wise and worthy prince, and consisted chiefly in dissuading him from following his example, more especially in the beginning of his reign, when he frankly acknowleged his errors had brought him within a hair's breadth of destruction. He conjured him to make use of those whose capacity and fidelity he recommended from experience; to love peace, and to live upon good terms with his neighbours; and lastly, to treat his subjects with justice and lenity [f]. He suffered a third stroke of an apoplexy which he survived just a week. As soon as he recovered his senses a little, he ordered the chancellor to carry the seal to his son, whom from this time he called the king; he grew more composed and resigned, and gave some marks of compunction for those actions which dishonoured his reign, and will render his memory odious [g]. He expired on the 30th of *August*, in the sixty-first year of

[c] Gaguini Hist. La Chronique Scandaleuse. Du Tillet.
[d] P. Æmil. [e] Memoires de Commin. P. Daniel.
[f] Boulanv. [g] J. de Serres. Dupleix.

his

his age, and twenty-third of his reign; he united to the crown of *Burgundy* by force of arms, though he would have it thought by right, *Anjou*, *Maine*, *Bar*, and *Provence*, as heir to *Charles* count *du Maine*; the beſt part of the county of *Artois*, and ſome great towns in *Picardy*, were the ſpoils of the houſe of *Burgundy*; the counties of *Rouſſillon* and *Cerdagne* under pretence of a mortgage; and the county of *Boulogne* by purchaſe [h] (E). He firſt uſed the title of Moſt Chriſtian King

[h] Mezeray. P. Dan. Chalons.

(E) This prince was born in the archiepiſcopal palace at *Bourges*, *Saturday July* the 3d, 1423 (1). The biſhop of *Laon* baptized, and the duke of *Alenſon* anſwered for him at the font. He was contracted at five years old to the princeſs *Margaret* of *Scotland*, whom he eſpouſed at *Tours* on the 25th of *June*, 1436 (2). About three years after, he firſt openly departed from his duty to his father; but he had been an ill huſband almoſt from the time he was married. The *French* hiſtorians acknowlege, and I uſe their words, that wit, judgment, heroic ſentiments, and great goodnature, joined to a very lovely perſon, rendered this princeſs amiable (3). She was a great lover of learning, and gave this very whimſical proof of it; ſeeing one day *Alain Chartier* aſleep, ſhe gave him a kiſs, and obſerving the people about her to ſtand in amaze, ſhe ſaid it was not the man ſhe had kiſſed, but the mouth that had uttered ſuch fine diſcourſes. It muſt be obſerved that he had the moſt wit and the leaſt beauty of any man in *France* (4). Her high quality and her virtue did not exempt her from calumny; and, which was more ſtrange, her innocence did not enable her to bear it; ſo that grief brought her to her end *Auguſt* the 26th, 1445 (5). She was buried in the cathedral church of *Chalons*; and, thirty-four years after, her huſband cauſed her body to be carried to *Tours*, and buried there, in a chapel of her own founding (6). He married next *Charlotte*, daughter to *Lewis* duke of *Savoy*, for the ſake of money, and when ſhe was a child: he had never ſeen her, when he retired into *Burgundy* (7). He ſent for her thither, and had a ſon *Joachim* born at *Genep* near *Bruſſels*; ſome ſay he declared him duke of *Normandy*, as ſoon as he was born; and that this irritated his father more than any thing he had done before; but this ſtory ſeems to be ill founded. This prince died young, at which his father was ſo much afflicted, that

(1) *Annales de France*, *Gaguini Hiſtoria*, *Matthieu Hiſtoire de Louis* XI. (2) *Annales de France*, *P. Æmil. de rebus geſtis Francor. Hiſtor. Du Clos Hiſtoire de Louis* XI. (3) *Gilles Corrozet*, *Diſcours memorable des perſonnes de qualité*, *Gaguini Hiſt. P. Æmil. de rebus geſtis Francor. Hiſtor.* (4) *Corrozet*, *J. de Serres*, *Matthieu.* (5) *Buchan. Hiſt. Scot. lib.* x. (6) *Scrip. Dupleix.* (7) *J. de Serres. Du Tillet.*

King conſtantly, which has ſince paſſed to his ſucceſſors; and he ſeems likewiſe to have been the firſt *French* monarch treated with the title of Majeſty[i], in addreſſes to him from foreigners, as well as his own ſubjects.

Acceſſion of Charles VIII. *the government ſecured to the dame* de Beaujeu.

THE new king *Charles* the eighth was in law of age, as having entered his fourteenth year, but in reality a minor, having been bred up amongſt the low and inferior people about the court, not only without the advantages of learning, but of inſtructions of any kind, even thoſe of converſation. This may ſeem to reflect on *Peter de Bourbon*, and the dame *de Beaujeu*, ſo the *French* hiſtorians call her, and ſo ſhall we for the future, more eſpecially ſince ſhe was his ſiſter. But, in reality, his father only was in fault; for it was in obedience to his orders that he was thus educated, or rather, had no

[i] GAGUINI Hiſt. LE GENDRE.

he made a vow to have no commerce with any other woman than his wife, which he is ſaid to have kept (8). He had by his queen, *Charles*, who ſucceeded him; *Francis* duke of *Berry*, who died under a year old; *Louiſa*, who died young; *Anne*, who married *Peter*, lord of *Beaujeu*, who became afterwards duke of *Bourbon*. She was a princeſs of a high ſpirit and fine parts, governed *France* with great ſucceſs and prudence, during the minority of her brother; but is ſaid to have had an inclination for *Lewis* duke of *Orleans*, which turned afterwards to a mortal hatred, that proved highly detrimental to the kingdom (9). The youngeſt of his children was *Joan*, who married the duke of *Orleans*, and was divorced from him after he became king. As for the queen *Charlotte* of *Savoy*, after enduring the contempt, the humours, outrages, and infidelities of her huſband all his life, and being condemned by him to exile on his death-bed, ſhe did not live long enough to diſcern how her daughter would diſtinguiſh between the unjuſt command of a dying king, and the duty ſhe owed to a good and pious mother, dying at *Amboiſe*, the place of her baniſhment, *December* the 1ſt, 1483, when but thirty-eight years of age (10). Beſides theſe *Lewis* had ſeveral natural children by different mothers. He directed, in the moſt explicit manner, that his corpſe ſhould be interred at *Our Lady of Cleri*, for whom, as we have heard from *Brantome*, he had a very high veneration (11). A ſtately tomb was erected there to his memory, which was deſtroyed by the *Hugonots*, in 1562, who cauſed the remains of his body to be burnt, and the aſhes to be ſcattered in the air (12).

(8) *Memoires de Philippe de Comines.* (9) *Brantome, P. Daniel.* (10) *Scrip. Dupleix, Matthieu, Le Gendre, Pr. Henault.* (11) *Du Tillet.* (12) *Matthieu*

education.

education [k]. The young king was, beſides, deformed in his body, very infirm in his health; and, except in the vivacity of his eyes, had nothing princely or majeſtic about him. It was abſolutely neceſſary that ſomebody ſhould aſſiſt him in holding the reins of government, though the law would not permit that perſon to bear the ſtile of regent [l]. The great difficulty was to ſettle who this perſon ſhould be. The deceaſed monarch, who was certainly the beſt judge, had named his daughter *Anne* of *France*, dame *de Beaujeu*, and not her huſband, though he intended he ſhould have an equal ſhare of the government, becauſe he foreſaw that the princes of the blood, nearer the throne, might endeavour to diſpoſſeſs him; whereas the dame *de Beaujeu*, being the king's ſiſter, exempted her from any diſputes of that kind, at leaſt in his opinion [m]. But the laſt honours were hardly paid to *Lewis*, before two princes of the blood formed pretenſions to the adminiſtration; theſe were *Lewis*, duke of *Orleans*, active, affable, and amiable in all reſpects, but not above twenty-three years of age; and the duke of *Bourbon*, elder brother to the lord of *Beaujeu*, a prudent, grave, and much eſteemed prince, of threeſcore years of age [n]. The dame *de Beaujeu* foreſaw the diſorders this might occaſion, and therefore propoſed an expedient that could not be rejected, that of leaving this point to be ſettled by an aſſembly of the ſtates [o]. In the mean time all parties agreed to deliver up, if not the moſt criminal, at leaſt the moſt odious, of the late king's miniſters to the public reſentment. Theſe were *Oliver le Daim*, count of *Meulan*, once the king's barber, and at the time of his death his great confident; and *John Doiac*, who had been alſo an inſtrument of vengeance and oppreſſion; the former was hanged for adultery and murder; the latter was whipped through the ſtreets of *Paris*, and then had his right ear cut off, afterwards transferred into *Auvergne*, of which province he had been governor, and, at the village of *Monferrand*, the place of his nativity, he was whipped again, and loſt his left ear [p]: but he kept his wealth, becauſe it could not be diſcovered. *James Coctier*, or *Cottier*, *Lewis*'s inſolent phyſician, paid a large fine, as a ſmall atonement for his manifold offences, and was ſuffered to poſſeſs his immenſe fortune (to enjoy it was impoſſible) in obſcurity [q].

THE duke of *Bretagne*, who was entirely governed by his miniſter *Peter Landais*, was now much declined thro' age, *The ſtates aſſembled*

[k] P. ÆMIL. DUPLEIX. BRANTOME. [l] Memoires de COMMIN. GAGUINI Hiſt. [m] J. DE SERRES. P. DAN. [n] GAGUINI Hiſt. [o] DU TILLET. [p] GAGUINI Hiſt. [q] MEZ. CHALONS.

at Tours *ſettle the adminiſtration, and give the king a large ſubſidy.*

which inſpired the prince of *Orange* and marſhal *Rieux* with the deſign of ſeizing, and perhaps of putting to death, *Landais*, that they might govern in his room. But they miſſed their blow; for, though the miniſter was hated, the duke was beloved, and they were conſtrained to retire out of *Bretagne* [r]. *Peter Landais* found it neceſſary to have recourſe to *France* for ſupport. He ſought it firſt from the dame *de Beaujeu* without effect; he then turned his eyes upon the duke of *Orleans*, who, upon his invitation, made a tour into *Bretagne*, accompanied by *John* count of *Dunois* and *Longueville*, the ſon of that great captain who had ſo effectually ſerved the king's grandfather, and who was himſelf a perſon of great merit and abilities. He it was who inſpired the duke with the thoughts of marrying *Anne*, the ſole daughter and heireſs of the duke of *Bretagne*, who, when he came to ſee her, inclination ſupplanted intereſt, inſomuch that he became her paſſionate admirer [s]. The court, as it was natural, took umbrage at the duke's retreat, and ſummoned him to attend the aſſembly of the ſtates at *Tours*; to which, not without difficulty, the count of *Dunois* engaged him to repair. When he came thither he found that the dame *de Beaujeu* had been much too hard for him. She ſaw, that if any of the two parties joined againſt the third, they muſt prevail. She had already made ſome overtures to the duke, to no purpoſe; ſhe then turned her eyes to the duke of *Bourbon*, knowing that the conſtable's ſword was the great object of his ambition; and, therefore, ſhe inſinuated to him, that if he prevailed in obtaining the direction of affairs, he could not, with any decency, give it himſelf; but, in joining his party to her's, he might obtain it with honour [t]. This compromiſe diſappointed the duke of *Orleans*; her authority was confirmed by the ſtates, in conjunction with a council, which they named; and every thing having paſſed with the utmoſt regularity, the ſtates broke up, after giving the king two millions and a half, with an additional preſent of three hundred thouſand livres for the expences of his coronation. So that the face of public affairs was entirely changed for the better, thro' the ſagacity of this wiſe princeſs [u].

An inſurrection raiſed by the duke of

THE coronation was ſolemnized with all proper magnificence, about nine months after the king's acceſſion. The duke of *Orleans*, finding nothing was to be done by intrigues, betook himſelf to arms, and many of the nobility and princes

[r] Annales de France. MEZ. [s] ARGENTRE Hiſt. de Bretagne. J. DE SERRES. DUPLEIX. [t] Memoires de COMMIN. P. DAN. [u] DU TILLET.

of

of the blood, particularly *Renè* duke of *Alenſon*, who with his father's title inherited too much of his temper, and the duke of *Bourbon*, adhered to him. His chief dependence, however, was upon the duke of *Bretagne*, and he, or rather his miniſter, was as well diſpoſed in his behalf as he could deſire [w]. The dame *de Beaujeu* ſuſpected this, and, which was more, found that the king himſelf was inclined to him. She managed things, however, with ſo much dexterity, as ſecured her ſucceſs. She ſent a perſon of a bold enterprizing diſpoſition to the duke of *Bretagne*, in the name of the duke of *Orleans*, to deſire he would not march his troops into *France* till he demanded them, which diſconcerted the duke of *Orleans*, who could not act for want of them; and removing at once from the king's perſon all who were in the intereſt of the duke, ſhe put an eſcape out of his power, to which he was otherwiſe inclined [x]. The duke of *Orleans* went to *Paris*, and endeavoured to gain the parliament, but failed; neither had he any greater ſucceſs in his endeavour to ſeize *Orleans*, upon which he was obliged to make the beſt terms he could with the court; the hardeſt of which was, the baniſhment of the count of *Dunois*, who generouſly adviſed him to conſent to it, as a thing neceſſary to his intereſt [y]. *Peter Landais* having firſt ſupported, intended afterwards to have ſold, the earl of *Richmond* to king *Richard* the third of *England*; but, having had timely notice, he eſcaped, took refuge in *France*, and was enabled by the court to make that expedition which ſeated him on the *Engliſh* throne, by the title of *Henry* the ſeventh [z].

Orleans, quelled by the prudence of the duke de Beaujeu.

1484.

THE moſt able and diligent of the *French* hiſtorians have found it extremely difficult, and indeed ſcarce practicable, to ſettle, in exact order of time, the progreſs of the intrigues which diſturbed the beginning of this reign, and which muſt have infallibly thrown the nation into the utmoſt confuſion, if the dame *de Beaujeu* had not, by her ſuperior addreſs, retained thoſe reſtleſs ſpirits within bounds, which, in order to gratify their private reſentments, or abuſe a particular advantage, would have ſacrificed the ſafety and the welfare of the public [a]. The conſequences of thoſe maxims which had prevailed in the late reign, were the ſources of that fraud, violence, and diſloyalty, which diſtreſſed the preſent. Except her huſband, the governeſs had nobody to depend upon, farther than as ſhe gratified them. *Renè*, duke of *Lorrain*, was

In the midſt of ſeeming tranquility the ſeeds are ſown of a general defection.

[w] MEZ. CHALONS. LE GEND. [x] ARGENTRE Hiſt. de Bretagne. P. DAN. [y] J. DE SERRES. DU TILLET. [z] STOWE. RAPIN. [a] Annales de France. GAGUINI Hiſt. BRANTOME Eloge de Charles VIII.

amongſt the firſt and the loudeſt of the malecontents. His pretenſions ran very high, for he claimed no leſs than the whole ſucceſſion of the houſe of *Anjou*. He was reſtored to the duchy of *Bar*, had a good penſion given him, and a promiſe that his claim to the duchy of *Provence* ſhould be examined and decided in four years [b]. This brought him ſo thoroughly into the intereſts of the court, that before the war broke out, when the duke of *Orleans* gave the dame *de Beaujeu* the lye at the council table, the duke of *Lorrain* ſtruck him on the face [c]. By his advice chiefly the war had been managed, and to this, in a great meaſure, was owing its ſucceſs. Yet it was hardly over, before he grew out of humour again, and the conſtable *de Bourbon* was exactly in the ſame diſpoſition; that is to ſay, after he had what he aſked he thought it too little, and began to look for ſomething more. This conduct in the great, had an influence alſo upon perſons of leſs conſideration, who valued their ſervices very high, and, if not paid to their wiſh, forgot former favours, and even their duty [d]. The dame *de Beaujeu* knew all this, but ſeemed to know nothing. The duke of *Orleans* was about the court, and, in appearance, eaſy and quiet. The truce with *Henry* the ſeventh of *England* was ratified, and the intrigues in the *Low Countries*, of which the late king had made ſo good uſe, were ſtill kept on foot, and anſwered the purpoſes of his daughter in the like manner [e]. In a word, there was a general appearance of tranquility, but nothing like it at bottom, all parties were contriving to revive the diſturbances ſo lately ſuppreſſed, and it was not long before the ſmothered fire broke out.

A. D. 1485.

The duke of Orleans *retires into* Bretagne *and plunges the kingdom into a civil and foreign war.*

In *Bretagne* the enemies of the miniſter brought their deſigns to bear, and put *Peter Landais* to an infamous death, in ſpite of the duke, who at length ſuffered himſelf to be governed by the Sieur *de Leſcun* and the prince of *Orange*, who were in a cloſe correſpondence with the court of *France*, not only till they thought it their intereſt to enter into the meaſures of the malecontents, but even afterwards pretending to diſcover thoſe contrivances, in which they had as deep a concern as any; but the true value of their diſcoveries was well underſtood at court, and they only amuſed themſelves, while they thought they were amuſing others [f]. The duke of *Orleans*, when he had formed a new league, and had recalled the count of *Dunois* into *France*, retired into *Bretagne*, not

[b] Memoires de Commin. P. Æmil. [c] J. de Serres. Du Tillet, Pr. Henault. [d] Gaguini Hiſt. Memoires de Commin. [e] Annales de France. [f] Brantome Eloge de Charles VIII.

doubting

doubting that he ſhould now accompliſh with eaſe thoſe ſchemes in which he had been baffled before. There wanted not indeed great probability of this; the archduke, *Maximilian*, was actually in arms; the duke of *Lorrain* had entered into the league; the duke of *Bourbon*, the count *d'Angouleſme*, and ſeveral other great lords, were actually engaged; and they had, in appearance, the whole force of *Bretagne* at their command [g]. It quickly appeared, however, that theſe ſignals of ſucceſs were but fallacious. The king fell with an army into *Guienne*, and ſtripped many of the malecontents of their employments and their eſtates. The count of *Angouleſme* went to pay his reſpects to the king at *Bourges*, and ſubmitted. The court taking ſome ſteps as if they had intended the reſtitution of *Provence*, the duke of *Lorrain* from being violent became neuter. The duke of *Bourbon* being convinced by his brother that he was not only acting againſt his duty, but the intereſt of his houſe, in adhering to the malecontents, quitted them [h]. The king marching his forces into *Anjou*, the nobility of *Bretagne* were alarmed, and a great part of them entered into a ſecret treaty with the court of *France*, to prevent their country from becoming the ſeat of war. *Maximilian*, become king of the *Romans*, made an irruption into the *French* territories with no great advantage, the king marching againſt him with a powerful army, while the troubles in *Bretagne* hindered the malecontents from taking any advantage of his abſence [i]. The court was now ſo ſecure of the duke of *Bourbon*, that with his conſent they arreſted two of his friends, the lord *Culant*, and the famous *Philip de Commines*, who being convicted by his own letters of having held a correſpondence with the duke of *Orleans*, was obliged to paſs eight months in one of thoſe iron cages which were of the late king's erection [k].

A. D. 1486.

THE lord of *Albret* was of the number of thoſe who had ſigned the league, and he had a conſiderable force at his command; but he was in his own domains, which lay at ſo great a diſtance, and had ſo many provinces to traverſe, that it ſeemed unreaſonable, even to the malecontents, to preſs him [l]. Their own neceſſities, however, ſilenced all ſcruples; and, that he might raiſe none, they made him believe that he ſhould marry the duke's eldeſt daughter upon his arrival; for the duke of *Bretagne* was now in the ſame circumſtances that the duke of *Burgundy* had been in; that is, he placed all his de-

The king invades Bretagne and brings the duke into great danger and diſtreſs.

[g] Annales de France. JALIGNI Hiſtoire de Charles VIII.
[h] BRANTOME Eloge de Charles VIII. [i] LE GEND.
[k] GAGUINI Hiſt. P. DAN. [l] Memoires de COMMIN. J. DE SERRES.

pendence in an army of ſons-in law. But the duke of *Orleans* and the prince of *Orange*, who made theſe overtures to *Albret*, were moſt culpable; for the former, though married to the late king *Lewis*'s daughter, aimed at this match for himſelf; and the prince was ſecretly negotiating for the king of the *Romans* [m]. The lord of *Albret* was ſo much ſtruck with this propoſal, that he not only undertook to march in ſpite of all the obſtacles that lay in his way, but alſo to bring over the corps which he had in the king's army, and actually in his pay. While he was labouring this point, *Charles* the eighth advanced in the month of *May* into *Bretagne*, and ſuppoſing that the neceſſity of his affairs releaſed him from the letter of the treaty he had made with the lords of *Bretagne*, inſtead of an army of four hundred lances and four thouſand infantry, as had been ſtipulated, he entered with three, or, ſome ſay, four bodies of troops, each of them of greater ſtrength [n]. The firſt took *Ploermell*, the ſecond *Vannes*, out of which the old duke, *Francis* II. luckily made his eſcape; for, tho' he had at firſt an army of eighteen thouſand good troops, yet the beſt part of them were taken from him by an artifice. For *Maurice du Menez*, a *Breton* by birth, but who had been formerly in the ſervice of *France*, gave out that the quarrel between the princes and the king was a farce concerted between them; and that the *French* in the duke's army meant to deliver him up to their maſter. Upon hearing this tale, three fourths of the army deſerted. The third army reduced *Dinant*; and the fourth, which was indeed compoſed by the conjunction of the other three, beſieged *Nantes* [o]. The duke, in this diſtreſs, ſent the count *Dunois* to ſollicit relief from king *Henry* of *England*; but, being three or four times put back by contrary winds, he was ſo alarmed at the danger of the duke and of the princes with him, that he raiſed the militia of *Lower Bretagne*, to the number of ſixty thouſand men, and conducted his affairs ſo ably, that he firſt relieved the city, and afterwards obliged the *French* to raiſe the ſiege [p]. The king, notwithſtanding, put his troops into winter quarters in *Bretagne*. He had the like ſucceſs in *Guienne*, where the lord of *Albret* was forced to diſarm and ſubmit; and in *Picardy*, where the troops of the king of the *Romans* were beaten, and the town of *St. Omers* taken [q]. The lords of *Bretagne*, who had cloſed with *France*, ſeeing the danger that himſelf and his dominions were in, reconciled themſelves to

A. D. 1487.

[m] Dupleix. Du Tillet. Mez. [n] Argentre Hiſtoire de Bretagne. Gaguini Hiſtoria. Jalioni Hiſtoire de Charles VIII. [o] Annales de France. [p] J. de Serres. [q] Le Gend.

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their duke, and at the ſame time began a pretended negotiation with the dame *de Beaujeu*, who ſaw through it, and cheated them who intended to cheat her; for, being aware of their real intentions, ſhe gave them ſuch anſwers as miſled them extremely [r].

THE neceſſary preparations were made for opening the campaign very early, when the plenipotentiaries imagined the court, upon their fallacious propoſitions, would have opened conferences: finding their miſtake, the count *de Comminges*, who was at the head of the embaſſy, took his leave, and marſhal *Rieux*, who had attended the king on behalf of the lords of his party in *Bretagne*, withdrew privately, put himſelf at the head of the troops of his old maſter, and recovered ſeveral places that had been taken by the *French* [s]. The lord of *Albret* alſo, whom the king had pardoned, arrived in *Bretagne* by ſea, and brought with him four thouſand men. His company of *Gens d'Arms*, alſo in the king's army, revolted, and joined them. But theſe little ſucceſſes were much qualified by the king's troops under *la Trimouille* being in the field before they expected them, and by another event which they did not expect at all, which was, the citing the duke of *Orleans*, the counts of *Dunois* and *Comminges*, *Philip de Commines*, and ſeveral others, to appear before the parliament; by which it was evident the king intended to treat them as rebels [t]. The *French* army began with the ſiege of *Fougeres*, a very ſtrong place, well provided, with a good garriſon, which it was imagined would make a long defence; but the *French* artillery, excellent for thoſe days, reduced it in a week. This loſs was followed by that of the fortreſs of St. *Aubin du Cormier*, upon which the *Bretons* and the malecontents took a reſolution to fight [u]. This deciſive engagement happened on *Monday*, the 28th of *July*. The firſt line was commanded by the marſhal *de Rieux* and the lord of *Albret*; in the ſecond there was a ſmall corps under the command of lord *Scales*, with twelve hundred *Bretons* under the red croſs of St. *George*, that they might be taken for *Engliſh*. There was alſo a body of *German* auxiliaries ſent to the king of the *Romans* [w]. As the whole army had entertained great jealouſy of them, the prince of *Orange* put himſelf at the head of the *Breton* infantry, as the duke of *Orleans* did at the head of the *Germans*, both on foot. The armies

The French gain the victory of St. Aubin, in which the duke of Orleans and prince of Orange are made priſoners.

[r] ARGENTRE Hiſtoire de Bretagne. P. DAN. Hiſt. [s] Annales de France. MEZ. Eloge de Charles VIII. Memoires de COMMIN. LIGNI Hiſtoire de Charles VIII. CHALONS. [t] GAGUINI. [u] BRANT. [w] JA-

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were very near equal, each about twelve thouſand ſtrong[x]. The *French* were ſuperior in horſe; and the *Breton* cavalry behaved ill; their foot fought gallantly, till, being attacked in flank and rear, they were broke; five thouſand five hundred men were killed on the ſpot, the duke of *Orleans* and the prince of *Orange* taken, and the victory as complete in all reſpects as could be deſired[y]. The two princes were carried to St. *Aubin*, where the general *la Trimouille* invited them to ſupper, which paſſed very well, but had an untoward deſert; ſince, juſt as it was over, came in two *Cordeliers*, who told the general, that, according to his orders, they were come to confeſs the priſoners. The duke and the prince looked upon each other, ſuppoſing they had not long to live. The general relieved them, by ſaying, that he ſhould expect the orders of the court in regard to them; but that he had, by his own authority, ordered ſome gentlemen, who were taken in arms againſt the king, to be beheaded[z]. The duke of *Bretagne* was ſo humbled by this defeat, that he was forced to have recourſe to ſubmiſſion, and to make ſuch a treaty as the king was pleaſed to admit, which was concluded on the 28th of *Auguſt* at *Sable*; and, on the 9th of *September*, this unfortunate prince died of a fall from his horſe, leaving his two daughters, *Anne* and *Iſabell*, to the care of the marſhal *de Rieux* and the count *de Comminges*, by his will, charging them to be guided by the advice of the count of *Dunois*[a]. A civil war had broke out in the *Low Countries*, in which the people of *Ghent*, by the aſſiſtance of the *French*, had taken the king of the *Romans* priſoner, and did not releaſe him, but upon hard terms, and in conſideration of a high ranſom[b]. The duke of *Bourbon* being dead, his brother, the lord of *Beaujeu*, ſucceeded to that title; and, therefore, for the future we are to ſtile his conſort ducheſs of *Bourbon*[c].

A. D. 1488.

Henry VII. *interpoſes, but to little purpoſe, in the affairs of* Bretagne.

THE affairs of *Bretagne* were now in ſuch confuſion, that there was no way left to preſerve the whole country from being conquered, but to apply to *Henry* the ſeventh of *England*. He was indeed deeply intereſted in the preſervation of that important ſovereignty; but his politics were ſo refined, that he did not ſee the full extent of its danger. The people of *England* did, and how much it imported them to ſave it; and, therefore, they forced the king to conclude a treaty with the young ducheſs, and to ſend over ſix thouſand men to

[x] Memoires de COMMIN. BRANT. Eloge de Charles VIII. [y] Annales de France. LE GEND. [z] DU TILLET. [a] Annales de France. [b] HAROEUS Annal Brabant. DUPLEIX. [c] MEZ. CHALONS.

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her aſſiſtance [d]. But the main point of all was the marriage. Her father had made very ſtrong promiſes to the lord of *Albret*, who commanded in *Nantes* with a great corps of troops, and the marſhal *Rieux*, who took upon him to act as her guardian, was, in earneſt, deſirous that it ſhould take place. The chancellor of *Bretagne*, who was againſt it, had her confidence; and, beſides, the princeſs, who was but in her thirteenth year, had the utmoſt repugnance to a marriage with a man of forty-five, of a very indifferent perſon, haſty in his temper, whoſe eſtates were not very conſiderable, and who had three ſons and four daughters by a former wife [e]. This was not all, the father had likewiſe, from a principle before-mentioned, concluded with the prince of *Orange* a marriage for his daughter with *Maximilian*, king of the *Romans*, in whoſe intereſt the chancellor was. There was a great diſproportion in their age, but the king had a good perſon, and was reported to be of an eaſy temper; but withal he was very indolent, and his finances were in great diſorder: king *Charles* was looked upon as his ſon-in-law, the princeſs *Margaret* being bred up in *France*, agreeable to the treaty concluded with the king his father; and it was upon this that *Henry* of *England* chiefly depended [f]. *Charles* encouraged theſe notions, when, after treating with *Maximilian* at *Francfort*, he offered to ſubmit to him the diſputes in *Bretagne*, provided the ducheſs would do the like; and, by this means, a kind of a treaty of pacification was concluded, by which the *Engliſh* were obliged to return, and the king to reſtore the greateſt part of his conqueſts. All parties ſeemed pleaſed with this treaty, which none of them intended to keep, becauſe it kept things quiet for the preſent, and gained time, which they all of them wanted [g]. Each conceived that his view was a ſecret to the other party, and took his meaſures, while the calm laſted, for the ſtorm which was to enſue. A. D. 1489.

CHARLES, by the advice of the duke and ducheſs of *Bourbon*, releaſed *John de Chalons*, prince of *Orange*, and ſent him back into *Bretagne*, where he had a great intereſt, and where, out of gratitude, he did the king much ſervice. The young ducheſs, in her perplexed circumſtances, truſting to the advice of her chancellor, and being dazzled with the ſounding titles of *Maximilian*, conſented to eſpouſe him; and ſent over the prince of *Orange*, with other ambaſſadors, to preſs king *Henry* to act with vigour in ſupport of a princeſs, whoſe father *The king releaſes the prince of* Orange, *and ſends him into* Bretagne, *where he does him great ſervice.*

[d] Memoires de COMMIN. HALL. Hiſtoire de Bretagne. Annales de France. [e] NOUVELLE [f] P. DAN. [g] DUPLEIX. MEZ.

had

had protected him when in yet deeper diſtreſs [h]. The lord of *Albret*, perceiving that he had no hopes left, by an unaccountable mixture of reſentment and loyalty, reconciled himſelf to the king, and contributed to put the rich city of *Nantes* into his hands [i]. In the mean time *Henry* acted in a very ambiguous manner, for the *Flemings* being again broke out in rebellion againſt *Maximilian*, and being ſupported by the *French*, he ſent aſſiſtance to the king of the *Romans*, and entered into an alliance with him, with the emperor his father and with *Ferdinand*, king of *Caſtile* and *Arragon*, againſt *France*; but at the ſame time he treated with *Charles*, demanding firſt the kingdom of *France*, next the duchies of *Guiennne* and *Normandy*, and laſtly, the arrears of the penſion due by the treaty of *Pequigny*, which amounted to a very conſiderable ſum, and which was his real object [k]. The paſſion this monarch had for money, was but too viſible in all his actions and negotiations.

A. D. 1490.

Goes in perſon to Bourges *to releaſe the duke of* Orleans, *who in gratitude negotiates the king's marriage with the heireſs of* Bretagne.

THE king, perceiving now in what manner *Henry* might be pacified, having little fear of the king of the *Romans*, and believing the acquiſition of *Bretagne* was worth running ſome hazard, reſolved to puſh things to the utmoſt; and, with this view, directed the count *de Dunois* and the prince of *Orange* to negotiate his marriage with the ducheſs of *Bretagne*, at the ſame time that his troops beſieged her in the city of *Rennes* [l]. The king's agents in vain repreſented to the ducheſs, that the king was young, a great prince, and who had plauſible pretenſions to her whole dominions, grounded on the ceſſions made to his father by the laſt heirs of the count of *Penthieure*, to whom, in caſe of the failure of heirs male, the duchy was to deſcend; his claim of forfeiture, upon the charge of felony, depending in parliament againſt her father, and the right he might pretend to *Bretagne*, as a fief reverting to the crown on the extinction of the male line. To this the ducheſs oppoſed her marriage to *Maximilian*, which had been notified to her allies, had been publicly proclaimed, and his name joined with her's in acts of government; to which ſhe added, that *Charles* himſelf was contracted to the princeſs *Mangaret*, daughter to her huſband *Maximilian*, which had been as publicly acknowleged; ſo that theſe ſeemed inſuperable bars to a marriage, which muſt, in other reſpects, be very contrary to her inclinations, ſince ſhe had been always bred up in an averſion to *France*, and had no reaſons whatever to

[h] JALIGNI. P. DAN. [i] Annales de France. [k] BACON's Hiſt. of Henry VII. MARIANA. FERRERAS. P. DAN. [l] NOUVELLE Hiſtoire de Bretagne.

combat

combat that averſion in favour of this monarch [m]. To this it was replied, that *Maximilian* had himſelf deſerted her, at a time when he ought to have hazarded all things for her ſervice; and that, probably, if ſhe neglected it, he might make his peace at her expence. That the king's contract was no marriage; and that being made purely upon reaſons of ſtate, it might, from the like reaſons, be diſſolved, and a diſpenſation for that purpoſe be procured from *Rome* [n]. The ducheſs not yielding to theſe arguments, the king was adviſed to ſet the duke of *Orleans* at liberty, and to make uſe of his intereſt; but to this, tho' the match was of her own propoſing, the ducheſs of *Bourbon* would by no means conſent. The Sieur *de Miolans*, the king's favourite, told him, that he was now of an age to govern by himſelf; that his own eaſe and the peace of his dominions depended upon his thorough reconciliation with the duke of *Orleans*; and that he might ſecure this, by making that prince's grace depend ſolely on himſelf [o]. *Charles*, wrought upon by theſe ſollicitations, went to the tower of *Bourges*, where the duke of *Orleans* was confined; and, after a ſhort conference with him, ſet him at liberty, and ſent him into *Bretagne*, where he very quickly performed all that was expected from him; and, tho' he had been the beſt received of all the pretenders to the ducheſs, prevailed upon her to lay aſide all her ſcruples, and to conſent to the marriage; which was entirely regulated by the middle of the month of *December*, at *Langeais* in *Touraine*, and celebrated the ſame day the contract was ſigned [p]. 1491.

THIS marriage aſtoniſhed all *Europe*, and ſeemed to excite ſuch a jealouſy in its principal potentates againſt *Charles*; as was like to prove fatal to *France*. *Maximilian* exclaimed againſt the ambition and falſhood of a prince, who had quitted his own wife to ſeize the wife of his father-in-law. *Henry*, who ſaw himſelf outwitted, was really angry, and ſhewed it ſo plainly, that he obtained a great ſupply from his parliament, and great ſums from his people, for the invaſion of *France* [q]. *Ferdinand* the *Catholic* repeated his claim to *Rouſſillon* and *Cerdagne*; and at the ſame time aſſembled troops on the frontiers of *Arragon*. *Charles* continued at *Tours* with a conſiderable army about him, but without diſcovering any great emotion, or making any extraordinary preparations for repelling the confederates. The archduke *Philip* had demanded his ſiſter, but the king refuſed to part with her. *Concludes treaties with all his neighbours, in order to his expedition into* Italy.

[m] DUPLEIX. MEZ. [n] Nouv. Hiſtoire de Bretagne. JALIGNI. Memoires de COMMIN. [o] ARGENT. BRANT. P. DAN. [p] CHAL. Pr. Henault. LE GEND. [q] GAGUINI Hiſt. BACON's Hiſt. of Henry VII.

Maximilian

Maximilian found means to ſurprize *St. Omers* and *Arras*, and his troops found a paſſage into *Amiens*; but, by the ſpirit and fidelity of the inhabitants, were driven out again. In
A. D. the operations of this campaign, the king of the *Romans* was
1492. aſſiſted by an *Engliſh* fleet [r]. In the autumn, *Henry* debarked in *France* one of the fineſt and beſt appointed armies that was ever tranſported from *England*; and, on the 15th of *October*, inveſted *Boulogne*: he knew very well that *Maximilian* could not, and that *Ferdinand* would not, execute the treaties they had made with him for invading *France*; and he foreſaw this at the time he made them. He conducted this ſiege in ſuch a manner, as to make it very fatiguing to his troops; and all the time was treating with *Charles*, with whom he concluded the famous treaty of *Eſtaples*, which may be eſteemed a maſter piece of policy in both kings [s]. Having finiſhed the war upon the very plan he propoſed by it, *Henry* returned well ſatisfied into *England*, and left *Charles* very well pleaſed. *Maximilian*, unable to continue the war, and unwilling to conclude a peace, ſuffered his ſon, the archduke *Philip*, to make a truce for a year [t]. It is generally reported by the *French* writers, that *Ferdinand* over-reached *Charles* in the ſettling their diſpute. His agent at the court of *France* was a *Cordelier*, who is ſaid to have influenced *Oliver Maillard*, the king's confeſſor, and *John Mauleon*, who acted in the ſame capacity to the ducheſs of *Bourbon*, both monks of his own order, by preſents of *Spaniſh* wine of a very rich flavour; that is, conſiderable ſums of ready gold put up in caſks [u]. Theſe reverend fathers, thus inſtructed, perſuaded the king and the ducheſs, that nothing troubled their father *Lewis* ſo much on his death-bed, as the great injuſtice he had committed in retaining the counties of *Rouſſillon* and *Cerdagne*; and that, dying in a diſpoſition to reſtore them, his ſoul ſuffered incredible pains till this was accompliſhed: in conſequence of which, the king conſented to the reſtitution of thoſe two counties, on the repayment of three hundred thouſand crowns; and afterwards freely remitted that ſum on the faith of *Ferdinand*'s promiſe not to make war on *France*, or to ſupport any of his allies with whom *France* ſhould be at war: in all probability, this promiſe was the great object the king had in view, in a generoſity for which he is univerſally condemned by all political hiſtorians [w].

[r] Jaligni. Mariana. Lord Bacon's Hiſt. of Henry VII. Mez. [s] Memoires de Commin. P. Æmil. Hall. Holinshed. Speed. [t] Duplrix. Du Tillet. [u] Annales de France. La Gend. [w] Memoires de Commin. Ferreras.

After

AFTER ſo many treaties concluded, on purpoſe to leave *France* without enemies from old quarrels when ſhe was about to embark in new, it is no wonder that *Charles* inclined to adjuſt his diſputes with the houſe of *Auſtria*, and he accordingly did this by the treaty of *Senlis*, concluded with the archduke *Philip*; by which it was agreed, that the princeſs *Margaret* ſhould be reſtored to her family, with all her fortune and jewels; and that the counties of *Burgundy*, *Artois*, and *Auxerre*, a few places only excepted, ſhould be likewiſe reſtored, as they were yielded to *France* in conſideration of her marriage. *Henry* the ſeventh of *England* deſired to be, and was accordingly, included as the ally of both parties[x]. The view of all theſe negotiations, cenſured by ſome writers, and juſtified by others, was to put it in the young king's power to vindicate his title to the crown of *Naples*, ſuppoſed to deſcend to him from the ſecond houſe of *Anjou*, which ended in *Charles* count of *Maine*, and in virtue of whoſe will the county of *Provence* had been annexed to the crown[y]. This had been long in the king's mind, tho' he ſometimes diſguiſed it, under a pretence of making war againſt the *Turks*. It is very certain that this project was diſliked by the wiſeſt and ableſt heads in the *French* council, who urged, that the king had not money, troops, officers, or ſtateſmen, in any degree adequate to ſuch a deſign: but he had thoſe about him who repreſented it as very eaſy, and to theſe he liſtened. They were chiefly *Stephen de Vers*, his valet de chambre, the ſon of a taylor of *Dauphine*; and *William Briſonnet*, the ſon of an under officer in the revenue, who, by his own favour, had been raiſed to the management of the finances; men of very limited capacities, and whoſe abilities were only known to, and confided in, by the king[z]. The true ſecret was, that *Lewis Sforza*, ſurnamed the *Moor*, aimed at the entire poſſeſſion of the duchy of *Milan*, which he governed already in the name of his nephew *John Galeas*, ſon to his elder brother, whom he kept a kind of priſoner; but, being married to the daughter of *Alonſo*, duke of *Calabria*, a princeſs of great wiſdom and ſpirit, he durſt not depoſe and murder him, as he intended, 'till the affairs of *Italy* ſhould be ſo embarraſſed as to leave him nothing to fear from the king of *Naples*; and this it was that induced him to call in *Charles*. But it is not poſſible to ſay what it was that induced this prince to engage in ſuch an enterprize, on a right not the

Upon what motives Charles *embarked in the war of* Naples, *and the ſtate of* Italy *at this time.*

[x] LEONARD. JALIGNI. P. DAN. MARIANA. [y] Annales de France. GAGUINI Hiſt. MEZ. [z] DUPLEIX. LE GEND.

moſt

moſt clear, with few troops, leſs treaſure, and no allies [a] unleſs *Lodowic Sforza*, the adminiſtrator of *Milan*, migh be conſidered in that light, and he was ſuch an ally as n other prince would truſt. *Alexander* the ſixth then occupie the ſee of *Rome*, of whom the *Italians*, who ſpeak reſpectfull of popes, ſay, that he was without faith, without mercy, an without religion [b]. *Ferdinand*, king of *Naples*, had a ba character; his ſon *Alonſo*, duke of *Calabria*, an indifferen one; and his grandſon, *Ferdinand*, the beſt of all. Th republic of *Florence* was governed by *Peter de Medicis*, whom the people hated; and that of *Genoa* ſubject to the adminiſtration of *Milan*, who had done homage for it to *Charles* himſelf.

Almoſt as ſoon as he joins his forces, he falls ill of the ſmall-pox, and is conſtrained to ſtay at Aſt.

THE king having, by the advice of his favourites, rejected the propoſition made by *Ferdinand*, king of *Naples*, who offered to do him homage for that kingdom, and to pay him a tribute of fifty thouſand crowns a year, and who died ſoon after, either of an apoplexy or of grief [c], prepared for a war; all the honour and profit that could be hoped from which, he might have enjoyed without ſtirring from home. He appointed *Peter*, duke of *Bourbon*, regent, in his abſence; and ſetting out from *Paris*, proceeded in the month of *July* to *Lyons*; after ſome ſtay there, he went to *Grenoble*; he repaired from thence to *Aſt*, the capital of a ſmall country, where he ſtaid a month, while, with incredible labour and difficulty, his artillery paſſed the mountains: there he fell ill of the ſmall-pox, which alarmed his ſubjects, and gave leiſure and hopes to his enemies [d]. The moſt bitter of theſe was the pope, who, having already applied himſelf without effect to moſt of the princes in *Europe*, at length depended on the *Turkiſh* ſoltan *Bajazet*, with whom he entered into a cloſe alliance, receiving an annual ſubſidy for keeping his brother *Zizime* in priſon, and having a promiſe of three hundred thouſand ducats, whenever he ſhould think proper to earn it, by putting him to death [e]; and from him he expected, in virtue, as is ſaid, of a treaty, a numerous body of troops. But, in the mean time, *Andrew Palæologus*, deſpot of *Romania*, the ſole heir of the emperor his uncle, made a reſignation at *Rome* of all his rights to the empire of *Conſtantinople*, but without the pope's knowlege, to *Charles* the eighth.

[a] GEORGII FLORI de Bello Italico Hiſtor. DU TILLET. P. DAN. [b] ANDRE DE LA VIGNE. DUPLEIX. MEZ. [c] JALIGNI. GAGUINI. ARNOLDI FERRONI. [d] Annales de France. BRANTOME. LE GEND. [e] Memoires de COMMIN.

As

As ſoon as he recovered, his forces began to defile into *Italy*, conſiſting in the whole of about ſix thouſand horſe, and twelve thouſand foot, one half of whom were *Swiſs*. His naval force was commanded by the duke of *Orleans*, who defeated *Frederic*, brother to Don *Alonſo*, king of *Naples*, at *Rapalo*; and *Robert Stuart*, lord of *D'Aubigny*, who commanded the van-guard of his forces, hindered *Ferdinand*, duke of *Calabria*, from entering *Romagna*[f]. By that time the king arrived at *Turin* he had no money, which obliged him to borrow the jewels of the ducheſs of *Savoy*; and at *Caſſel*, the marchioneſs of *Montſerrat* did him the like favour; upon theſe he raiſed twenty-four thouſand ducats, which enabled him to proceed to *Pavia*, where he found the young duke of *Milan* dying of poiſon; and there *Lodovic Sforza* left *Charles* to go and take poſſeſſion of the duchy, tho' the young duke had left a ſon[g]. The few wiſe heads in *Charles*'s councils, adviſed him to puniſh that unnatural uncle, and to take winter quarters in the *Milaneſe*, without pretending to traverſe *Italy* with a handful of troops, and deſtitute of money[h]. *Stephen de Vers* prevailed upon him to reject this advice, and to march into the territory of *Florence*, all places opening their gates, and his good fortune procuring him a loan from *Peter de Medicis* of two hundred thouſand crowns. On the 17th of *November* he entered *Florence* in triumph[i]. To *Sienna* and *Piſa* he reſtored liberty. Having preſcribed ſuch terms to the *Florentines* as his circumſtances required, and under which their ſituation obliged them to acquieſce, he proceeded to *Rome*, and the pope having ſhut himſelf up in the caſtle of St. *Angelo*, the king, armed at all points, entered *Rome* as a conqueror, at the head of his army, by torch-light, on the laſt night of the year[k], and did ſeveral acts of ſovereignty there. *He proceeds to Pavia, enters the city of Florence, and afterwards Rome in triumph.* 1494.

The cardinals, who had any regard for juſtice and religion, preſſed the king to force the caſtle, and to depoſe the pope; but he was diverted from this by *William de Briſonnet*, now become an eccleſiaſtic, and biſhop of St. *Malo*, who, for this, received a cardinal's hat[l]. The pope, however, was compelled to make a treaty, by which he put ſeveral ſtrong places into the king's hand, gave him the inveſtiture of the kingdom of *Naples*, yielded his ſon *Cæſar Borgia* as an hoſtage, and delivered up the *Turkiſh* prince *Zizime*, who is ſaid to have *He marches on to Naples, and makes his public entry in imperial robes.*

[f] Jaligni. Annales de France. Mez. [g] Gaguini Hiſt. Memoires de Commin. P. Dan. [h] Guicciardini. Dupleix. Du Till. [i] Jaligni. Brant. J. De Serres. [k] P. Dan. [l] Georgii Flori de Bello Italico Hiſt.

been poiſoned, and who certainly died ſoon after[m]. Towards the cloſe of *January*, the king began his march for *Naples*. King *Alonſo* had reſigned the crown to his ſon *Ferdinand*, who was unable to make any oppoſition; ſo that on the 22d of *February*, the king entered *Naples*, as he had done *Rome*, in triumph, and ſome time after in the manner, but in imperial robes, and was there ſaluted emperor[n]. He might have been ſo in effect, if the pope had not betrayed the intelligence he had in *Greece* to *Bajazet*; for which many thouſand Chriſtians loſt their lives. Thus, in ſix weeks, he traverſed *Italy*, and in a fortnight became maſter (we cannot ſay conqueror) of the kingdom of *Naples*[o], *Brindiſi* excepted. His fortune had been hitherto without impeachment, and without example, inſomuch that many looked on him as an inſtrument of God, raiſed up to dethrone and to deſtroy the execrable tyrants in *Italy*, which, if he had aſſumed that character, he might certainly have done, and carried his glory as high as that of any hero of antiquity. His behaviour, however, was of a very different nature; for he amuſed himſelf with feaſts and ſhews; and leaving his power in the hands of his favourites, they abandoned it to whoever would purchaſe titles, place, or authority, at the rates which they impoſed[p]. *Gilbret*, count of *Montpenſier*, was declared viceroy; the lord of *D'Aubigny*, conſtable of the kingdom; *Stephen Vers* had the duchy of *Nolla* for his ſhare, and the whole force he propoſed to leave in his new acquired kingdom, conſiſted but of four thouſand men[q].

The king returns into his dominions and defeats the whole force of Italy *aſſembled to bar his paſſage.* 1495.

BUT while the king was loſing his time, his enemies were far from loſing theirs. A league was concluded at *Venice* againſt him, into which entered the pope, the emperor, *Maximilian*, the archduke *Philip*, *Ferdinand* the *Catholic*, *Lodowic Sforza*, and the *Venetians*[r]. He had intelligence of this from *Philip de Commines*, his miniſter at *Venice*; but he could ſcarce believe it. The confederates aſſembled an army of forty thouſand men, commanded by *Francis*, marquis of *Mantua*, and they waited for the king in the valley of *Fornova*, into which he deſcended with nine thouſand men. On the ſixth of *July* he attacked that mighty army, and defeated them, with the loſs only of fourſcore men, after which he

[m] ARNOLDI FERRONI de rebus geſtis Gallorum. JALIGNI. GEORGII FLORI de Bello Italico. P. DAN. [n] Journal de la Conqueſte de Naple, par ANDRE DE LA VIGNE. Memoires de COMMIN. DUP. [o] DU TILL. MEZ. P. DAN. LE GEND. [p] P. DAN. [q] DUPLEIX. [r] MARIANA. FERR.

marched

marched with great diligence to *Aſt* [s]. From thence, after ſome ſtay, he marched to diſengage the duke of *Orleans*, who was beſieged in *Novara*, by *Lodowic Sforza*, and the army of the allies; but, before he arrived, the duke had capitulated, and had leave to join the king with his half-ſtarved garriſon [t]. Under theſe circumſtances he was joined by ſixteen thouſand *Swiſs*, which enabled him once more to give law. But, having made a treaty with *Lodowic Sforza*, by which he obtained *Novara* and the port of *Spezzia*, together with a large ſum of money for himſelf, and another for the duke of *Orleans*, and a promiſe to ſend ſuccours to *Naples*, he ſet out immediately for *Lyons* [u]. *Ferdinand*, being aſſiſted with *Spaniſh* troops under the command of *Gonſalez de Cordova*, ſurnamed the *Great Captain*, recovered his kingdom almoſt as ſoon as he had loſt it, notwithſtanding a victory gained by the conſtable *D'Aubigny* [w]; and thus thoſe mighty conqueſts, ſo rapidly gained, ſerved only to amaze the world for a few months, and to exerciſe the talents of ſome great writers, who have deſcribed all the paſſages of theſe wonderful turns of fortune with great exactneſs, as the reader will ſee in other parts of this work, to which they properly belong; our deſign, at preſent, being no more than to repreſent them briefly, as inſeparable from the hiſtory of this monarch; who, at his return into his own dominions, abandoned himſelf to thoſe paſtimes and pleaſures which had been the bane of that expedition, that had otherwiſe placed him in a point of light, equal at leaſt, if not ſuperior, to any of his predeceſſors, ſince the days of *Charlemagne*.

Some preparations for renewing the war in Italy renewed abortive.

His favourite *Stephen de Vers*, to whom he had given the duchy of *Nola*, found means to return into *France*, and earneſtly perſuaded the king to reſume the conqueſt of *Naples*; he ſhewed him that he had many friends in *Italy*, by whom he might be aſſiſted with whatever he wanted, without putting his own dominions to any great expence; that the *Florentines* would furniſh money, the *Swiſs* troops; that doing juſtice upon tyrants, and ſetting the great cities at liberty, would ſecure his paſſage and facilitate his conqueſts. The king liſtened to this advice, in which there was a great deal of truth, raiſed forces, and made diſpoſitions, as if he intended to repaſs the mountains. But the cardinal of *St. Malo*, who had been the prime author of the firſt war, was againſt theſe meaſures, being now, as moſt authors ſay, entirely in the

[s] Jaligni. Brant. P. Dan. [t] Georgii Flori de Bello Italico Hiſt. [u] Dup. Du Till. [w] Mez. Guicciardini.

intereſt of the pope [x]. The duke of *Orleans* refuſed the command of the army, perceiving that the king's health declined, and that conſequently his intereſt lay in being near the court, which defeated the expedition [y]. The *French*, in the kingdom of *Naples*, who had ſhut themſelves up in ſuch fortreſſes as were ſtill in their power, were gradually compelled to capitulate. The count *de Montpenſier* was ſhut up in *Aſtella*, where he was at laſt forced to ſubmit to a compoſition upon very hard terms, and died afterwards of the plague at *Puzzoli* [z]. The conſtable *D'Aubigny* threw himſelf into *Gropoli*, where he made a glorious defence, and ſurrendered at laſt upon honourable terms, by which he was permitted to march out with all his forces, drums beating, and colours flying; but this was the laſt effort; and the new king of *Naples*, *Frederic*, who had ſucceeded his nephew, ſwept the reſt of the garriſons with eaſe [a]. The *Piſans*, whom the king had reſtored to liberty, and who had erected his ſtatue on the ruins of the monument, framed by the *Florentines*, to expreſs their dominion, on the arrival of the emperor *Maximilian*, overthrew the king's ſtatue to ſet up his. A circumſtance ſlight in itſelf, but which may be regarded, as expreſſing the temper of the *Italians* in thoſe days, who, being exceedingly enriched by trade, became proud, luxurious, and falſe; incapable of preſerving liberty, or of ſubmitting even to the mildeſt government [b]. Some have believed the miſeries they were expoſed to judgments from heaven (F).

A. D. 1496.

THE

[x] JALIGNI. GEORGII FLORI de Bello Italico Hiſtor. J. DE SERRES. DU TILL.. P. DAN. [y] Memoires de COMMIN. DUP. MEZ. LE GEND. [z] GUICCIARDINI. ARNOLDI. DU TILL. [a] JALIGNI. [b] GEORGII FLORI de Bello Italico.

(F) It was a prevailing opinion in his time, that there was ſomething ſupernatural in his expedition into and return out of *Italy*. The principal cauſe of this was the poſitive aſſertion of friar *Jerom Savonarella*, who aſſumed the character of a prophet. *Philip de Commines*, who knew him well, and was himſelf no ſuperſtitious perſon, ſeems to have believed it; the paſſage is curious, has a ſtrict relation to our hiſtory, and may therefore be acceptable to the reader. Our author, ſpeaking of a viſit he made to him, proceeds thus (1): "The reaſon of my "going to ſee him was, that he "had always preached jealouſy "in favour of the king, and his "ſpeeches had reſtrained the *Flo-*

(1) *Memoires de Commines, liv.* viii. *c.* ii.

"*rentines*

The king, under colour of attending the affairs of *Italy*, reſided chiefly in the ſouthern parts of his dominions, amuſing himſelf

The failings of

" *rentines* from turning againſt " us; for no preacher had ever " ſo great credit in any city. " He had conſtantly affirmed " that the king would come, " whatever was ſaid or written " to the contrary, declaring that " he was ſent by God to chaſtize " the tyrants of *Italy*; and that " nothing could oppoſe or de- " fend itſelf againſt him. He " had alſo ſaid, that he would " come to *Piſa*, and enter that " city, and the ſame day the " ſtate of *Florence* would be ex- " tinguiſhed: and ſo it hap- " pened; for *Peter de Medicis* " was driven out the ſame day: " and he had foretold many " other things in his ſermons " before they happened; as " the death of *Laurence de Me-* " *dicis*; and he declared pub- " licly that he had this by reve- " lation, and preached that the " ſtate of the church would be " reformed by the ſword. This " is not yet come to paſs; but " it was very near it, and he " ſtill maintains it. Several " blamed him for ſaying God " revealed things to him; others " gave credit to him. For my " part, I think him an honeſt " man; and I aſked him whe- " ther the king might paſs with- " out danger of his perſon, con- " ſidering the great body of " men raiſed by the *Venetians*, " of which he could give a bet- " ter account than I, ſince he " was juſt come from *Venice*. " He anſwered, that his majeſty " would meet with ſome obſta- " cles in the way; but that he " would come off with honour, " though he had not above an " hundred men attending him; " and that God, who had con- " ducted him thither, would " conduct him back again; but, " becauſe he had not acquitted " himſelf well in the reforma- " tion of the church, as he " ought to have done, and had " ſuffered his ſoldiers to pillage " and plunder the people, as " well thoſe of his own party, " who had voluntarily opened " their gates to him, as his ene- " mies, God had given ſentence " againſt him; and, in ſhort, " he ſhould be ſcourged; but, " that I ſhould tell him, that if " he would ſhew pity to the " people, and take meaſures to " prevent his ſoldiers from do- " ing miſchief, and puniſh them " when they did ſo, as his office " required, God would recall " his ſentence, or abate of the " ſeverity of it; and that he " ſhould not think to excuſe " himſelf, by ſaying, I do no " harm. He told me that " he would go himſelf to meet " the king, and ſpeak to him; " and ſo he did, and talked to " him of the reſtitution of the " places belonging to the *Flo-* " *rentines*. I thought of the " death of the Dauphin, when " he mentioned to me that ſen- " tence of God; for I ſaw no- " thing elſe that the king could " take to heart; and I remark " this again, in order to ſhew " more clearly that this whole " journey was a real myſtery of " God." In another place,

Charles VIII. *and* himself with tournaments, and such kind of shews as carried with them a kind of military magnificence, and gave him, at the

speaking of the death of this dominican, he adds (2), "Friar "*Jerom*, who foretold many "things before they came to "pass, had constantly affirmed "that the king would pass the "*Alps*, and preached this publicly, declaring that it was revealed to him by God, as well "as other things, which he "mentioned; and he said that "the king was chosen by God "to reform the church by force, "and chastise tyrants: and because he asserted that he knew "these things by revelation, "many people murmured against him; and he exposed "himself to the hatred of the "pope, and a great number of "persons in the city of *Florence*. His life was extremely "remarkable for its innocency "and purity, as was evident; "and his sermons were directed "against vice; and he brought "many people in that city to "reform their manners, as I "have observed. He always "preached publicly that the "king would return again to "*Italy*, to execute the commission given him by God, "which was to reform the "church by the sword, and to "drive the tyrants out of *Italy*; "and that in case he did not "perform this, God would severely punish him. All his "first sermons, and those preached then, were printed by him "and sold. With regard to the "severe punishment which he "declared that God would inflict on the king if he did not "return, he wrote concerning "it several times to the king a "little before his death, and so "*Jerom* told me with his own "mouth, when I spoke to him "(upon our return to *Italy*), "and assured me that the sentence was given out in heaven "against the king, in case he "did not execute what God had "appointed, and prevent his "soldiers from plundering." It is true, that thro' the hatred of pope *Alexander* the sixth, the rage of some of his countrymen, and the fickleness of the rest, Friar *Jerom Savonarella*, with two of his disciples, suffered a violent and an infamous death, as heretics and impostors; and it is farther true, that the ministers of the inquisition, by whose judgment they suffered, published, in the name of Friar *Jerom*, confessions, importing, that, from principles of pride and ambition, he had deluded the people with false prophecies, and that he never had any revelations (3). But then we are to consider first, that those who published these confessions were very deeply interested in proving him an heretic and impostor; and next, that they themselves acknowleged that these confessions were extorted by the violence of torture. To all this we may oppose the clearest testimony, that he died with heroic constancy; that he affirmed the truth of the doctrines

(2) *Memoires de Phelippe de Commines, liv. viii. c. xix.*

(3) *See his Article in Bayle's Dictionary.*

he

the same time, an opportunity of paying court to the fair sex [c]. His greatest weakness was his attachment to women, into which he was drawn by the bad example of some of his courtiers, and by the artifice of others, that they might govern him the more easily. This turn to pleasure was alike fatal to his affairs and to his health. When he had formed a design of passing a second time into *Italy*, and had advanced with that view to the very frontiers of his dominions, he made a short turn, and came back to *Tours*, on the score of an amour he had commenced with one of the queen's maids of honour [d]. This mutability of his temper, and continual fluctuation of measures, must have been fatal to his government, if any of his neighbours had been potent enough to have turned it to their advantage. *Ferdinand* the *Catholic*, indeed, made an irruption on the side of *Arragon*; but his troops were repulsed with some loss, and he thought fit thereupon to enter into a negotiation, by which all disputes between the two crowns were compromised [e]. This monarch, *Charles* VIII. had once an intention to have united the parliament of *Dijon*, which was the supreme court of justice in *Burgundy*, to that of *Paris*; but the parliament prudently deputed Sir *Philip Pot* to lay before him the numerous inconveniences with which this step would be attended; upon which the king revoked the edict, and left things as he found them. His whole administration was of this nature, being easily drawn into wrong measures, but more easily set right; and, his intentions being always just, he commonly corrected his faults as soon as he discovered them [f].

their influence on the administration of the affairs of the kingdom.

1497.

[c] Jaligni. Mez. P. Dan. Le Gend. [d] Dup. Chalons. [e] Mariana. [f] Du Till.

he had preached, and the revelations he had published, with his last breath (4); that his heresies consisted only in such tenets as have been since held by protestants; that many wise and good men amongst the *Romanists* own he was unjustly put to death, being a pious, prudent, and good man (5); that the protestants have always reproached the papists with his murder (6); and that the most judicious of the *French* historians, ancient and modern (7), particularly *Mezeray*, who stiles him the generous victim of truth and liberty (8), have considered him as a true prophet (9).

(4) *Vita F. Heironymi Savonarolæ, auctore serenissimo Principe, D. J. Francis, Pico Mirandulæ.* (5) *Sixt. Senens. Bibliotb. Sanct. lib.* iv. (6) *Illyric. in Catal. Test. Veritat.* (7) *Francis Belcar rerum Gallic. Comment. Scip. Dupleix.* (8) *Abregé de l'Histoire de France, tom.* iv. *p.* 397. (9) *P. Daniel, Le Gendre, Chalons.*

His health declines, and at length he is ſtruck with an apoplexy, of which he dies.

As the king found his health decay, he changed his ſentiments and his manner of acting entirely, he quitted his pleaſures, and ſpent but a ſmall part of his time in the moſt innocent amuſements. He had a great affection for the caſtle of *Amboiſe*, in which he had been brought up, and endeavoured, by various alterations, and the addition of many ornaments, to render a ſtately palace, a place that had rather the air of a priſon [g]. He meditated an entire reformation of the ſtate, and reſolved to begin with his domeſtic affairs. He made ſome excellent regulations in regard to the adminiſtration of juſtice, and erected the great council which has ſubſiſted ever ſince [h]. He recalled ſeveral old ſervants that had been placed about him by the duke and ducheſs of *Bourbon*, being convinced of their integrity, and that all things had been extremely well managed while they were at the head of affairs. But he could never conquer the diſlike he had conceived againſt the duke of *Orleans*, for ruining the firſt expedition into *Italy*, by endeavouring to make himſelf maſter of the duchy of *Milan* (to which he had a juſt claim), inſtead of marching to his aſſiſtance [i]; his rendering the ſecond expedition abortive, by refuſing the command; and his appearing with a remarkable air of gaiety at court upon the death of the Dauphin. The duke being ſenſible of this, and knowing that the people of *Normandy*, of which province he was governor, had made complaints of him to the king, he retired to *Blois*, where he lived in a kind of voluntary exile [k]. *Charles* was alſo inclined to relieve his ſubjects from that multiplicity of taxes under which they laboured; to reduce the expences of his government within the revenue ariſing from his domain; to leſſen the taille to twelve hundred thouſand livres, and to levy no extraordinary impoſitions upon his ſubjects, but by conſent of the ſtates. His people loſt the fruit of theſe admirable reſolutions by his ſudden death [l]. On the ſixth of *April* he led the queen into a gallery of the caſtle, to look upon ſome of his lords, who were exerciſing themſelves at ball below, and ſtruck his head with ſome violence againſt the door of the gallery, which did not hinder his going in and ſtaying ſome time, 'till being ſeized at once with a ſtroke of an apoplexy [m], he fell down, and being laid on a miſerable couch that happened to be there, breathed his laſt about eleven at night (G). Some ſuſpicions

1498.

[g] Jaligni. P. Dan. [h] J. De Serres, Mez. Chalons. Brant. [i] Du Till. Le Gend. [k] Dupleix. P. Dan. Pr. Henault. [l] Du Till. [m] Brant.

(G) This prince was born in the caſtle of *Amboiſe*, *June* 30, 1470. *Charles* of *Bourbon*, archbiſhop of *Lyons*, and *Jane* of *France*,

ſuſpicions there were of poiſon ſuppoſed to have been given him in *Italy*, while others have attributed his long malady and

France, ducheſs of *Bourbon*, anſwered for him at the font (1). Yet ſome hiſtorians have mentioned a popular report, that he was not the iſſue of the body of *Lewis* the eleventh; but that, from a principle of policy, and that he might reign with greater ſecurity, he impoſed this child (2) upon the people, which, however, is highly improbable. He had nothing pleaſing about his perſon except his eyes, and diſcovered no great abilities, which might, however, be very well aſcribed to his total want of education; for, that he did not want parts is very apparent. He was kept pretty ſtrict by his ſiſter, the dame *de Beaujeu*, who had much of her father's parts and temper, and who governed with great capacity in his name, tho' at his acceſſion ſhe was but twenty-two years of age. He was quickly weary of the ſtrictneſs of her tutelage; and, by the advice of *George D'Amboiſe*, biſhop of *Montauban*, cardinal and prime miniſter in the next reign, would have made his eſcape, in order to have gone to the duke of *Orleans*; but the perſon intruſted with the letter, to make his own fortune, betrayed them all (3). The ſituation of public affairs obliged the dame *de Beaujeu* to make much uſe of the king's perſon, as well as of his name; and this made it neceſſary to bring him into the council, and to accuſtom him to feats of arms. He was naturally inclined to reading, eſpecially the hiſtory of his own country, and this inclined him to buſineſs, and to gain a thorough knowlege of his own affairs; but the young people who were about him took great pains to draw him from his ſtudies, and to render him, like themſelves, attentive only to pleaſure, in which they ſucceeded but too well (4). He is allowed, tho' the worſt educated, to be the beſt bred king that ever ſat upon the throne; inſomuch that thoſe who knew him beſt, affirm he never ſpoke a diſobliging word in his whole reign. He was from hence ſurnamed the *Affable* and the *Courteous* (5). He married the heireſs of *Bretagne*, in his twenty-ſecond year, and by her had three ſons and a daughter. The Dauphin *Charles* died when he was three years and a half old, ſoon after the king's return out of *Italy*, which affected the queen extremely; but the king is ſaid to have bore it with the more patience, as the ſprightly parts of the young prince had already awakened in his breaſt ſome ſparks of jealouſy, which is ſurely a ſtrong token of his being the true ſon of *Lewis* the eleventh (6). The other children died all in their infancy, which makes his zeal for reforming the government in the laſt year of his life more remarkable and more laudable. It is true that his good intentions came late; but then it is alſo true, that he

(1) *Memoires de Commines.* (2) *Du Haillan, Mez.* (3) *St. Gelais, p.* 57. (4) *Jean de Serres.* (5) *Duplein.* (6) *Vie du Cardinal D'Amboiſe.*

was

and ſudden death to his harraſſing a weak conſtitution in purſuits of pleaſure, till it was wholly exhauſted. He died exceedingly lamented, in the twenty-eighth year of his age and in the fifteenth of his reign; and in him ended the direct line of *Philip de Valois* [a].

[a] Pr. Henault. Amelot de Houssaie.

was but a young man; and that, though he did not many, yet he did ſome, very good things for the ſtate. He re-united the important country of *Provence* to the crown (7); he inſtituted the grand council as a ſovereign court for the regulating affairs of war and the finances (8); he alſo inſtituted public audiences twice a week, in which he heard perſons of all ranks; and tho', as *Commines* remarks, there were no great matters done in theſe audiences, yet they were of very great uſe, as they kept miniſters in awe; for they knew that a prince, who made it a point to hear every body, was very like to hear the truth from ſomebody (9). The character given of him by the ſame writer is, at once, very ſimple and very expreſſive. "*Charles* the eighth, ſays he, was, in truth, but a little man, and of no great reach; but he was ſo good, that it was not poſſible to find a better creature (10)." His queen paſſed two days upon the ground without food or ſleep, weeping inceſſantly, and mourned for him in black, whereas the mourning of queens had till then been white (11). He was buried with prodigious magnificence by the care and the command of his ſucceſſor, that his ſubjects might take notice of his great reſpect for his predeceſſor (12). But there happened ſomewhat at his funeral, which did much more honour to his memory. One of the grooms of his chamber, and one of the archers of his guard, when they ſaw the body of their maſter depoſited in *St. Denys*, dropped down dead with grief (13). In him ended the direct line of *Valois*, of which he was the ſeventh monarch, and after they had governed the realm of *France* 170 years (14).

(7) *Hiſtoire de Charles* VIII. *p.* 537. (8) *Ætat de France.* (9) *Memoires de Commines.* (10) *Memoires, liv.* viii. *c.* xviii. (11) *Jean de Serres, La Cendre.* (12) *Vie du Cardinal D'Amboiſe.* (13) *Gaguini Hiſtoria.* (14) *J. Du Tillet, Mezeray, P. Daniel.*

SECT.

SECT. VIII.

The Reign of Louis XII. *ſurnamed* the Father of his People, *who, from Duke of* Orleans, *became King, and was the firſt and laſt of his Houſe.*

THE right of ſucceſſion was ſo well eſtabliſhed, and the duke of *Orleans* had been ſo long conſidered as the preſumptive heir of the crown, that he ſucceeded without any oppoſition, by the title of *Lewis* the twelfth, to which he added, by his actions, the moſt glorious of all ſurnames, that of, *The father of his people* [a]. He was thirty-ſix years of age compleat, at the time of his ſucceſſion, equally eſteemed by the nobility, and beloved by the people. He was crowned at *Rheims* on the 27th of *May*, and immediately remitted a tenth part of all impoſts. He continued all the miniſters, magiſtrates, and officers, employed by his predeceſſor, to the amazement of the whole nation and themſelves [b]. When ſome put him in mind that *Lewis de la Trimouille*, had made him priſoner at the battle of *St. Aubin*, and was now at his mercy; he made that ever memorable anſwer, *That it did not become a* king *of* France *to revenge the* quarrels *of a duke of* Orleans [c]. It is one thing to deliver a fine maxim, and another to make it the rule of one's conduct; but *Lewis* did both. The duke and ducheſs of *Bourbon* looked upon themſelves as diſgraced, and could ſcarce believe him in earneſt, when the king not only aſſured them of his pardon, but of his affection. He very ſoon put it out of doubt. It was provided, by their contract of marriage, that, in caſe they died without heirs male, the vaſt eſtates of the family ſhould be united to the crown; they had an only daughter, whom they meant to marry to *Charles* count of *Montpenſier*, ſon to *Gilbert*, who died in *Italy*; the king frankly renounced his intereſt, and thereby rendered her the heireſs of the firſt line of *Bourbon* [d]. 1498. He treated the queen-dowager with all poſſible marks of reſpect, ſettled her jointure to her ſatisfaction, allowed her to return into *Bretagne*, and to aſſume the ſovereignty of her own dominions [e]. But at the ſame time that he piqued himſelf on his clemency and good-nature, he ſhewed likewiſe his great ſpirit and reſolution; he reſtored the military diſcipline

Acceſſion of Lewis XII. *his noble and humane behaviour upon that occaſion to all ranks of people.*

[a] Hiſtoire de Louis XII. par St. GELAIS. Vita Ludovici XII. DUPLEIX. LE GRND. [b] Memoires de COMMIN. Annales de France. P. DAN. [c] DU TILL. [d] SEISSEL. [e] ARGENTRE.

of

of the army, which had been much relaxed; he obliged the magiſtrates and officers of the crown to do their duty; and the univerſity and preachers at *Paris* having taken the liberty to cenſure his actions, he chaſtized their inſolence, and made them ſenſible that he would be obeyed (A).

He

(A) In this note we propoſe to ſhew the deſcent of this prince, his right to the crown, and to ſay ſomewhat of his private life, and of his public conduct, before he came to it. *Charles* the fifth, ſurnamed the *Wiſe*, left two ſons, *Charles* who ſucceeded him, and *Lewis* who became duke of *Orleans*, and who was killed by the command of the duke of *Burgundy* (1). This prince by *Valentina*, daughter and heireſs of *John* duke of *Milan*, left three ſons, *Charles* duke of *Orleans*, *Philip* count of *Vertus*, who left no iſſue, and *John* count of *Angouleſme* (2). *Charles* duke of *Orleans*, being taken priſoner at the battle of *Agincourt*, remained many years in *England*, and, after his return to *France*, he made an unſucceſsful attempt to recover the duchy of *Milan*, which belonged to him, in right of his mother, and was never able to acquire more than the town and county of *Aſt*, which he added to his domain, and which he kept as an evidence of his right to the reſt of that ſucceſſion (3). He was thrice married, firſt to *Iſabell* of *France*, the widow of *Richard* the ſecond, king of *England*, who died in childbed. By her he had only one daughter, *Joan* or *Jane* of *Orleans*, who eſpouſed *John* the ſecond, duke of *Alenſon*, by whom ſhe had no iſſue (4). His ſecond wife was *Bonna*, daughter of *Bernard* the eighth, count of *Armagnac*, and conſtable of *France*, by whom he had no children (5). His third conſort was *Mary*, the daughter of *Adolph*, duke of *Cleves*, by *Mary* the daughter of *John* the *Fearleſs*, and the ſiſter of *Philip* the *Good*, duke of *Burgundy*, by whom he had *Lewis*, of whom we are to ſpeak, and *Mary* who was thrice married (6); firſt to *John*, viſcount of *Narbonne*, the ſecond ſon of *Gaſton* count *de Foix*, by whom ſhe had the famous *Gaſton* duke of *Nemours*, killed in the battle of *Ravenna* and *Germain*, who became the conſort of *Ferdinand* the *Catholic* (7). The ſecond huſband of *Mary* was *John* marquis of *Brandenburgh*; the third, *Ferdinand* of *Arragon*, duke of *Calabria* (8). *Charles*, duke of *Orleans*, died at the caſtle of *Amboiſe*, on the 4th of *January* 1465, in the 74th year of his age, through grief, from the ill uſage he received from *Lewis* the eleventh, in the grand council held at *Tours*, where, out of pure pity, he ſpoke in favour of the duke of *Guienne*, repreſenting him as a young prince of an excellent diſpoſition, miſled by thoſe about him (9). Abundance of conjectures have been raiſed, and

(1) *Monſtrelet, Annales de France.* (2) *Jean de Serres.* (3) *Du Tillet, Scip. Dupleix.* (4) *Bernier, Hiſtoire de Blois.* (5) *St. Marthe, Le Gendre.* (6) *Annales de France.* (7) *Mariana, Turquet.* (8) *Bernier.* (9) *Commines, Matthieu, Du Clos.*

ſome

HE was deſirous of poſterity, and he had other motives which induced him to wiſh the diſſolution of his marriage *His marriage with*

ſome political reaſons given, why *Lewis* the eleventh married his younger daughter, and not his eldeſt, to the duke of *Orleans*. But theſe fall at once to the ground, when we know that his father demanded her in marriage for him, as ſoon as ſhe was born, the contract being ſigned *May* the 19th, 1464 (10). This was ratified when ſhe was ten years of age, and the king gave her one hundred thouſand crowns of gold. It was impoſſible to foreſee, when the firſt contract was made, that ſhe would be crooked and ugly. It is certain that the duke would have declined marrying her if he durſt; but his friends adviſed him not to provoke a king, whoſe anger was uſually attended with death. He was after this in great favour with that king, who was not all diſpleaſed with his wildneſs, but indulged it, ſome ſay, from a malicious diſpoſition, in hopes that, becoming one day his ſucceſſor, the diſorders of his reign might efface the memory of his own (11). In his youth, the duke of *Orleans* entered into a cloſe friendſhip with *George D'Amboiſe*, who, after the death of *Francis* count of *Dunois* and *Longueville*, which happened *November* the 25th, 1491, became his ſole confident. He procured for him, firſt the archbiſhopric of *Narbonne*, and afterwards that of *Rouen*, in his own government of *Normandy*. He quarrelled with *Charles* the eighth, becauſe, when he demanded a cardinal's hat for *Briſonnet*, biſhop of *St. Maloes*, he did not alſo demand one for his favourite *D'Amboiſe* (12). He gave the king alſo ſome other cauſes of offence. Inſtead of ſending the troops that arrived from *France*, into the kingdom of *Naples*, according to *Charles*'s expreſs orders, he kept them with him; and, inſtead of continuing upon good terms with *Ludowic Sforza*, which the king likewiſe recommended to him in the ſtrongeſt terms, he made uſe of thoſe troops to ſurprize *Novara*, which threw *Sforza* into the league againſt the king, and was the ruin of that expedition. As he loſt the king's favour by this conduct, he might have recovered it by purſuing it. *Charles* in the latter end of his life would have put him at the head of his army, and was deſirous that he ſhould have made war in his own name, for the recovery of his duchy of *Milan*. But this he declined, ſuppoſing that, from his ill ſtate of health, the king could not laſt long, which motive either *Charles* penetrated himſelf, or was told by others, and reſented it highly; ſo that at the time of his deceaſe, as we have obſerved in the text, he was in a kind of diſgrace (13). It was to cover or to extinguiſh the memory of this, that he made ſo pompous a funeral for the king, and that he might gain the good graces of the people he paid for it out of his own pocket; whereas commonly this expence was borne by the public (14).

(10) *St. Marthe, Du Clos.* (11) *Commines, Matthieu, Hiſtoire de Louis* XI. (12) *Vie du Cardinal D'Amboiſe. P. Dan.* (13) *Dupleix.* (14) *Du Tillet.*

with

Joan of France diſſolved, upon which he eſpouſes Anne of Bretagne, his predeceſſor's widow.

with *Joan* the daughter of *Lewis* the eleventh. In an affair of this nature he ſtood in need of the aſſiſtance of the pope. There never was one more fit for his purpoſe than *Alexander* the ſixth. He was deſirous of providing for his baſtard *Cæſar Borgia*, who had reſigned the cardinal's hat, that he might act in another ſphere. He ſent him into *France* with a bull, by which he appointed *Lewis* biſhop of *Alby* and *Ferdinand* biſhop of *Ceuta* commiſſioners, to whom he afterwards added cardinal *Philip* of *Luxemburgh*. It is generally ſaid by the *French* hiſtorians, that queen *Joan*, who was a very pious and good princeſs, gave the king no oppoſition; but it appears from records that this is not true; ſhe defended her marriage with all the vigour imaginable; but, when ſhe found it to no purpoſe, ſhe ſubmitted patiently, and the king granted her the revenues of the duchy of *Berry*, with ſome additional ones, which ſhe ſpent in works of charity, and led, during the remainder of her days, a quiet and exemplary life [f]. *Cæſar Borgia* reaped the fruits of his father's condeſcenſion; the king made him duke of *Valentinois*, and gave him in marriage the daughter of the lord of *Albret* [g], a lady of high birth, and his own relation: ſo that this affair, which might have proved very difficult and perplexed, was adjuſted more eaſily and more ſpeedily than he could well have expected: but, where their intereſt coincide, princes are very ſoon agreed. It was the apprehenſion of this that had excited ſome diſturbances in *Paris*, the only city in *France* where the inhabitants retained any affection for the memory of *Lewis* the eleventh, which they ſhewed by eſpouſing the intereſts of his daughter.

Precautions taken by Lewis *to preſerve peace at home.*

THE next great point the king had in view, was to conclude a marriage with the widow of his predeceſſor: this negotiation of great importance was very quickly terminated, and, the neceſſary treaties and contracts being concluded and ſigned, the marriage was ſolemnized on the eighth of *January*. On their majeſties making their public entry into *Paris*, the king added to his other titles thoſe of the *Two Sicilies* and *Jeruſalem*, together with the duchies of *Milan* and *Bretagne*. He claimed the firſt as heir of the houſe of *Anjou*, the ſecond as deſcending to him from his grandmother, and the third in virtue of his marriage [h]. The face of affairs was much

[f] Annales de France. Proces du Divorce de Jeanne de France. Hiſtoire de Louis XI. par Du Clos, liv. xi. [g] Francesco Guicciardini della Iſtoria d'Italia. Francisci Belarii. Dupleix. P. Daniel. [h] Argent. Hiſtoire de Bretagne. Nouvelle Hiſtoire de Bretagne. J. de Serres. Mezeray. P. Daniel.

changed

changed in *Italy*; the pope was intirely in his intereſt, from the hopes of advantage; he had conciliated the friendſhip of the republic of *Venice*, by promiſing them a part of the *Milaneſe*; and, that he might ſecure to himſelf better ſucceſs than his predeceſſor had met with in a like expedition, he took care to have his own dominions in perfect ſecurity and quiet. The emperor had invaded the duchy of *Burgundy*, where his troops had received a defeat, which did not hinder the king from concluding a truce, upon very equal terms, with the archduke *Philip*, who thereupon did homage to the chancellor of *France*, at *Arras*, for the counties of *Flanders*, *Artois*, and *Charolois* [l]. The king renewed his treaty with *Henry* the ſeventh of *England*, and his alliances with *Scotland* and *Denmark*, and, after taking theſe precautions, aſſembled his forces, and prepared, in earneſt, for his *Italian* expedition [k]. *George d'Amboiſe*, archbiſhop of *Rouen*, to whom, out of compliment to the king, the pope had given a hat, and, which was far more extraordinary, declared him his legate in *France*, hindered his maſter from commanding in perſon. His forces, conſiſting of twenty thouſand men, were commanded by *Lewis* of *Luxemburgh* count *de Ligni*, *Robert Stuart* lord of *D'Aubigny*, and *John James Trivulce*, a native of *Milan*, who had been in the ſervice of his predeceſſor [l].

THE duke of *Milan* had provided every thing for his defence; his places were well fortified, his troops numerous, and the ſucceſs of the war might have been doubtful, but that a prince univerſally hated is eaſily defeated, when attacked by an equal force. *Sforza* had kept faith with none, and none kept faith with him. The *Venetians*, who were to have the country beyond the *Adda*, made themſelves maſters of it in a week. The *French* proceeded as briſkly. *Novara* and *Alexandria* were quickly taken; *Mortara* capitulated; the keys of *Pavia* were obtained without a ſiege; and *Genoa* ſubmitted in the like manner: the citizens of *Milan* opened their gates; and the citadel, the ſtrongeſt place then in *Europe*, with proviſion for two, and ammunition for four years, was ſold by *Bernardin Curtio*, to whom it had been intruſted by *Sforza* [m]. But the *French* nobility treated this perfidious adventurer with ſuch contempt, that he died in ten days, of mere ſhame [n]. As for the duke himſelf, who had been ſold too if he had ſtaid, he very wiſely withdrew to *Inſpruck*, with the children and

The army of France *conquers one part of the duchy of* Milan, *while the* Venetians *reduce the other.*

[l] Recueil de Traites, par LEONARD. Memoires de BETHUN. DUPLEIX. DU TILL. P. DAN. [k] HALL. HOLINSH. SPEED. [l] Annales de France. GUICCIARD. St. GELAIS. SERRES. [m] SEISSELL. [n] DU TILL. MEZERAY.

his

his treaſures [o]. *Lewis* paſſed the mountains himſelf upo this news, and carried with him his miniſter; made his entr into *Milan*, in the ducal habit, on the 6th of *October*, wit the univerſal acclamations of the people [p]. The cardinal, whoſ maxim it was, that a people, well governed, would never re volt, reſtored all who had been baniſhed, or their eſtate confiſcated, by *Sforza*; eſtabliſhed a court of juſtice; remitte a fourth part of their taxes; directed ſmall garriſons only to b leſt in the principal places; appointed *Trivulce* governor o the duchy, and gave the command of the horſe to the lord o *D'Aubigny*. Theſe meaſures taken, and a treaty conclude with the *Florentines*, the king, having received the compli ments of all the *Italian* princes, except *Frederick* king of *Na ples*, returned home, as he had entered *Milan*, in triumph [q] All this ſucceſs was juſtly attributed to the care, circumſpec tion, and foreſight, of cardinal *d'Amboiſe*.

A GREAT change was ſoon effected in the affairs of *Italy* not only by the revolutions of *Naples*, but alſo by the ſucceſ ſive deaths of the popes *Alexander* VI. and *Pius* III. which laſt was ſucceeded by *Julius* II. to the great mortification and diſappointment of the cardinal *d'Amboiſe*.

The French *compelled to evacuate the kingdom of* Naples, *and the king concludes a new treaty with* Maximilian *and* Philip *at* Blois.

LEWIS, in reſentment of the ill uſage which he had met with from *Ferdinand the Catholic*, attacked *Spain* with three armies, two by land, and one that was to act by ſea. The firſt, commanded by the lord of *Albret*, and the marſhal *de Gie*, penetrated as far as *Fontarabia*, and then retired, without performing any thing, either through want of ſubſiſtence, or from ſome miſunderſtanding between the commanders: the remains of this army having joined that commanded by marſhal *Rieux*, beſieged *Salces*, in *Rouſſillon*; but the *Spaniards* advancing with an army to his relief, they were conſtrained to raiſe the ſiege [r]. The fleet, after alarming the coaſts of *Valentia* and *Caſtile*, returned to *Marſeilles*, without performing any thing worthy of notice. In the kingdom of *Naples*, the Great Captain took *Gaeta* in three days, by a capitulation, which permitted all the *French* officers and ſoldiers to return home as they could: but as he was never famous for performing his capitulations, ſo he broke ſhamefully thro' this; reſtraining it to the natives of *France*, and thruſting all
1504. the *Italians* into dungeons. *Lewis d'Ars*, one of the *French* officers, had retired, after the defeat at *Cerignoles*, with a handful of men, into *Venoſa*, a place of no great ſtrength,

[o] St. GELAIS. BRANTOME. DUPLEIX. [p] Annales de France. BOLCARII. SERRES. [q] Vide Hiſtory o Naples and the Popes. [r] Saint GELAIS. SEISSELL. MARIAN. FER.

where

where he declared that he rejected the capitulation of *Gaeta*, and meant to depend upon his ſword. The braveſt of the *French*, and of the *Italians* in the *French* ſervice, reſorted to him from all ſides; and having given a very ſevere check to the *Spaniſh* troops which attacked him, he returned through the heart of *Italy*, drums beating and colours flying, and brought his troops, in good order, into the duchy of *Milan*; whereas of thoſe who capitulated in *Gaeta*, very few returned into *France* [t]. This reverſe of fortune had ſuch an effect upon the mind of *Lewis*, that it threw him into a fit of ſickneſs, which was very near proving mortal. The point he had now chiefly at heart was the re-eſtabliſhment of peace. A truce had been concluded with *Spain* for the countries bordering on the ſide of the *Pyrenees*; but the king had ſo little dependence on *Ferdinand*, that he would not ſo much as ſuffer him to participate in this new negotiation, which ended in a treaty, concluded at *Blois*, the twenty-ſecond of *September*, between the emperor, the archduke, who now took the title of king of *Caſtile* and *Leon* on the death of queen *Iſabella*, on one ſide, and the king on the other [u]. By this the treaty of marriage between *Charles* and *Claude* was again renewed, the kingdom of *Naples* and many other dominions confirmed to them, and the inveſtiture of the duchy of *Milan* promiſed to the king, upon payment of a large ſum of money. The ſpace of four months was allowed to *Ferdinand* to accept the treaty; and here it was that the contracting parties firſt engaged to attack the *Venetians*, tho', for the preſent, this came to nothing.

On the marriage of Ferdinand *with his niece* Germain de Foix, Lewis *renounces it in favour of the children of that marriage, his pretenſions*

THE king, who had a great dependence on the treaty concluded laſt year, and who, above all, had fixed his heart upon obtaining the inveſtiture of the duchy of *Milan*, ſent cardinal *d'Amboiſe* into *Germany* to receive it; which he did, after paying homage, and paying alſo a large ſum of money [w]. But the cardinal clearly perceived at this interview, that nothing was to be expected as to the emperor's performance of what he had ſtipulated of entering into *Italy*, in order to act againſt the *Venetians* [x], whom *Ferdinand the Catholic* had informed of the confederacy that was upon the carpet againſt them [y]. The king falling ſick, and, at the turn of his diſeaſe, being thought paſt recovery, the queen cauſed her richeſt furniture, her jewels, and her wealth, to be embarked on the *Loire*, in order to convey them to the caſtle of *Nantes* [z]; but, in their

[t] GUICCIARD. PAULI JOVII Hiſt. St. GELAIS. SEISSELL. DUPLEIX. [u] Annales de France. BELCARII. MARIANA. FERR. [w] LEONARD. Annales de France. DU TILL. [x] MEZERAY. LE GEND. [y] SERRES. [z] Nouvelle Hiſtoire de Bretagne.

to the kingdom of Naples. 1505.

paſſage, they were ſtopped at *Saumur*, by the marſhal *de Gie* [a], who thought that, at this time, ſhe ought to be occupied only about the king's perſon. This ſhe reſented ſo highly, as to procure him to be ſuſpended from his employments, the moſt conſiderable of which was being governor to the count of *Angouleſme*, and to be forbid the court [b]. But poſterity rendered him juſtice, and have conſidered this as the meaneſt action of her's and the king's life. The views of *Philip*, now in right of his wife *Joan*, king of *Caſtile*, alarmed *Ferdinand*, his father-in-law, ſo much, that, recollecting the tenderneſs which *Lewis* had expreſſed for his niece *German de Foix*, he ſent an eccleſiaſtic into *France*, to try whether, after all their diſputes, he might not recover the friendſhip of the king by eſpouſing that lady: this propoſition being extremely well received, he concluded a new treaty, by which the kingdom of *Naples* was ſettled on his poſterity, by the new queen, in favour of whom *Lewis* renounced all his pretenſions, except as to the expences of the war, for which he was to receive one hundred thouſand ducats, for ten years together: what redounded highly to his honour, he ſtipulated that all the *Neapolitan* nobility, who were ſeized by the Great Captain, ſhould be ſet at liberty; and that the eſtates of ſuch as had been confiſcated for their adherence either to him, or to the houſe of *Anjou*, ſhould be reſtored, which, as things were now circumſtanced, *Ferdinand* found himſelf obliged to promiſe, and the king took care that he ſhould be likewiſe obliged to perform [c]. This was one of the moſt remarkable turns of policy that happened in this buſy age.

Marries the princeſs Claude *to the count* d'Angouleſme.

At the time of the king's ſickneſs, in the preceding year, the nobility of *France* began to entertain great apprehenſions of the alliance ſtipulated by the treaty of *Blois*, by which not only the *Italian* dominions, but likewiſe the duchy of *Bretagne*, and other important countries, were to be given with the king's daughter to *Charles* of *Luxemburgh*, on which, having modeſtly repreſented their thoughts to the king, he appointed an aſſembly of the ſtates to be held at *Tours*, in the month of *May*. There, having received their remonſtrances, and another from the ſtates of *Bretagne*, who were more immediately concerned, he reſolved, after mature deliberation, to yield to their requeſt [d]; and thereupon contracted the princeſs *Claude* to *Francis* count of *Angouleſme*. By this he

[a] Nouvelle Hiſtoire de Bretagne. Nouvelle Hiſtoire de Bretagne. P. Daniel. Memoires de Beth. Marian. Fer. Nouvelle Hiſtoire de Bretagne. Dupleix. P. Daniel.

[b] Saint Gelais.

[c] Guicciard.

[d] Seiss. Nouvelle Hiſtoire de Bretagne. P. Daniel.

revenged

revenged himſelf ſufficiently of all the ſlights he had received from the houſe of *Auſtria*; but, at the ſame time, ſhewed he could make free with treaties as well as they. In the circumſtances *Maximilian* then ſtood in, he could not reſent it, and death removed king *Philip*, before he had an opportunity of expreſſing his ſentiments. But the ſincerity of his friendſhip to the king he had already clearly ſhewed, by his appointing him tutor to his ſon *Charles*, which truſt he very honourably diſcharged [c]. *Ferdinand the Catholic* having made 1506
a tour to *Naples*, executed punctually his engagements to the king. At his return, he refuſed to go on ſhore at *Genoa*, and, when ſome deputies from the city came to compliment him on board his galley, he told them that he underſtood there were factions amongſt them, that poſſibly might end in a revolt, which they would find not for their intereſts; but that, at all events, they were to expect no aſſiſtance from him. What he predicted came to paſs; the people, having drove out the nobility, choſe eight tribunes, and declared *Paul Nuova*, a ſilk-dyer, their duke; expelled the *French* governor, and reduced a great part of the *Riviera* [f].

The king paſſes again into Italy.

On the iſſue of this war depended not only the continuance of the *French* power in *Italy*, but the reputation of their monarchy in *Europe*. The pope, forgetting the protection given him in *France* during the reign of *Alexander* the ſixth, and the many favours he had received from cardinal *d'Amboiſe*, was the principal author of this revolt, to which the emperor alſo was no ſtranger, and which the *Piſans* encouraged and ſupported by their troops [g]. As ſoon as the news arrived at court, the cardinal ſuggeſted to the king the neceſſity of going in perſon into *Italy*, if he meant to reduce *Genoa*, or preſerve *Milan*. But the queen, who had a great aſcendancy over him, oppoſed it with all her power, not only out of tenderneſs to his perſon, but becauſe ſhe thought it would raiſe the miniſter's credit, and fix his authority [h]. Inſtead of wearying and diſturbing his maſter with repeated ſollicitations, the cardinal preſſed the military preparations in ſuch a manner, that, at the very opening of the campaign, he had a numerous army, well officered, and a moſt amazing quantity of artillery, with the beſt engineers that were in *Europe*, whom he had drawn from all quarters into the ſervice [i]. By this the expedition appeared ſo ſure, and the glory of it ſo great,

[c] Pet. Angl. Epiſt. Marian. Fer. Mezer. P. Dan. Chalons. Le Gend. [f] Guicciard. Saint Gelais. Seissell. [g] D'Anton. Annales de France. Dupl. [h] Guicciard. P. Jovii. Hiſt. Du Till. [i] Saint Gelais.

that *Lewis* could not reſiſt the deſire of commanding in perſon, which added, under the title of volunteers, all the young noblemen in the kingdom [k].

Has an interview with Ferdinand the Catholic.

THE *Genoeſe* depended on the ſituation of their country, and on a ſtrong fortreſs which they had raiſed to command the paſſage, and the great number of men which they could at any time aſſemble for their own defence: this made them ſhew little or no regard to the overtures made, from time to time, by the king, who was naturally merciful, and had not the inclination of coming to extremities. But, when theſe could not be avoided, he committed the van-guard of the army to his moſt experienced officers, who quickly forced the paſſes, and at length came in ſight of the new fort, which, being very difficult of acceſs, the *Swiſs*, when commanded, declined the attack [l]; but, when they ſaw the *French* infantry mount to the aſſault, their firſt lines, conſiſting intirely of officers, attempting it, they ſupported them very gallantly, which contributed not a little to their carrying the place. The *Genoeſe* were ſo diſconcerted at this, that they ſent deputies to demand the king's pardon, and, under colour of that treaty, endeavoured to ſurprize his camp [m]. But they had to do with thoſe who underſtood perfectly their manner of fighting and their manner of treating. The king refuſed ſo much as to ſee their deputies: the cardinal told them it was too late to think of terms; and that all they could expect was to ſurrender at diſcretion; which advice, when it could be no longer avoided,

1507. they were obliged to take. The proper guards being poſted, and the people intirely diſarmed, the king, on the 29th of *April*, entered the city on horſeback, at the head of his army [n]. His aſpect was ſtern, his ſword drawn in his hand, but on his coat of arms was depicted a royal bee, with a ſwarm on every ſide; which device was accompanied with theſe words; *Non utitur aculeo rex cui paremus*; that is, "The monarch "we obey uſes no ſting [o]." After a whole week's keeping them in terror, the king declared, that though, for their rebellion, they had forfeited their lives and eſtates, and that, having ſo often refuſed it, they had no title to his clemency, yet, in compaſſion to their diſtreſs, he pardoned them, their chiefs only excepted, of whom *Paul Nuova* and *Demetrius Juſtiniani* ſuffered death, and on the city he impoſed a fine of three hundred thouſand ducats [p]. After this he had an interview with *Ferdinand the Catholic* at *Savona*, where *Lewis*

[k] GUICCIARD. DUPL. LE GEND. SERRES. MEZ. [l] Saint GELAIS. [m] SEISS. DUPL. [n] D'ANTON. [o] P. DAN. & al. [p] Saint GELAIS. DU TILL. BRANTOME.

cauſed

cauſed the Grand Captain to dine with them at the table. On the other hand *Ferdinand* conferred, for ſeveral hours alone, with cardinal *d'Amboiſe*[q]. After a viſit of four days, in which many things were ſecretly concluded, *Ferdinand* took his leave, and the king returned to *France*. The emperor had prevailed upon the dyet to aſſiſt him with a great army, upon an aſſurance that the king meant nothing leſs than the intire conqueſt of *Italy*. But when the king, by diſmiſſing his troops, demonſtrated the falſehood of this ſuggeſtion, the princes of *Germany* grew cool, and the emperor, attempting to paſs a ſmall body of his own troops into *Italy*, they were repulſed with loſs by the *Venetians*[r].

THE emperor *Maximilian*, being extremely provoked at the oppoſition given his army by the *Venetians*, reinforced his troops, and at length marched in perſon; but, in a ſhort time, found himſelf ſo much diſtreſſed for money, that he was conſtrained to retire. The *Venetians*, who were now joined by a body of *French* troops, under the command of the marſhal *Trivulce*, thought proper to aſk his conſent to a truce for three years, which was offered them by *Maximilian*. *Trivulce* readily offered to ſign, if the truce was general, and the allies on both ſides comprehended in all places. But this the emperor refuſed; and the republic, finding that truce of conſequence to them, ſubſcribed it, notwithſtanding the *French* general's proteſt. The motives to his propoſition was the king's having excited the duke of *Guelders* to arm againſt the houſe of *Auſtria* in the *Low Countries*; and, as he was in ſome danger, it was requiſite to preſerve him by this means; which, having failed, the king was much provoked. *Maximilian* was much more ſo, at his being forced to make ſuch a truce; and, by the interpoſition of *Margaret*, governeſs of the *Low Countries*, propoſed to *Lewis* the reviving that project, which had been approved ſome years before, for the deſtruction of this too powerful republic. The king, and his miniſter the cardinal, hated the *Venetians*; and the council in general, when this propoſition came to be examined, concurred with them in opinion. *Stephen Poncher*, biſhop of *Pavia*, a man of parts and probity, was the ſingle opponent; he ſaid the republic of *Venice* was the only power in *Italy* that was not engaged in intereſt to diſpoſſeſs the king of the duchy of *Milan*; that *Lewis* could depend little upon the pope; that *Maximilian* and *Ferdinand the Catholic* had deceived him often, and, as ſoon as they found their account in it, would

Enters into the league of Cambray. 1508.

[q] Saint GELAIS. D'ANTON. MARIAN. FER. [r] GUICCIARD. MEZER. P. DAN. Saint GELAIS. SEISS. SERRES. DUPL.

deceive him now. But, notwithſtanding this remonſtrance, cardinal *d'Amboiſe* was ſent with full powers to treat with *Margaret*, who had the emperor's powers; and, with her, under pretence of regulating the diſputes in the *Low Countries*, he, after a long negotiation, concluded the famous treaty of *Cambray*, by which the ſtate of *Venice* was conſigned to deſtruction, and the king obtained the inveſtiture of the duchy of *Milan* ſimply for himſelf and his heirs [s].

Views of the ſeveral powers in the famous treaty of Cambray.

THIS league of *Cambray* was one of the greateſt and moſt ſingular events that *Europe* had ever ſeen, as being a league founded in reſentment, and diametrically oppoſite to the intereſts of every one of the contracting powers. The republic of *Venice* was grown extremely potent, and not by the moſt direct methods; for great power in ſtates, like great wealth amongſt private men, is very rarely acquired but by fraud or oppreſſion [t]. But the republic of *Venice* was the bulwark of *Italy*; prevented the pope from drawing the emperor, or the king of the *Romans*, as the phraſe then was, into *Lombardy*, againſt the *French*; moderated the views of king *Lewis*, and hindered him from extending his conqueſts; kept the pope from being reduced to a ſtate of dependency; and preſerved to *Ferdinand the Catholic* the kingdom of *Naples*. All this reſulted from their great power, however that power might be acquired; and therefore, though it might be the intereſt of each of theſe potentates, ſeparately, to recover, if poſſible, what had been taken from them by the republic; yet to oblige her to reſund all her conqueſts, was to reduce a power of which they were all afraid, and open a ſource thereby of perpetual wars amongſt themſelves [u]. The catholic king wanted to have *Trani*, *Monopoli*, *Brindiſi*, *Otranto*, *Gallipoli*, and other towns on the *Adriatic* gulph reſtored to him. The *Venetians* had acquired ſome by mortgage, and had ſeized the reſt; but it was by the help of their money, and the aſſiſtance they had given, that *Naples* was preſerved to the houſe of *Arragon*, and had been acquired by *Ferdinand* [w]. The emperor, by a mixt title, as head of the empire and of the houſe of *Auſtria*, formed pretenſions on the patriarchate of *Aquilia*, ſome towns in *Friuli*, *Rovero* in the *Trentin*, and *Verona*, *Padua*, and *Vicenza*, beyond the *Alps* [x]. What the king deſired was, *Cremona*,

[s] LEONARD. SEISSELL. GUICCIARD. DU TILL. P. DAN. CHALONS. Pr. Henault. LE GEND. [t] MACHIAVEL Hiſtor. Vie du Cardinal D'Amboiſe. Hiſtoire de la Ligue de Cambray. MEZERAY. P. DAN. [u] SEISSELL. GUIC. PET. BEMBI. Hiſt. [w] MARIAN. MAYERNE TURQUET. FER. Hiſtoire de la Ligue de Cambray. Vie du Cardinal D'Amboiſe. [x] MACHIAV. Hiſt.

Crema,

Crema, *Breſcia*, *Bergamo*, and the country beyond the *Adda*. It is true, he had yielded this to them in conſideration of their aſſiſting him to conquer the reſt of the *Milaneſe*, but, after all, the *Milaneſe* was not complete without them [y]. *Faenza* and *Rimini* had been uſurped from the church by tyrants; *Cæſar Borgia* had diſpoſſeſſed thoſe tyrants; from him they were taken by the *Venetians*, and pope *Julius* was willing to have them again [z]. The allies were to be ready to act by the firſt of *April*, before which time the pope was to ſignify to the republic what reſtitutions he expected; upon their refuſal he was to excommunicate them, and to demand the emperor's aſſiſtance, as the protector of the church, in which quality he might act againſt the *Venetians*, without breach of his oath, in reſpect to the truce he had ſworn to keep for a year [a]. *Julius*, though in effect the firſt mover of this treaty, repented it very early; he foreſaw its conſequences, and endeavoured to make the ſtate of *Venice* conceive them, offering to diſſolve the league, if *Faenza* and *Rimini* were reſtored. But the republic, confident of her own ſtrength, rejected the propoſal; upon which *Julius* ratified the treaty, which, for ſome time he had delayed [b].

CARDINAL *d'Amboiſe*, whoſe averſion to the *Venetians* had dictated this meaſure to the *French* court, acted with that indefatigable diligence, which was the characthereſtic of his miniſtry, in order to carry it into execution. He prepared every thing for the campaign; cauſed the troops to march; took the *Swiſs* into pay, and brought every thing to bear by the time that had been fixed, though he ſaw all the reſt of the allies backward [c]. He preſſed and he prevailed upon his maſter to paſs the mountains once more, in order to command his army in perſon; and this notwithſtanding the intreaties and tears of his queen, for whom he had not only great tenderneſs, but much deference alſo for her counſels. The cardinal himſelf, though afflicted with the gout, a ſlow fever, and an inveterate cholic, paſſed the *Alps* in a litter; for it was his maxim to leave nothing to others that it was poſſible for him to do [d]. When the army came to take the field, it appeared, that the confederates intended to leave the whole burthen upon the *French*, and to reſerve for themſelves whatever advantages might ariſe, either from their victory or de-

Lewis paſſes the mountains, to command his army in perſon, attended by the cardinal.

[y] ARNOLDI FERRONI de rebus geſtis Gallor. Saint GELAIS. Memoires de BRANT. [z] MACHIAV. Hiſtor. Hiſtoire de la Ligue de Cambray. Vie du Cardinal d'Amboiſe. [a] DU TILL. MEZ. P. DAN. [b] GUICCIARD. PET. DE ANGLERIA Epiſt. RAINALD. [c] FERRON. de rebus geſtis Gallor. Memoires de BRANT. St. GELAIS. [d] Hiſtoire de la Ligue de Cambray.

feat. It was impoſſible that the cardinal ſhould not diſcern this, and yet he adviſed the king to march directly and give battle to the enemy [e]. The marſhal *de Chaumont*, nephew to the cardinal, and governor of *Milan*, had ſurprized the town of *Treviglio*, on the other ſide the *Adda*; the *Venetians* beſieged it; their army conſiſted of three thouſand men at arms, four thouſand light horſe, and thirty thouſand foot, commanded by the count *Petigliana*, and by *Bartholomew d'Alviana*, the former cool as water, the latter hot as fire [f]. The king had two thouſand three hundred men at arms, as many volunteers of the firſt families in his kingdom, eight thouſand *Swiſs* foot, and thirteen thouſand of his own ſubjects, the beſt infantry that *France* had ever ſeen. In marching to the relief of *Treviglio*, the van-guard was commanded by marſhal *Chaumont*, ſupported by marſhal *Trivulce*; the king, having the duke of *Bourbon*, *la Trimouille*, and many other perſons of the firſt rank, about him, commanded the main body, and the duke *de Longueville* the rear. The *Venetians* had taken the place by capitulation, notwithſtanding which they had burnt and plundered it. This gave the king leiſure to paſs the *Adda* without oppoſition [g].

The Venetians defeated at Aignadel.

THE king's deſign was to ſeize *Vaila*; the enemy had the ſame deſign, which brought on a battle, contrary to the intention of the *Venetians*, who were inſtructed to avoid it by all means. It was fought on the 14th of *May*, between *Vaila* and *Aignadel*, and the *Venetians* were totally defeated: they loſt their cannon, baggage, colours, a vaſt quantity of ammunition, nine thouſand men killed, and as many taken [h]. *Bartholomew d'Alviana*, whoſe warmth occaſioned the battle, breathed his laſt on the field; and it was a fortnight before the count of *Petigliana* could aſſemble the remains of his army. Cardinal *d'Amboiſe* took care that this victory ſhould be improved. Before the enemy's firſt terror was over, all the places the king demanded ſurrendered at diſcretion: *Peſquera* was the only one that made a defence; it was carried by aſſault; and the king cauſed the proveditor and his ſon, who defended it, to be hanged, and the garriſon cut to pieces, becauſe the *Venetians* had violated the capitulation of *Treviglio* [i]. Upon this great blow the republic loſt her courage to ſuch a degree, that ſhe demanded peace from all the great powers that had embarked in the league on their own terms; and at the ſame time gave orders to the governors of thoſe places to withdraw their

[e] FERRONI de rebus geſtis Gallor: St. GELAIS. Vie du Cardinal d'Amboiſe. [f] GUICC. PET. EMB. Hiſt. Hiſtoire de la Ligue de Cambray. [h] FERRON. de rebus geſtis Gallor. [i] FERRON. de rebus geſtis Gallorum. Memoires de BRANT. Vie du Cardinal d'Amboiſe.

garriſons.

garriſons. By this means the pope and king *Ferdinand* acquired all that they ſought by the war, and the emperor might have done the ſame, if his army had been in *Italy* [k]. The cities which he claimed, being evacuated, offered their keys to king *Lewis*, who, in regard to his alliance, refuſed them. The emperor's indolence, and the king's great moderation, ſaved the ſtate of *Venice*; for the inhabitants of *Treviſa*, having refuſed to admit the imperial commiſſary, who came without troops, the republic ſupported them: ſoon after they ſurprized *Padua*, and reſolved to defend it [l]. *Maximilian* arrived at *Trent* in the month of *June*, where he was met by cardinal *d'Amboiſe*, to whom he granted the inveſtiture of *Milan*; but, after appointing an interview with the king, the emperor failed, upon which *Lewis*, after entering *Milan* in triumph, returned into his own dominions, having concluded a new treaty with the pope, and leaving a body of auxiliaries to act in conjunction with the emperor. *Maximilian*, with an army of forty thouſand men, beſieged *Padua*; but, after lying before it ſeventeen days, was obliged to retire. Some diſputes aroſe between the king and the pope, in which the latter was forced to give way [m]. The emperor and *Ferdinand the Catholic* referred their diſputes about the government of *Caſtile* to the arbitrament of king *Lewis*, of which we have ſhewn the iſſue in another place [n]. 1509.

POPE *Julius*, inſtead of executing his treaties, endeavoured to engage the emperor to deſiſt from the war; and, not ſucceeding in that, gained the electors, who adviſed him to make peace. *Maximilian* perſiſting in his own meaſures, mortgaged the city and citadel of *Verona* to *Lewis* for fifty thouſand ducats [o]. *Julius* abſolved the *Venetians*, and laboured to reconcile them to the emperor, declared openly againſt *France*, and practiſed every method to diſtreſs king *Lewis*. With this view he negotiated with *Henry* the eighth, who had lately ſucceeded to the crown of *England*. He alſo brought over the *Swiſs*, who, having demanded an increaſe of their penſions, and being refuſed by king *Lewis*, were highly irritated: but the king, having obtained troops by the like capitulation with the *Griſons* and their allies, was the leſs concerned [p]. The death of cardinal *d'Amboiſe*, which happened at *Lyons* on the 25th of *May*, was a great mortification, as he was equal-

The pope abſolves the Venetians, *declares againſt* France, *and makes war on her allies in perſon.*

[k] GUICCIARD. PETR. BEMB. Hiſt. Hiſtoire de la Ligue de Cambray. [l] PET. BEMB. Hiſt. GUICCIARD. Vie du Cardinal d'Amboiſe. [m] FERRON. de rebus geſtis Gallorum. [n] MARIAN. MAYERNE TURQUET. FER. Vie du Cardinal d'Amboiſe. [o] St. GELAIS. P. DAN. [p] Vie du Cardinal d'Amboiſe.

ly

ly esteemed by the king, and beloved by the people [q]. By the persuasion of the pope, the *Genoese* attempted a revolt without effect, the *Swiss* endeavoured to invade the *Milanese*, and were constrained to retire, both by the incomparable prudence of the marshal *de Chaumont*. *Julius* granted the investiture of the kingdom of *Naples* to *Ferdinand*, and instead of the usual tribute, accepted of a gennet, declaring at the same time, that *Lewis* had lost all title to the kingdom [r]. The king, notwithstanding this provocation, being grown weary of the war, laboured all he could to conclude a peace, in which he was crossed by the pope, who went so far as to imprison an agent from the duke of *Savoy*, who proposed his master's mediation, and even put him to the torture, under colour of taking him for a spy [s]. *Lewis*, finding milder methods ineffectual, appointed a general assembly of his clergy at *Tours*, where they decided that it was lawful to make war on the pope, and to seize his territories, when he was the aggressor; that his censures, in such a case, were null, and not to be regarded: they forbid the carrying money to *Rome*, and granted large subsidies out of all the ecclesiastical revenues in *France*, to enable the king to defend himself against the
1510. pope [t]. The emperor made a new treaty with the king, by which he confirmed that of *Cambray*, and consented to the assembling a general council, in order to bring the pope to reason. *Julius*, to shew that he was not at all intimidated, excommunicated the duke of *Ferrara*, and besieged his capital; went in person to *Bologna* to promote that siege, where he was very near being taken by the marshal *Chaumont* [u]. Being obliged to raise it, he afterwards invested *Mirandola*, notwithstanding several cardinals, displeased with his conduct, retired to *Florence*. In this expedition he was very near being taken by the chevalier *Baïard*; notwithstanding which, and his being in a very declining state of health, he went in person to press the siege, lodged within cannon shot of the place, and visited the trenches. The king, on the contrary, grew more and more tired of the war, which was become very burthensome, and which exposed his *Italian* dominions to great inconveniencies, the people of *Genoa* having conspired a second time, and the preservation of that city requiring a constant fleet in the *Mediterranean* [w].

[q] Arnoldi Ferron. de rebus gestis Gallor. Vie du Cardinal d'Amboise. P. Dan. [r] Guicciard. Rainald, Pet. Bemb. Hist. [s] Ferron, de rebus gestis Gallor. P. Dan. [t] Saint Gelais. Acta Concil. Turon. tom. xiii. Conc. Labbæi & Cossarté. [u] Guicciard. Pet. de Angleria Epist. Rainald. [w] Hist. du Chevalier Baiard.

The

THE pope, in his new vocation of a general, had the honour of reducing *Mirandola*, after a ſiege of three months; Trivulce and, *to* ſhew how much he was pleaſed with it, he made his entry through the breach [x]. In the mean time, the marſhal *de Chaumont* died of a lingering diſeaſe, which he took to be an *Italian* fever, or, in plain terms, the effects of poiſon. He was but thirty-eight years of age, and yet was marſhal and admiral of *France*, governor of the duchies of *Milan* and *Normandy*, and one of the ableſt officers of his age. The command of the *French* army devolved upon the marſhal *Trivulce* [y]. But in the mean time *Ferdinand the Catholic*, under colour of zeal for religion, and his great reſpect for the pope, procured a kind of congreſs to be held at *Mantua*, in hopes of bringing about a peace; which, however, had no effect. The emperor and the king, in ſupport of the ſeceding cardinals, indicated a general council to be held at *Piſa*, in the month of *September*, to which the pope was ſummoned. Marſhal *Trivulce* advancing with an army into the neighbourhood of *Bologna*, the pope immediately retired into *Ravenna*, the people revolted in favour of the *Bentivoglios*, and the garriſon was cut to pieces. The marquis, ſoon after, drawing his forces out of that city, attacked the army of the pope and the *Venetians*, defeated them, and might have marched to *Rome*, but he knew that his maſter was not inclined to puſh things to extremities [z]. This moderation had no effect upon *Julius*, who, notwithſtanding his being reduced to the very brink of the grave by a diſeaſe, and lying, in a manner, at the mercy of the *French*, loſt nothing either of his ſpirit or his abilities. On the contrary he negotiated with *Ferdinand* and the *Swiſs*, excommunicated the council at *Piſa* and all their adherents, and declared war againſt the *Florentines*. He alſo called a council himſelf at *Rome*, and his emiſſaries at *Piſa* made the council that met there ſo uneaſy, that the members, for their own ſecurity, removed to *Milan* [a]. All this was chiefly owing to the irreſolution of *Lewis*, who, ſince the death of cardinal *d'Amboiſe*, paid too much regard to the queen's advice, who looked upon a war againſt the pope as an act of impiety. It was owing to this that, though the king did not deſert, he never properly ſupported, the council, which he had cauſed to aſſemble, in order to awe the pope. The emperor was yet more fickle than the king; was

Marſhal de Chaumont died of a lingering diſeaſe, which he took to be a poiſon. He was but thirty-eight years of age, and yet was marſhal and admiral of *France*, governor of the duchies of *Milan* and *Normandy*, and one of the ableſt officers of his age.

commands the French army, and paſſes the pope and his allies.

[x] GUICCIARD. Hiſt. du Chevalier Baiard. ARNOLDI FERRON. de rebus geſtis Gallor. DE BRANT. DUPLEIX.

[y] Saint GELAIS. Memoires

[z] Hiſt. du Chevalier de Baiard. FERRON. de rebus geſtis Gallor. RAINALD.

[a] PET. BEMB. Hiſtor.

deſirous

deſirous of transferring the council into his own dominions, in order to engage them not only to depoſe the pope, but to raiſe him to the apoſtolic ſee [b]. While theſe monarchs acted ſo ſtrange a part, *Julius* cauſed the treaty he had concluded to be proclaimed at *Rome* with great ſolemnity, and gave it the title of the Holy League. The *Swiſs* attacked the duchy of *Milan* with their whole force, burnt fourteen or fifteen towns and villages, and then retired into their own country, which ſome aſcribe to the conduct of *Gaſton de Foix*, duke of *Nemours*, who harraſſed them continually with ſmall parties of horſe; but it is more probable they thought they had done enough, as their principal aim was not the expulſion of the *French*, but to oblige them to take them again into pay upon their own terms. Don *Pedro de Novarra*, with the title of general of the league, began to commit hoſtilities towards the end of the year, entered into the *Ferrareſe*, and took ſeveral places. But the *Venetians* contented themſelves with acting defenſively [c].

A. D. 1511.

Gaſton de Foix, Duke of Nemours, takes Bologna, routs the Venetians, and recovers Breſcia.

THE agents of *Lewis* had in vain endeavoured to engage the *Florentines* to declare in their favour. But they were wiſer, and made choice of a neutrality; cardinal *John de Medicis*, at the head of the troops of the pope, and the duke of *Cordona*, viceroy of *Naples*, at the head of the *Spaniſh* army, inveſted *Bologna*, but not ſo completely as to prevent *Gaſton* duke of *Nemours* from entering it with his whole army, upon which they raiſed the ſiege, not without ſuffering conſiderable loſs in their retreat [d]. In the mean time the *Venetians* had ſurprized *Breſcia*, the *French* garriſon having barely time to retire into the caſtle. The duke of *Nemours* was no ſooner informed of this misfortune, than he marched to their relief, beat a great body of *Venetian* troops that attempted to hinder his paſſage, and, having entered the citadel in the night, ſallied from thence upon the town, which he recovered, after putting to death eight thouſand of the enemy [e]. He had promiſed the pillage of the place to his ſoldiers, and he kept his word; and the value of their plunder is ſaid to have amounted to three millions of ducats. Theſe exploits, performed in the ſpace of a fortnight, acquired him the character of the greateſt, at the ſame time that he was the youngeſt, general in the *French* ſervice. He received ſoon after the king's orders to fight the enemy at any rate; for, in the midſt of victories, *Lewis* found

[b] GUICC. Monita Politica, ad S. T. R. Principes, Edit de Francfort, 1609. MARIAN. Hiſt. Eſpana, lib. xxx. P. DANIEL.
[c] FERRON. de rebus geſtis Gallor. GUICC. PET. BEMB. Hiſt.
[d] Hiſt. du Chevalier Baiard. [e] FERRON. de rebus geſtis Gallor. Memoires de BRANT.

his

his cauſe declining [f]. The king of *England* had diſmiſſed his ambaſſador from a ſcruple of conſcience, in holding any friendſhip with a prince who made war upon the pope. The *Florentines* were on the point of declaring for the league, and the emperor diſpoſed to deſert him; for all which evils a deciſive victory was held the only cure [g].

THE duke of *Nemours*, in order to oblige the enemy to come to a battle, beſieged *Ravenna*. This had the effect he expected; the confederates marched to its relief, and he advanced to meet them. His army conſiſted of ſixteen thouſand foot, eighteen hundred men at arms, and three thouſand light horſe. He commanded the van-guard in perſon, having with him *Alphonſo* duke of *Ferrara*, the main body was commanded by Monſ. *la Paliſſe*, and the rear guard by *Yves d'Allegre*. The army of the confederates was pretty near the ſame ſtrength; they had two thouſand men at arms, three thouſand archers on horſeback, and fifteen thouſand foot. They were commanded by the cardinal *John de Medicis*, and, under him, by *Fabricius Colonna*, the marquis of *Peſcaro*, Don *Pedro de Novarra*, *Antonia de Leva*, and Don *Juan de Cordona* [h]. The battle was fought on *Eaſter* day, the eleventh of *April*: it laſted many hours, but, in the end, the confederates were defeated, and, in all probability, this victory had anſwered the king's hopes, if, after having gained it like an experienced general, the duke of *Nemours* had not thrown himſelf away like a young ſoldier. A corps of four thouſand *Spaniards* retired in good order, he attacked them with thirty gens d'arms, and, not being ſupported in time, periſhed; in all other reſpects the victory was complete; for, except that corps of *Spaniards*, all the reſt were either killed or taken: amongſt the priſoners was the cardinal legate, the marquis of *Peſcaro*, *Pedro de Novarra*, *Fabricius Colonna*, and *Juan de Cordona* [i]. But the death of the duke of *Nemours*, in the twenty-third year of his age, more than balanced this advantage, and the taking of *Ravenna*. The army, for want of pay, diſperſed, ſo that Monſieur *la Paliſſe* ſcarce conducted four thouſand men to *Milan* [k]. The *Swiſs* poured twenty thouſand men into that duchy, and declared *Maximilian Sforza*, ſon of *Lodovic*, who died about two years before, duke. The *Genoeſe* revolted, expelled the *French*, and de-

The battle of Ravenna.

1512.

[f] ARNOLDI FERRON. de rebus geſtis Gallorum. Memoires de BRANT. GUICCIARD. [g] Hiſtoire du Chevalier Baiard. Memoires de BRANT. [h] PET. BEMB. Hiſtor. RAINALD. [i] ARN. FERRONI de rebus geſtis Gallor. Memoires de BRANT. [k] Memoires de Marechal de Fleuranges. Hiſtoire de la Ligue de Cambray.

clared *Janus Fregoza* their duke. *Henry* the eighth declared for the league; *Ferdinand the Catholic* expelled the king of *Navarre*; the pope put the kingdom of *France* under an interdict, and offered *Henry* the title of *The Moſt Chriſtian King*, and even the realm of *France*, if he would attempt the conqueſt of it [l]. In this ſad ſituation, when all was going to wreck, *la Paliſſe* ſhewed himſelf a politician, for he rendered moſt of the great towns to ſuch of the allies as had the leaſt title to, and could reap the leaſt benefit from, them, in hopes that this would divide them amongſt themſelves; as it actually did, though not time enough to be of any great ſervice to the *French* [m].

The French *recover the duchy of* Milan, *and loſe it again in a few weeks.*

THE pope, now in the zenith of his glory, undertook to reconcile the *Venetians* to the emperor; that is, to engage the republic, now they had recovered their loſſes, to fulfil the offers they had made, when on the point of being undone. But this they abſolutely refuſed, and choſe rather to declare themſelves neuter; which *Julius* took ſo much to heart, that it killed him [n]. Cardinal *de Medicis* ſucceeded him, by the title of *Leo* the tenth, and was crowned pope on the anniverſary of the battle of *Ravenna*, in which he was taken priſoner [o]. He proceeded on his predeceſſor's plan, and the confederates reſolved the deſtruction of *France*, in the very manner that the ruin of the *Venetians* had been contrived by the league of *Cambray*. The pope was to ſend an army into *Dauphine*; the emperor to make an irruption into *Champagne*; the *Swiſs* to invade *Burgundy*; *Henry* of *England* to march into *Picardy*; and *Ferdinand the Catholic* was to attack *Guienne* and *Languedoc* [p]. *Lewis*, in the mean time, had regained the *Venetians*, in hopes, by their aſſiſtance, to recover the duchy of *Milan*; and, by agreeing to abandon *Navarre*, he quieted *Ferdinand*, and had leiſure to act on that ſide. *Lewis de la Trimouille*, the ableſt officer in his ſervice, marched at the head of ſixteen thouſand foot, two thouſand men at arms, and ſix thouſand light horſe, to relieve the citadel of *Milan*, which he performed, and in a ſhort time recovered the whole duchy, excepting only *Novara* and *Como*. Into the firſt of theſe places *Francis Sforza*, the brother and ſucceſſor of *Maximilian*, entered, with a body of ſix thouſand *Swiſs* [q]. It appeared the ſhorteſt

[l] GUICCIARD. RAINALD. POLYD. VIRG. HALL. HOLINSH. [m] Hiſt. du Chevalier de Baiard. Memoires de BRANT. Hiſtoire de la Ligue de Cambray. [n] PET. BEMB. Hiſtor. [o] ARNOLDI FERRONI de rebus geſtis Gallorum. PET. DE ANGLER. Epiſt. [p] Saint GELAIS. Memoires de BRANT. [q] Memoires de BRANT. Hiſtoire de la Ligue de Cambray.

way

way to end the war to beſiege this place, which *Trimouille* accordingly inveſted with all his forces. The place was on the point of ſurrendering, when a numerous army of *Swiſs* marched to its relief. The *French* generals, after mature deliberation, reſolved that, as the adjacent country was flat, *la Trimouille* ſhould remain in his lines with his infantry, and marſhal *Trivulce*, at the head of the cavalry, ſhould march to ſtop the progreſs of the enemy [r]. The meaſure was right: but as *Trivulce* did not give into it, he drew his horſe into a moraſs; which gave the *Swiſs* both within and without the town an opportunity of putting the *French* foot between two fires, and, in the ſight of their horſe, who could not ſtir to their aſſiſtance, cutting them to pieces. In the ſpace of a week *Francis Sforza* recovered the whole duchy: the *French* were completely expelled out of *Milan* [s], and ſoon found ſo much employment at home, as, for the preſent, prevented all thoughts of return.

THE concerns of *France* were, in a manner, become deſperate of a ſudden; for if the allies had executed their engagements, purſuant to the treaty they concluded at *Mechlin*, *Lewis* the twelfth would have found himſelf in a very diſtreſſed ſituation, as may be eaſily gathered from the riſks to which his affairs were expoſed, even from the different manner in which they were executed [t]. As for *Leo* the tenth, he had ambition, and he was not ſtrait-laced in point of religion, but he had no malice to the *French* nation, nor any prejudice to the perſon of the king; and therefore, upon his abandoning the council of *Piſa*, now transferred to *Lyons*, and ſome few other conceſſions of leſs conſequence, the pope conſented to a reconcilation, which was highly acceptable to the queen, who had ever been in terrors about this war [u]. Moſt writers aſcribe this moſtly to ſuperſtition, and there is no doubt but it might have a large ſhare; and yet there is another circumſtance that very probably had greater weight. *Julius* the ſecond, amongſt other threats, had given out that he would cancel her marriage, and very probably had done it, if the queen had not been always on his ſide. This accommodation with *Rome* put an end to all apprehenſions on the ſide of *Dauphine*, which, in truth, were not very great [w]. The emperor *Maximilian* had received a ſubſidy from *England* of one hundred thouſand crowns for an invaſion, which, probably, he never

Henry VIII. *invades* France, *takes* Terouenne *and* Tournay, *and returns into* England.

[r] PET. BEMB. Hiſt. GUICCIARD. Hiſt. du Chevalier Baiard.
[s] Memoires de Marechal de Fleuranges. Hiſtoire de la Ligue de Cambray. [t] ARNOLD FERRON. de rebus geſtis Gallor. PET. DE ANGLERIA Epiſt. Hiſtoire de la Ligue de Cambray.
[u] Memoires de BRANT. [w] RAINALD.

intended to make. *Henry* the eighth, who had little or no cauſe for entering into the war, and who, notwithſtanding, was at almoſt the whole expence of it, prepared to fulfil his engagements both by land and ſea [x]. He landed himſelf in the month of *July* at *Calais*, and very ſpeedily formed an army of thirty thouſand men. He was joined by the emperor with a good corps of horſe, and ſome foot; but his buſineſs was only to excuſe his not having executed what he undertook to execute by his treaty of ſubſidy, for here he did not pretend to ſerve as the ally or auxiliary, but as the mercenary, of *Henry*, who aſſigned him his quarters, and allowed him an hundred ducats a day for his table: a circumſtance which ſufficiently explains the vanity of one of thoſe princes, and the ſordid temper of the other [y]. The firſt enterprize they undertook, was the ſiege of *Terouenne*, which they inveſted with an army of upwards of fifty thouſand men. The place was ſtrong and well defended, ſo that when the enemy had lain before it ſome time, the duke *de Longueville* marched to its relief with a numerous army, and ſucceeded in the attempt; but, being unfortunately attacked in his retreat, the cavalry fell into a precipitate flight, the duke and a few of his principal officers excepted, who were made priſoners. This action happened on the 18th of *Auguſt*, and was ſtiled by the *French La Journée des Eperons*, or, "the battle of the ſpurs [z]." On the twenty-fourth the place ſurrendered, after two months ſiege, and the allies, not agreeing who ſhould keep it, it was diſmantled and burnt [a]. *Henry* then marched, at the emperor's requeſt, into the *Low Countries*, and beſieged *Tournay*, a place of large extent, and which might have made a good defence, but the inhabitants, confident of their own ſtrength, refuſed a garriſon, and yet thought fit to ſurrender in a few days. This city, though leſs convenient for him than *Terouenne*, *Henry* reſolved to keep: having directed ſome additional fortifications, and left in it a ſtrong garriſon, he put an end to the campaign, and returned into his own dominions in triumph [b].

Burgundy invaded by the Swiſs, Venetians *beaten by*

THE king was the leſs in a condition to defend his territories againſt the *Engliſh*, as the *Swiſs*, elevated by the victory they had gained at *Novara*, made an irruption into *Burgundy* with twenty-five thouſand men, and were joined on the part of the emperor by *Ulrick* duke of *Wirtemberg*, who brought

[x] POLYD. VIRG. HALL. HOLINSH. ARNOLDI FERRONI de rebus geſtis Gallorum. [y] Lord HERBERT's Hiſtory of Henry VIII. HUBERTI VELLEY ad Gaguin. Append. [z] FERRON. de rebus geſtis Gallor. [a] POLYD. VIRG. Hiſtoire du Chevalier de Bayard. [b] HALL. HOLINSH. STRYPE's Annals. SPEED.

with

with him the gentry of *Franche Comté*, and ſome artillery [c]. These new invaders beſieged *Dijon*, the capital of the province, into which *Lewis de la Tremouille* had thrown himſelf with three or four thouſand men. The place being but indifferently fortified, muſt have been infallibly taken, and then the paſſage had been open to *Paris*, of which ſome of the richer citizens were ſo ſenſible, that they began to retire. At the beginning of the ſiege *la Tremouille* made a briſk ſally with almoſt his whole force, which was thought very imprudent; but having taken ſome *Swiſs* officers priſoners, he entertained them at his own table, treated them kindly, and enquired what were the ſources of this enmity between nations whoſe intereſt it was to be conſtantly allied. This produced a negotiation, in which the *Swiſs* claimed four hundred thouſand livres, as the arrears of their penſions; inſiſted on the king's renouncing all claim to the duchy of *Milan*, and alſo upon ſubmitting the king's title to *Burgundy* to the determination of experienced lawyers [d]. All this *la Tremouille* admitted to be reaſonable, and undertook ſhould be complied with; giving his own nephew, one of his principal officers, and four of the beſt citizens of *Dijon*, as hoſtages, and twenty thouſand crowns by way of earneſt; upon which they raiſed the ſiege and retired. The king diſavowed the treaty as diſhonourable, and refuſed to perform it: but, notwithſtanding this, it was univerſally acknowleged, that *la Tremouille* had ſaved *France*, and the hoſtages were afterwards diſengaged for a conſiderable ſum [e]. The *Engliſh* and *French* fleets had two engagements at ſea; in the laſt Sir *Edward Howard*, high admiral of *England*, was blown up, and *Proſmoguer*, a native of *Bretagne*, who commanded the *French* fleet, was likewiſe ſlain; but the latter had the advantage, as appeared by their making a deſcent on the coaſt of *Suſſex* [f]. The allies of *France*, in the courſe of this year, were as unfortunate as the *French*. The *Venetians* were beaten by the *Spaniards* with great loſs, and *James* the fourth of *Scotland*, who invaded *England* with a potent army, was defeated and killed by the earl of *Surrey*, in the fatal battle of *Flodden*, which was conſidered as a grievous misfortune in *France*, as no farther diverſion was to be hoped for on that ſide, during the war [g].

1513. c. *the* Spaniards, *K.* of Scots *killed.*

[c] ARNOLDI FERRONI de rebus geſtis Gallor. HUBERTI VALL. ad Gaguin. Append. Memoires de BRANT. [d] HUBERTI VALL. ad Gaguin. Append. Hiſtoire du Chevalier Baiard. DUPLEIX. [e] FERRONI de rebus geſtis Gallorum. HUB. VAIL. ad Gaguin. P. DAN. [f] BELCAR. FERRONI de rebus geſtis Gallor. SERRES. [g] POLYD. VIRG. Lord HERBERT's Hiſtory of Henry VIII.

On the death of his queen, Lewis *makes peace with* England, *and marries the ſiſter of* Henry VIII.

AT the opening of the year died the queen, equally regretted by the king her huſband and by her ſubjects [h]; and yet her death proved an advantage to the ſtate. The pope, who had vaſt deſigns for his own family, was equally deſirous of excluding the *French* and *Spaniards* from *Italy*, and with this view laboured to reconcile the emperor to the *Venetians*, and king *Lewis* with the *Swiſs*, which he knew could not be done but by renouncing his claim to the duchy of *Milan*: but the king, though much inclined to peace, had other views, and knew how to negotiate ſo as to obtain them. He began with offering *Ferdinand the Catholic* his ſecond daughter for either of his grandſons *Charles* or *Ferdinand*, and to renounce, in favour of that marriage, his claims on *Milan* and *Genoa*. This propoſal was approved, the truce renewed for another year, and the emperor included [i]. The king then married his eldeſt daughter to his preſumptive heir, *Francis* count of *Angouleſme*, to whom he had been long contracted, and ſoon after put him in poſſeſſion of the duchy of *Bretagne*, though this ſeemed to be a little dangerous, conſidering the trouble he had given his predeceſſor, when he was only protected by a duke of *Bretagne* [k]. The news of theſe negotiations was not well received at *Rome*, and much leſs ſo at *London*, where *Henry* made no ſcruple of declaring how little he was pleaſed with the conduct of the emperor, and how much he reſented the double dealing of his father-in-law *Ferdinand*. But that which piqued him moſt was, that his ſiſter *Mary*, for whom he had a real affection, was ſlighted by *Charles* of *Auſtria*, for a younger daughter of *France*. The duke of *Longueville*, then priſoner in *England*, but at the ſame time well received at court, took advantage of the temper the king was in to ſuggeſt that the king his maſter was a widower, in the fifty-fourth year of his age, and that the princeſs might be as well married to him as to a prince of *Spain* [l]. *Henry* entertained the motion, which was not diſapproved by *Lewis*. A ſuſpenſion of arms immediately followed, and a treaty was quickly concluded, by which *Tournay* was left to the *Engliſh*, *Henry* was to have a million of crowns, and *Lewis* was left at liberty to proſecute his intentions in *Italy*, even againſt the allies of *England*, without prejudice to the peace, which was at the ſame time an alliance offenſive and defenſive between the two crowns.

[h] Annales de France. FERRONI de rebus geſtis Gallorum. HUB VALL ad Gaguin. [i] MARIANA. M. TURQUET. FER. Hiſtoire de la Ligue de Cambray. [k] Memoires de FRANT. BELCAR. [l] Memoires du Marechal de Fleuranges.

This

This treaty was signed on the 7th of *August*, and ratified by both monarchs on the 20th of the same month [m].

Queen Mary arrives in France, is received with all possible magnificence.

It is hinted by some historians, and not without great appearance of truth, that one of the principal motives which determined *Henry* to this peace was to be rid of *Richard de la Pole* duke of *Suffolk*, who, with a body of twelve thousand *German* mercenaries, was on the point of making a descent in *England* [n]. *Richard* the third had declared this family heirs to the crown. *Henry* the seventh left the elder brother of *Richard* prisoner in the tower of *London*; who, at the time he made his last expedition, *Henry* the eighth caused to be put to death: which shews that he was apprehensive that the warm affection the *English* nation had for the house of *York* was far from being extinguished [o]. At least it is certain that *Lewis* made another use of the *German* troops that were to have been employed in the invasion; and advised *Richard de la Pole* to retire to *Metz*, where he gave him an annual pension of six thousand livres [p]. The princess *Mary* passed the seas with all possible pomp and splendor, and, on the ninth of *October*, the marriage was celebrated at *Abbeville* [q]. On the 6th of *November* following, their majesties made their public entry into *Paris*, amidst the universal acclamations of their subjects. In the midst of the pompous diversions which were made for the reception of the new queen, the king was far from neglecting public affairs. *Charles* duke of *Bourbon*, at the head of a numerous body of gens d'arms, advanced to the frontiers towards *Italy*, and was to be followed by sixteen thousand *German* foot, which the king had taken into his pay [r]. But in the mean time the castle of the lanthorn at *Genoa*, the only place *France* retained of all her conquests in *Italy*, was obliged to surrender, the garrison being absolutely destitute of provisions; and the *Genoese* were no sooner in possession of it, than they demolished it to its very foundation [s]. The king was very desirous of engaging the pope in his interest, and, on the other hand, *Leo* made use of every art to hide his true design, which was to preserve the duchy of *Milan* for the family of *Sforza*, to maintain his own family in *Tuscany*, and to procure for them, if possible, the kingdom of *Naples*; so that none but *Italian* princes should rule in *Italy*. These schemes

[m] Lord Herbert's History of Henry VIII. Ferroni de rebus gestis Gallor. Hist. de la Ligue de Cambray. [n] Memoires du Marechal de Fleuranges. Hub Vall. ad Gaguin. Append. [o] Hall. Holinsh. Speed. P. Daniel. [p] Memoires du Marechal de Fleuranges [q] Polyd. Virg. Memoires de Brant. [r] Guicciard. Histoire du Chevalier Baiard. Duplexix. Mezeray.

of his were conducted with all the ſecrecy and addreſs imaginable, and he omitted nothing that was requiſite to keep fair with both crowns, who, notwithſtanding, had their ſuſpicions of what was his true deſign [t].

Death and character of Lewis XII.

AFTER having extricated himſelf from ſo many difficulties, and brought his affairs into ſo good order, whilſt he meditated yet greater things, *Lewis* found his infirmities increaſe, and his health decay. His conſtitution was much broken by the gout, againſt which his only preſervative was a very regular manner of living. He thought himſelf obliged to depart from this, in complaiſance to his young queen, and his affection, his too great affection, ſay the writers of thoſe times, for the moſt ſprightly and the moſt beautiful young princeſs in *Europe*, haſtened him to his grave [u]. He died in the night following the firſt of *January*, in the fifty-fourth year of his age, and in the ſeventeenth of his reign (B). Perfection is not to be found

[t] GUICCIARD. PET. BEMB. Hiſt. de la Ligue de Cambray.
[u] FERRONI de rebus geſtis Gallor. HUB. VALL. ad Gaguin. Append. Lord HERBERT's Hiſtory of Henry VIII. Hiſtoire du Chevalier Baiard.

(B) We have ſpoke ſo amply of this monarch, and have inſiſted ſo fully on his character in the text, that we may be the ſhorter here. He is reported by ſome hiſtorians to have been too eaſy in his temper, and to have been too much governed by his miniſters and his queen. On many occaſions, however, he exerted himſelf in ſuch a manner, that ſuch as are guided only by facts, and not by authorities, will clearly diſcern, that he acted according to his own judgment, even in thoſe points in which he ſeemed to be governed. He did not reſtrain the magnificence either of the queen or of cardinal *d'Amboiſe*, which proves that he was no lover of money, and that his frugality was the effect of ſentiment and reflection, not of a covetous diſpoſition. By this means his affairs derived all the aſſiſtance they could have done from magnificence in his own diſpoſition, at the ſame time that his ſubjects eſcaped the oppreſſion, and himſelf the embarraſſment, that muſt have reſulted, if, in his own court or perſon, there had been a diſplay of ſplendour and parade. He put this out of doubt, when, obſerving the different turn of the count *d'Angouleſme*, who loved nothing but pomp and expence, he ſaid, with regret, "All our labours are in "vain; that great boy will ruin "all." His firmneſs in ſupporting the cardinal ought never to be eſteemed a foible. His choice of miniſters after his deceaſe ſhews his good ſenſe and penetration; he confided in *Poncher* biſhop of *Paris*, who had ſo boldly oppoſed both him and his miniſter in the concluſion of the league at *Cambray*, the only blemiſh of his reign; and in *Semblanci*, whom he placed at the

found in mortals, and thoſe are juſtly eſteemed flatterers who aſcribe it to kings; but in this the ſevereſt of the *French* hiſtorians unanimouſly agree, that more royal virtues, with fewer defects, were never more conſpicuous in any of their princes than in *Lewis* the twelfth. *France*, ſay they, was never more happy, more rich, more quiet, or more ſubmiſſive, than under his reign. Juſtice was never better adminiſtered; wiſer laws were never made, and hardly ever ſo well executed. Military diſcipline was never ſo exact, or ſo ſevere, but, at the ſame time, the troops were punctually paid. In ſucceeding times the quartering of them in provinces was eſteemed a grievance, but, in the time of *Lewis*, it was conſidered as an advantage, and the provinces ſollicited it in that light [w]. His family and his court, the populace and the nobility, equally admired him, and unanimouſly called him their father, the title with which he was moſt pleaſed, and which he made it the

[w] Hub. Vall. ad Gaguin. Append. Ferroni de rebus geſtis Gallor. Belcar.

the head of the finances, who was a man of exemplary probity, as well as excellent parts. His firſt conſort *Joan* of *France*, when her marriage was declared null, *December* 22d, 1498, retired to *Bourges*, where ſhe lived in the exerciſe of ſtrict devotion, and where ſhe founded the monaſtery of *Annunciades*, or *Celeſtes*. She died *February* 4th, 1505. *Anne* of *Bretagne* had two ſons, who died in their cradle, and two daughters, *Claude*, who eſpouſed his ſucceſſor, *Renée*, promiſed at the age of five years to *Charles* of *Auſtria*, demanded in marriage by the king of *England*, offered to the marquis of *Brandenburgh*, and at length married, in 1527, to *Hercules d'Eſte*, duke of *Ferrara*, by whom ſhe had a numerous poſterity. She was one of the moſt amiable, virtuous, prudent, learned, and generous princeſſes *France* ever produced. After the deceaſe of the duke her huſband, ſhe kept her court at *Montarges*, and became a Proteſtant, and died *June* 12th, 1575, at the age of ſixty-ſix. The third queen of *Lewis* was *Mary* daughter to *Henry* the ſeventh, and ſiſter to *Henry* the eighth of *England*, who ſurvived him eighteen years. His corpſe lies interred in the monaſtery of *St. Denis*, near that of his beloved wife *Anne* of *Bretagne*, where a noble tomb has been erected to both their memories. He gave for his device a porcupine, with theſe words; *Cominus & eminus*, *i. e.* "Near "and afar off;" meaning, probably, that he would vindicate his rights at home and afar off. The porcupine was alſo painted ſometimes with this verſe under or round it, *Spicula ſunt Humili Pax hæc, ſed Bella Superbo*:

"Theſe darts the gentle have
"no cauſe to fear,
"But to the foe they ſpeedy
"vengeance bear."

ſtudy of his life to deſerve. He began his reign with aboliſhing impoſitions; and at the time of his death he had diminiſhed above half of them. He was obliged ſometimes to raiſe extraordinary taxes; but when he ſigned edicts for that purpoſe, he did it with tears [x]. His very misfortunes endeared him to his ſubjects; for he might have maintained his conqueſts in *Italy*, if he would have raiſed large ſums upon his people; but he thought any loſs light when compared with that of their affections. He was thought a little too ſaving; and, in the beginning of his reign, his ſubjects took the liberty of expreſſing this in ſatires, and even of ridiculing it on the ſtage. The king knew it very well, and, which was ſingular, it gave him no offence: he ſaid, upon that occaſion, what ought to be ever remembered, "I had much rather my ſubjects ſhould laugh "at my parſimony, than weep at their own oppreſſions [y]." The cuſtom in *France* then was for the criers to proclaim the demiſe of perſons of all ranks, as they did his in theſe words; "The good king *Lewis*, the father of his people, is dead [z]:" at once the moſt artleſs and the moſt finiſhed panegyric.

[x] Dupleix. Mez. P. Dan. [y] Hub. Vall. ad Gaguin. Append. Memoires de Brant. Ferroni de rebus geſtis Gallorum. [z] Lord Herbert's Hiſtory of Henry VIII. Memoires du Marechal de Fleuranges. Belcar.

SECT. IX.

The Reign of Francis I. *ſurnamed* The Patron of Learning; Henry II. Francis II. Charles IX. *and* Henry III. *in whom the Branch of* Valois *was entirely extinguiſhed.*

Acceſſion of the count of Angouleſme.

THE widow of the deceaſed king having declared that ſhe was not pregnant, *Francis* count of *Angouleſme*, duke of *Bretagne* and *Valois*, ſucceeded, without diſpute or delay. He was crowned at *Rheims* on the 25th of *January*; and his acceſſion appeared highly acceptable to all ranks of people; but to the nobility more eſpecially, who, having lived with him in great familiarity, expected to ſhare deeply in his favours [a]. The two firſt offices in the ſtate were vacant, the chancellor and conſtable; he beſtowed the former upon *Anthony du Prat*,

[a] Memoires de Louiſa de Savoye, Ducheſſe d'Angouleſme. Memoires de Martin du Bellay. Dupleix. Du Tillet. Mezeray.

and

and the latter on *Charles* duke of *Bourbon* [b]. He took great pains to renew the treaties then ſubſiſting, but particularly with the *Venetians* and the crown of *England*. He made alſo a new treaty with the archduke *Charles* king of *Caſtile*, with whom he affected to contract a ſtrict and inviolable friendſhip [c]. By this treaty the marriage between that prince and the younger daughter of the deceaſed king was again confirmed, but without any intention of performing it, but merely to prevent the reviving any propoſitions in reſpect to the queen-dowager of *France*; and it may be, that, to free himſelf effectually from all fears of this kind, the king promoted her marriage with *Charles Brandon*, duke of *Suffolk* [d]. *Arthur de Gouffier*, whom he made great maſter of his houſhold, and his ſecretary *Florimond de Robertet*, had a great ſhare in the government; that is, he communicated to them chiefly his deſigns, for he was not very apt to take counſel from any. He was, from his acceſſion, determined to purſue his predeceſſor's ſcheme for the recovery of *Milan*; which, belonging to the houſe of *Orleans*, as deſcendants from the ducheſs *Valentine*, they had always more at heart than any other part of their dominions: but he kept his ſecret well; ſo that it was not diſcloſed till he was on the point of carrying it into execution (A). This deſign requiring immenſe ſums of

[b] Memoires DU BELLAY. SERRES. P. DAN. GUICIARD. Lord HERB. Hiſt. Henry VIII. FER. [c] [d] Memoires de Louiſa de Savoye. DUPLEIX. DU TILL.

(A) The deſcent of the houſe of *Angouleſme* was very clear, being a branch of that of *Orleans*. *John* count of *Angouleſme* was the fifth ſon of *Lewis* of *France*, who was aſſaſſinated by order of the duke of *Burgundy*. This *John* was ſurnamed *the Good*, and lived near thirty years in *England*, where he was an hoſtage. He eſpouſed *Margaret*, daughter to *Alain* count of *Roban*, by whom he had *Lewis*, who died in his infancy, *Charles* who ſucceeded him, and *Joan*, who married the prince of *Mortagne*. After his return to *France*, he lived, univerſally beloved and eſteemed, in his caſtle of *Cognac*, where he died *April* 30th, 1467; and near one hundred years afterwards, *viz. an.* 1562, his body being then whole and uncorrupted, was taken up and burnt by the Hugonots. *Charles* count of *Angouleſme* eſpouſed *Louiſa* of *Savoy*, the eldeſt daughter of *Philip* count of *Breſſe*, and afterwards duke of *Savoy*. This princeſs was extremely beautiful, and had infinite wit; but, at the ſame time, had moſt of the foibles of her ſex. She was gallant, vindictive, cunning, profuſe, and vain. He had by her only two children, *Francis*, who ſucceeded to the crown, and his ſiſter *Margaret*. *Charles*

of money, and his coffers being abſolutely empty, he had recourſe to *du Prat*, who was his oracle upon ſuch occaſions. The chancellor told him that his predeceſſor had ſold offices, and adviſed him to do the ſame; upon which he added a chamber to the parliament of *Paris*, and to each of the other parliaments, which was one of the firſt and one of the worſt ſtrokes of this miniſter's policy [e]. In the beginning of his reign, *Lewis* the twelfth had ſold ſome offices, but none that were judicial, and purely with a view to avoid loading his people with taxes; whereas *Francis* had already raiſed them as high as his predeceſſor had found them. Beſides, as ſoon as it was in his power, *Lewis* repurchaſed and ſuppreſſed thoſe offices; and, rather than have recourſe to this expedient again, alienated part of his domain, which ſufficiently ſhews the diſpoſition of a miniſter who could mention this as a precedent. It is thought a great hiſtorian [f] alludes to this, amongſt other ruinous extenſions of regal power, when he ſays that *Francis* the

[e] Memoires Du Bellay. Belcar. Serres. P. Dan. Le Gend. [f] Abrege Chronologique de l'Hiſtoire de France, par le Sieur de Mezeray, tom. iv. p. 476.

count of *Angouleſme* died *January* 1ſt, 1496, at the age of thirty-ſeven. After his deceaſe his widow lived chiefly at her caſtle of *Cognac*, where ſhe took great care of her children, who were wonderfully handſome in their perſons, and in their tender years were very carefully educated. But when the counteſs came to court, as ſhe was young, handſome, and the mother of the preſumptive heir to the crown, ſhe had great court paid to her, which ſo diſguſted *Anne* of *Bretagne*, that ſhe treated her with great coldneſs; ſo that the counteſs was quickly weary of reſiding there, and returned, as ſoon as ſhe could, to her own houſe. She caſt her eyes very early on *Charles* of *Bourbon*, whom ſhe would have willingly eſpouſed, notwithſtanding their tempers were extremely unlike; for he was remarkably ſilent and ſerious, his thoughts continually occupied with affairs of importance; ſo that he had little leiſure as well as little inclination to make his court to the ladies; and had either conceived ſome ill impreſſions of the counteſs's behaviour, or had given credit to ſome diſadvantageous reports, ſo that he ſlighted the advances that were made him, which the counteſs took very ill. Yet this did not ſtifle her paſſion, or hinder her, at certain times, from expreſſing great regard for this prince, till, as we ſhall ſee hereafter, he carried his diſtaſte ſo high, that it turned that affection ſhe formerly had for him into a hatred, equally fatal to him, to her, to the king, and to all *France*. So injurious are the foibles, the paſſions, and the vices of perſons in exalted ſtations, not only to themſelves and their families, but to the community.

firſt

firſt made two promotions, of which the bad effects of one were felt by his whole race; and the miſchiefs ariſing from the other, down to the time in which he wrote, were like to fall as heavy on poſterity: an honeſt remark, and a true prophecy.

THIS treaſure, thus ſupplied, was very ſpeedily expended. The new duke of *Genoa*, *Pregoſa*, was prevailed upon to depoſe himſelf, and to accept the title of perpetual governor, under the crown of *France*. Don *Pedro Navara*, who was made priſoner in the battle of *Ravenna*, piqued at the little notice that had been taken of him, entered into the ſervice of *France*, and found means to raiſe ten thouſand *Biſcanters* and *Gaſcons*. The duke of *Gueldres* brought many thouſands of *Landſquenets* out of *Germany*; ſo that, when the army was aſſembled, in order to paſs the *Alps*, it was the moſt numerous that *France* had ever raiſed in this quarrel, as conſiſting of forty thouſand foot and twenty thouſand horſe. The king having raiſed his own county of *Angoulême* into a duchy, beſtowed it upon his mother *Louiſa* of *Savoy*, and declared her regent[g] in his abſence: and this princeſs was the firſt to whom the *French* gave the title of Madame. All things being ready by the beginning of *Auguſt*, the troops began to attempt the paſſage of the *Alps*, by a new road, made with incredible labour, and at a vaſt expence, at *Roque-perriere*, the *Swiſs* having ſecured all that they thought practicable. The vanguard was commanded by the conſtable, the main body by the king in perſon, who had with him, beſides ſeveral princes of the blood, the dukes of *Gueldres*, *Lorrain*, and *Savoy*; the duke of *Alenſon* commanded the rear[h]. The firſt ſtroke of importance was ſurpriſing *Proſper Colonna*, the pope's general, with three hundred men at arms; upon which *Leo* immediately ſent one of his miniſters, with full powers to treat of an accommodation; and the *Swiſs*, perceiving it to no purpoſe to guard them longer, abandoned the paſſes[i]. They continued, however, to march cloſe by the king's army, fully reſolved to attack it the firſt fair opportunity. Yet, by the interpoſition of the duke of *Savoy*, they were brought to a negotiation; and by a treaty concluded at *Guilletres* it was ſtipulated, that the king ſhould give them ſeven hundred thouſand crowns, in full ſatisfaction of all their demands. To raiſe which enormous ſum, the king was conſtrained to borrow not only all the money but all the plate alſo belonging to the princes and great officers. Such was the terror they

Paſſes the Alps into Italy with a potent army.

[g] GUICCIARD. Memoires de Louiſa de Savoye. DUPLEIX. DU TILLET. [h] Memoires DU BELLAY. BELC. P. DAN.
[i] Hiſtoire du Chevalier Bayard. Memoires de Marechal de Fleuranges. MEZ.

had at this time, and not without reaſon, of the *Swiſs* troops [k]; and ſo deſirous were the king and his general to recover their favour.

Defeats the Swiſs *at* Marignano.

But the *Swiſs*, receiving at this juncture a conſiderable reinforcement, under the command of captain *Roſi*, and being perſuaded by the vehement harangues of the cardinal of *Sion*, reſolved to attack the king in his camp, though they were forſaken by the pope's troops, and were without artillery. Accordingly, on the 13th of *September*, about four in the afternoon, they attacked the *French* camp at *Marignano*, within a quarter of a league of *Milan*, with amazing intrepidity. The action laſted for ſeveral hours after ſun-ſet, and ended then becauſe both parties were ſo fatigued that they were unable to ſupport themſelves. The king himſelf ſlept an hour againſt the carriage of a cannon, intermixed with the enemy; and as ſoon as he waked, gave orders for poſting his artillery, and making all the neceſſary diſpoſitions for renewing the fight [l]. Accordingly, as ſoon as day broke, the *Swiſs* returned to the charge, with greater fury than the day before, but were ſo extremely galled by the cannon, and ſo miſerably broken by the gens d'arms, who charged through them, that about nine they began their retreat, leaving near one half of their army, which conſiſted of twenty-five thouſand men, upon the field. This retreat gained them more reputation than all their victories, for they made it ſlowly and in good order, and repulſed a corps of *Venetian* troops, which ventured to purſue them, with vigour [m]. Marſhal *Trivulce* ſaid, that eighteen battles, in which he ſerved before, were but children's play in compariſon of this, which he ſtiled the fight with the giants. But the victory, glorious as it was, coſt the *French* four thouſand of their beſt troops, and ſeveral perſons of diſtinction [n]. Don *Pedro Navarro* reduced *Novara*; the city of *Milan* opened her gates; the conſtable beſieged the citadel, and took it by capitulation. *Francis Sforza* reſigned his dukedom to the king, in conſideration of a penſion of ſixty thouſand ducats, and the promiſe of a cardinal's hat, thinking himſelf happy in being delivered from the heavy yoke of the *Germans*, the ſurly humours of the *Swiſs*, and the crafty contrivances of the *Spaniards* [o]. The king made a

1515.

[k] Memoires Du Bellay. Guicciard. Dupleix. Du Till. [l] Hub. Vall. ad Gaguin. Append. Memoires de Fleuranges. Francesco Guicciardini. Serres. Mez. Le Gend. [m] Memoires Du Bellay. Dupleix. Du Till. [n] Memoires de Fleuranges. Mez. P. Dan. [o] Memoires Du Bellay. Hub. Vall. ad Gaguin. Append. Dupleix.

triumphal

triumphal entry into *Milan*; eſtabliſhed a parliament there after the model of that of *Paris*; appointed the conſtable governor of the city and duchy, and left with him a corps of ten thouſand men [p]. The pope having accepted a peace on ſuch terms as the king preſcribed, *Francis* had an interview with him at *Bologna*, where, to prevent a ſchiſm, he conſented to the *concordat*; and, having thus glorioufly terminated his affairs in *Italy*, returned into his own dominions, after refuſing the title of emperor of the Eaſt, which the pope offered him, in order to engage him to turn his arms againſt the *Turks* [q].

AT *Lyons* the king met his mother and his queen, and the court reſumed all that ſplendour and magnificence, which, while it delighted the eyes of the vulgar, occaſioned infinite oppreſſion at home, and at the ſame time excited the jealouſy and hatred of foreign princes [r]. Amongſt theſe the emperor *Maximilian* was ever the moſt forward. Aſſiſted openly by the *Swiſs*, and ſecretly by the pope, he made an irruption into *Italy* with thirty thouſand men, and puſhed the conſtable ſo vigorouſly, that he was almoſt on the point of abandoning *Milan*, the ſuburbs of which he burnt, by the malicious advice of the *Venetians*. King *Francis* having concluded a treaty with the *Swiſs* (five cantons excepted), and having paid them ſix hundred thouſand crowns, they ſent twelve thouſand men to the relief of the conſtable [s]: Upon this *Maximilian*, the beſt part of whoſe army alſo conſiſted of *Swiſs*, retired haſtily, from an apprehenſion that his perſon might be in danger; and ſoon after his army diſbanded. The king recalled the conſtable of *Bourbon*, to gratify the ſpleen of his mother, and ſent *Odet de Foix*, viſcount *de Lautrec*, to command in *Milan*, becauſe he was the brother of his miſtreſs [t]. This new governor took *Breſcia*, which he reſtored to the *Venetians*; but he was conſtrained to raiſe the ſiege of *Verona*. The death of *Ferdinand the Catholic* gave the king an opportunity of aſſiſting the houſe of *Albret* with an army for the recovery of the kingdom of *Navarre*, which was ſpeedily, and with great ſpirit performed, and as imprudently loſt. Cardinal *Ximenes*, by demoliſhing all the fortreſſes, and rendering the country almoſt a deſart, made any future at-

The conſtable of Bourbon, after expelling the emperor out of Milan, is himſelf recalled.

[p] Memoires de Louiſa de Savoye. MEZERAY. P. DAN. [q] GUICCIARD. Memoires DU BELLAY. DUPLEIX. DU TILLET. P. DAN. [r] Memoires de Louiſa de Savoye. HUB. VALL. ad Gaguin. Append. DUPLEIX. [s] Memoires DU BELLAY. MEZ. [t] GUICCIARD. DUPLEIX. P. DAN.

tempt

A. D. 1516. tempt of that kind less practicable [u]. *Charles* of *Austria* being about to pass into *Spain*, concluded the treaty of *Nojon*, upon terms so very advantageous to *France*, that the performance was not to be expected. He undertook to marry the princess *Louisa*, the king's daughter, who was but a year old, and to allow an hundred thousand crowns a year for her support; he promised to render *Navarre* in six months, and consented, in case he failed, that the king should assist the house of *Albret* with an army. The true motive to this treaty was the security of the *Low Countries* [w]. The emperor *Maximilian* acceded to it; and, for the sum of two hundred thousand crowns in ready money, and the discharge of three hundred thousand more, which he had borrowed of the late king, he promised to deliver up *Verona*, and to grant the king the investiture of the duchy of *Milan* [x]. The five protesting cantons now acceded to the treaty of *Friburgh*, since that time stiled the perpetual alliance, having subsisted ever since between the two nations, and proved reciprocally advantageous to both [y].

Methods taken by Francis *to increase his allies, and to secure his regal dominions.*

In pursuance of the treaty lately concluded, *Maximilian* rendered *Verona* into the hands of the *Spaniards*, by whom it was yielded to the viscount *de Lautrec*, who restored it to the *Venetians*; so that the republic was now pretty near in the same situation as before the league of *Cambray*. With respect to the investiture, *Maximilian* took time to consider; which was his manner of refusing. The duchy of *Urbino* was conquered for *Lowrence de Medicis*, who, being in *France*, confirmed the alliance with his uncle *Leo* the tenth [z]. About the same time *Francis* renewed the antient treaties between *France* and *Scotland*, and sent over the duke of *Albany* to administer the government in the name of the young king, or, in other words, to render that country a province of *France*, which was highly displeasing to *Henry* the eighth, the young king's uncle, who had very kind intentions towards that young prince [a]. The parliaments and the universities of *France* were unanimous in their opposition to the *concordat*; but the king, to gain the favour of the pope, caused it to be introduced and

[u] Memoires Du Bellay. Hub. Vall. ad Gaguin. Append. Mariana. Fer. Dupleix. [w] Recueil de Traites par Leonard. Mezeray. P. Daniel. [x] Francesco Guicciard. Du Tillet. Mez. [y] Recueil de Traites, par Leonard. Serres. Du Tillet. Chalons. Le Gend. [z] Memoires Du Bellay. Mez. [a] Polyd. Virgil. Holinshed. Lord Herbert's History of Henry VIII.

executed

executed by force [b]; ſacrificing to the pleaſure of a foreign prince the laws of his country, and the affections of his ſubjects. This was another effect of the new maxims of his chancellor, who was already a creature of the court of *Rome*, and who, for this and other ſubſequent ſervices, received the uſual gratification of a hat (B). A. D. 1517.

THE

[b] Hiſtoire de la Pragmatique Sanction & des Concordats qui eſt à la fin du Volume des Commentaires de PITHOU, ſur les Libertes d'l'Egliſe Gallicane. DUPLEIX. P. DANIEL.

(B) The affair of the *concordat* is a point of too great conſequence to be haſtily paſſed over, and yet of too great length and difficulty to be fully treated in this place. We ſhall therefore endeavour to give the reader a ſuccinct idea of what it was, and of the principal conſequences that attended it, and leave the reſt to the inquiſitive reader's peruſal in the works of thoſe authors we ſhall have occaſion to cite. We have before obſerved that, in order to gain the good graces of pope *Pius* the ſecond, *Lewis* the eleventh attempted to aboliſh the *Pragmatic ſanction*, in which he was vigorouſly oppoſed by the parliament; and afterwards, finding no reaſon to be well pleaſed with that pontiff, gave up the point, and left the *Pragmatic ſanction* to be conſidered as a law in the *Gallican* church, and as ſuch to be reſpected in the ſtate. Under the reigns of *Charles* the eighth and *Lewis* the twelfth it was ſtrictly obſerved, though pope *Julius* the ſecond, in the council of *Lateran*, fulminated againſt all who ſhould ſupport or ſubmit to it. *Leo* the tenth purſued his predeceſſor's ſteps; and it was in this diſpoſition the king found him at his interview. He conſented, however, that the cardinals of *Ancona* and *Santiquatro* ſhould confer with the chancellor *du Prat*, in order to find out ſome expedient that might ſatisfy both parties; and it was the expedient that theſe commiſſioners framed that was afterwards ſtiled the *concordat*. By this the abolitions of the reſervations and expectatives was aboliſhed, as in the *Pragmatic ſanction*; but then the obligation of the pope to aſſemble a general council within a certain limited time, and the ſuperiority of ſuch councils to the pope, which were alſo in the *Pragmatic ſanction*, were left out in the *concordat*. But the two principal points in this famous agreement were the granting the king the nomination to the benefices in his dominions, under certain reſtrictions, and the allowing the pope his *annates*, that is, a year's revenue clear out of every benefice to which the king named; and thus the right of election was taken from the chapters and convents, and the king and the pope jointly ſhared the ſpoils of the church. *Francis*, at his return, laboured all that he could to oblige his parliament to receive the *concordat*; and the pope's nuncio, having preſented two books, under the leaden ſeal, the one containing the *concordat*, and the other

The king manages ſo as to recover Tournay, *and to keep on good terms with* Eng-

THE birth of a Dauphin gave great pleaſure to the king and to his ſubjects. The pope promiſed to anſwer for the young prince at the font, and accordingly *Lawrence de Medicis* performed that ceremony in his name, which was one of the arts he uſed to preſerve the good opinion of the king, while he was ſecretly doing him ill offices, and concerting, or at leaſt endeavouring to concert, a league for depriving him of his duchy of *Milan*. On the other hand, *Francis* ſtill

other the revocation of the *Pragmatic ſanction*, he ſent the former, as virtually maintaining both, to the parliament, requir them to regiſter and publiſh it. Upon this occaſion he held his bed of juſtice, and was preſent when the chancellor, in a long florid ſpeech, gave the beſt account he could of the king's conduct and his own: after which the clergy retired into a room by themſelves; where, after they had conferred, they returned, and the cardinal *de Boiſi* reported, that, being a matter which concerned the *Gallican* church, it ought to be conſidered in a general aſſembly of the clergy, without whoſe conſent the *concordat* could not be ratified. "But I," ſaid the king in a paſſion, "will make you "ratify it, or will ſend you to "*Rome* to debate it with the "pope." The parliament anſwered in ſofter terms, but to the ſame effect. The king then ſent his letters patents, reciting the *concordat*, and commanded them to regiſter it. The parliament ſubmitted to examine the affair afreſh; but, in the end, declared that they could not regiſter or publiſh the *concordat*, but were reſolved to proceed according to the *Pragmatic ſanction*; and that, if his majeſty would have this laſt aboliſhed, it muſt be by an aſſembly of the *Gallican* church, as it was enacted in the reign of his predeceſſor *Charles* the ſeventh. *Francis* told them, in anſwer, that he was king of *France*, and that he would not ſuffer them to be a ſenate of *Venice*, and therefore would be obeyed. Upon this the parliament ſubmitted; but, at the ſame time, made a proteſt before the biſhop of *Langres*, duke and peer of *France*, that what they did was in obedience to the king, and by force; that they meant not to approve the *concordat*, nor would regulate their proceedings by that, but by the *Pragmatic ſanction*, as they did ſometimeafter, when the king accordingly named a perſon to the biſhoprick of *Albi*, and the chapter choſe another; upon which a proceſs was commenced before the parliament of *Thoulouſe*, and from thence removed before the parliament of *Paris*, upon which the king ſent for the firſt preſident, and directed him to give judgment purſuant to the *concordat*; notwithſtanding which, he pronounced a ſentence the next day in favour of the perſon elected by the chapter. While the king was priſoner in *Spain*, theſe diſputes were ſuſpended; and, at his return, the king transferred the cognizance of cauſes relating to archbiſhopricks, biſhoprick, abbies, *&c.* from the parliament to the great council.

perſiſted

perſiſted in his deſire of reviving his claim to the kingdom of Naples, which induced him to heap favours upon the pope, in hopes that he might gradually win and fix him to his intereſt. With this view, as he had already very unjuſtly fixed *Laurence de Medicis* in the duchy of *Urbin*, ſo he next gave him in marriage *Magdalen* of *Boulogne*, niece to the duke of *Vendoſme*, and a great heireſs [c]. From this marriage ſprung *Katherine de Medicis*, of whom we ſhall have much to ſay hereafter. He was ſtill very diffident of *England*, and with reaſon; for he ſtood at that time upon ill terms with cardinal *Wolſey* (who, with the title of his miniſter, governed *Henry* the eighth as abſolutely as if he had been his pupil), though he was in ſome meaſure indebted to him for his hat. *Wolſey* had influenced *Henry* to ſhew ſuch marks of jealouſy, as obliged the *French* monarch to leave *Italy* ſooner than he intended; he had likewiſe prevailed upon him to furniſh the emperor with money for his late *Italian* expedition: but perceiving that, as things were then circumſtanced, it would be impoſſible to raiſe a war in *Europe*, he made ſome advances towards a reconciliation with *Francis*, who, being perfectly acquainted with his character, made him very rich preſents, and conſulted him upon points of great importance [d]. The point on which they had differed, was in reſpect to the ſee of *Tournay*, of which he had the adminiſtration and revenue, but was deſirous likewiſe of having the title, which the king had not only refuſed, but had alſo ſollicited the pope to reſtore the adminiſtration to the deprived biſhop, who was his ſubject. But now he treated with *Wolſey* for the reſtitution of the city, with a promiſe to indemnify him amply for the particular loſs which he might ſuſtain. The point being once ſettled with the miniſter, the admiral of *France*, with other perſons of great diſtinction, came over as embaſſadors to ſettle it with the king. The cardinal managed this affair with great addreſs: he ſold the town at a very high price; but, that his new client might have no reaſon to complain, he ſtipulated a marriage between the Dauphin, juſt born, and the king's only daughter *Mary*, to whom he aſſigned a large portion, and conſented that it ſhould be abated out of the purchaſe [e]. On the ſigning of this treaty on the 14th of *October*, king *Francis*, by his letters patent, granted the cardinal an annuity of fourteen thouſand livres. The king was ſo well pleaſed with this bargain, that he propoſed dealing for *Calais*, and *Wolſey* entertained the motion, and in all probability would have brought 1518.

[c] Memoires Du Bellay. Duplex. [d] Polyd. Virg. Hall. Holinsh. Lord Herbert's Hiſtory of Henry the Eighth. P. Dan. [e] Act. Pub. Mez.

it to bear; but *Charles*, king of *Caſtile*, interpoſed, and made him ſenſible that he was well inclined to repurchaſe his good graces, which ſtopped that bargain [f]. Monſieur *de Lautrec* governed *Milan* with a rod of iron, harraſſed the people extremely, and amaſſed immenſe riches; but perceiving that, in ſpite of theſe, marſhal *Trivulce* was infinitely more eſteemed, he rendered him ſuſpected to the king his maſter, which, when the marſhal perceived, though upwards of fourſcore and infirm, he paſſed the mountains in the depth of winter to go and vindicate himſelf; the king, however, was ſo prejudiced againſt him, that he refuſed to hear him, which affected the gallant old ſoldier to ſuch a degree, that he died of grief [g]. The princeſs *Louiſa* being dead, *Charles*, king of *Caſtile*, ſtill inclined to ſooth the monarch of *France*, renewed the treaty of *Nojon*, and promiſed to eſpouſe the princeſs *Charlotte*, who was juſt born, and, having the ſame intentions as to both, it was of little conſequence.

Charles V. *carries the imperial crown from* Francis, *after which thoſe princes became irreconcileable enemies.*

IN purſuance of the late treaty with *England*, Monſieur *Colligni* took poſſeſſion of *Tournay*, which, excluſive of the preſents and penſions to cardinal *Wolſey*, coſt king *Francis* at leaſt four hundred thouſand crowns. However, the two kings were ſtill upon ſo good terms, that *Henry* was godfather to the king's ſecond ſon, and gave him his own name [h]. The death of the emperor *Maximilian* operated ſtrongly on the affairs of *Europe*. In the latter part of his life he had practiſed on *Henry* continually, by pretending that he would reſign in his favour, or that he would engage the electors to chuſe him his ſucceſſor. But this was only with a view to obtain money; for his real intention was in favour of his younger grandſon *Ferdinand*, till, upon more mature deliberation, he thought it more expedient to prefer *Charles*; and, on his behalf, therefore, he was labouring with the electors at the very time he died. *Francis*, though he had refuſed the title of emperor of the eaſt, was not ſo indifferent as to the empire of *Germany*; but, on the contrary, very ambitious of reſtoring that title to the monarchs of *France*; and, as he was very generous, or rather profuſe, he found it no difficult matter to obtain promiſes from the electors [i]. The pope pretended ſometimes to be neuter; at other times he affected to favour *France*; but, in reality, he was not deſirous that either *Charles* or *Francis* ſhould be choſen, in which he would have prevailed, if the duke of *Saxony* would have accepted the imperial crown. But he refuſing it, the electors, after much conſideration, beſtowed

[f] POLYD. VIRG. P. DAN. [g] Memoires de BRANTOME.
[h] HERBERT. DUPLEIX. DU TILLET. [i] BELCAR. GUICCIARDINI.

it

it on *Charles* [k]. As one great reaſon of their preferring him to *Francis*, was, their apprehenſion of ſeeing themſelves reduced from the rank of princes to that of nobility, like thoſe of *France*, they reſolved to limit the power of their new maſter, and with this view ſettled the capitulation, which he was to accept, at the ſame time he was admitted to the imperial dignity. A circumſtance to which, in all probability, he had not ſubmitted, but from the apprehenſion of being ſupplanted by *Francis*. This controverſy was carried on with all the exterior marks of politeneſs poſſible between the competitors; but, notwithſtanding, *Francis* was ſo much piqued at this diſappointment, that it was the real ſource of that inveterate averſion, which, however diſguiſed upon particular occaſions, thoſe monarchs bore to each other ever after. It immediately revived the old project of recovering the kingdom of *Naples*, which ſeemed to be facilitated by the old opinion, that it was incompatible with the imperial dignity. A. D. 1519.

BEFORE he undertook any thing, *Francis* held it expedient to be ſure of *England*; and therefore diſpatched admiral *Bonnivet* to preſs king *Henry* to an interview, which was eaſily effected, for the monarch loved ſhews, and his miniſter preſents. The two kings and their queens met between *Ardres* and *Guines*: there had ſcarce any thing been ſeen of equal magnificence in *Europe*, and it was long after memorable by the title of *de Camp de Drap d'Or*, or, *the Cloth of Gold Camp*; it laſted ten or twelve days, exhauſted the treaſures of both monarchs, ruined many of their nobility, and anſwered no end whatever [l]. The new emperor, paſſing out of *Spain* to the *Low Countries*, in *July* landed at *Dover*, obtained an exact account of all that had paſſed in the conferences between the two kings, and made ſuch impreſſions on *Wolſey*, as weakened, if not effaced, all memory of the *French* politeneſs [m]. All the *French* hiſtorians agree in ſtating the facts and dates thus, and reaſon upon them in this manner. But, however, the truth is, the emperor's viſit was prior to the interview between the two kings, as all our hiſtorians agree, and as may be proved by inconteſtible evidence. But this miſtake muſt be accidental; for it would have been more for the *French* writer's purpoſe to expoſe *Wolſey*, to have ſtated the fact as it really happened: all the difference is, that, by a proper application to *Wolſey*, *Charles* prevented this interview from proving detrimental to his intereſts, inſtead of learning *Interview between* Francis *and* Henry *at the camp of* Cloth of Gold.

[k] BELCAR. PETRUS DE ANGLER. Epiſt. SANDOVAL. GUICCIARDINI. [l] HUBERTI VELLEI ad Gaguinum Append. Memoires de Louis de Savoye. HERBERT. STOWE. HALL. HOLINSH. [m] POLYD. VIRG.

what paſſed therein, and then effacing their effects. Take it either way, the duplicity and falſhood is juſt the ſame, or rather, in regard to the cardinal, as he changed ſides before it, ſomewhat worſe. While *Charles* was receiving the enſigns of the imperial dignity at *Aix-la-Chapelle*, and thought himſelf ſecure of the pope, who had promiſed to take no advantage of his acceſſion to the imperial diadem, ſuppoſed to include the ceſſion of that of *Naples*, *Francis* began to treat with him, as if the forfeiture of *Charles*'s title to that crown was a point inconteſtible. In a little time he concluded an alliance, by which *Leo* undertook to refuſe the inveſtiture to *Charles*, and to grant it to *Francis* as ſoon as he ſhould be in poſſeſſion, not, however, in favour of himſelf, but of his ſecond ſon *Henry*, upon condition that *Gaeta* and a large tract of country ſhould be granted to the ſee of *Rome*; and that, during the minority of the young prince, the whole realm ſhould be governed by an apoſtolic legate. Upon the faith of this treaty, *Francis* began to make his preparations, and to take his meaſures[n].

A. D. 1520.

Francis cauſes the kingdom of Navarre *to be conquered, which is loſt again ſoon after.*

As the king could never have a more favourable opportunity than was afforded him by the inſurrection of the commons of *Caſtile* for the recovery of *Navarre*, he directed a conſiderable body of troops to be aſſembled for that purpoſe, under the command of *Andrew de Foix*, Sieur *de Eſparre*, the brother of Monſieur *de Lautrec*, and the counteſs *de Chateaubrian*. As the country was entirely open, after reducing *St. Jean de Pie de Port*, he met with no farther reſiſtance till he came to *Pampeluna*, which, together with the citadel, he reduced, after a ſhort ſiege. It is certain, that, if he had been content with doing all that he was ordered to do, and had bent his thoughts entirely to the keeping of what he had got, the houſe of *Auſtria* had been deprived of *Navarre*[o]. But being deſirous to do more, he undid all that he had done. On his beſieging *Logrogno*, the nobility of *Caſtile* took up arms, and obliged him to raiſe the ſiege. Yet he afterwards fought this army within a league of *Pampeluna*, without ſtaying for a reinforcement of ſix thouſand men, which were in full march towards him; and being defeated and taken priſoner, *Pampeluna* and the reſt of the kingdom was loſt, much ſooner than they were won[p]. At the time that the flame of war ſeemed to be put out on this ſide, it was kindled again on that of the *Low Countries*, by a very ſlight occaſion, which, in reality, was not ſo much the cauſe of the war, as a proof that theſe two great princes were determined to ſeize the firſt op-

portunity

[n] Guicciard. P. Daniel. [o] Annales de France.
[p] Petrus de Angler. Epiſt.

portunity of employing the whole force of their extensive dominions in expressing the inveteracy of their resentments.

Some years before, the Sieur *d'Aimeres* and the prince of *Chimay* had a law suit for the town of *Herge*, in the *Ardennes*, which had been determined by the peers of the duchy of *Bouillon* in favour of the prince of *Chimay*. The Sieur *d'Aimeres* had lent the emperor a very considerable sum of money, during the diet of *Francfort*, which had been very useful in the great affair of his election; and, instead of repaying this money, the Sieur *d'Aimeres* was allowed to appeal from the old sentence to the sovereign council at *Brabant*, who presently summoned the children of the prince of *Chimay* to appear before their tribunal. This inflamed *Robert de la Marck*, duke *de Bouillon*, who was guardian to the children of the prince of *Chimay*, and had married their aunt, not only for their sakes, but because it attacked the sovereignty of his duchy, which, though small, he affirmed to be as much a sovereignty, and as independent, as any other. His brother *Erard de la Marck*, bishop of *Liege*, had been formerly strongly attached to *France*, and *Robert* himself had been likewise in that service; but madame *d'Angoulesme*, the king's mother, having disappointed the bishop of a hat, because she had received a present of fifty thousand crowns to procure it for another, both the bishop and the duke went over to the *Spanish* interest, and had contributed not a little to the emperor's election. This aggravated, in their opinion, the ill usage they had met with; they therefore reconciled themselves immediately to *France*; and *Robert* carried it so far, as to go in person to demand the protection of king *Francis*. The king, having assured him of it in strong terms, and having probably made him a considerable present, he fell immediately to raising troops, and, having assembled between four and five thousand men, made an irruption into the duchy of *Luxemburgh*, and sent a herald to declare war against the emperor, in his own name, in the face of the diet.

Charles, upon this, sent an embassador to expostulate the matter with the king, and another to complain to king *Henry* of *England*, as the common umpire between them, of the high insult he had received; but these measures producing no effect, he sent an army, under the command of *Henry* count of *Nassau*, to take vengeance of *Robert de la Marck*.

The cause of the war between Charles and Francis, or, rather, the colour of that war.

It was this army that began the war, by reducing *Mouzon*; but they failed of taking *Mezieres*, which was defended by the chevalier *Bayard*. On the other hand, the *French* took *Hesdin*, and some other places. King *Francis* marched with

The long war begun with no advantage

¶ Memoires Du Bellay. Dupleix.

on the side of Flanders, *and the loss of* Milan.

his army directly to *Valenciennes*, where the emperor lay with his, and, having passed the *Schelde*, offered him battle, but the emperor retired; and, if the constable *Bourbon*'s advice had been followed, in all probability had suffered a defeat. But the king, prejudiced against him by his mother, rejected the proposition, and gave the command of his van-guard to the duke of *Alençon*, who had married his sister, which was not only an affront to the constable, but derogatory to the rights of his office [r]. All this time the imperial and *French* ministers were debating their cause before *Henry* at *Calais*, where, at length, a project of a peace was signed, satisfactory to both parties. But the news arriving that admiral *Bonivet* had taken *Fontarabia*, the imperialists would hear of nothing unless this city was restored. If the admiral had followed his instructions, there had been no room for any dispute, since he was directed to demolish the place as soon as he was master of it; but he was so fond of his new conquest, and had such an ascendancy over the mind of his master, that the restitution of it was rejected, which cost *France* a war of thirty-eight years, and such an expence of blood and treasure, as brought her to the very brink of destruction [s]. Before the end of the campaign the emperor took *Tournay* [t]. In *Italy*, all things took a wrong turn: pope *Leo*, after embarrassing the *French* by his intrigues, at length declared openly against them, and joined his troops to those of the imperialists, in order to restore *Francis Sforza* to the duchy of *Milan*. *Lautrec*, who left his charge to go to court in order to sollicit money, was persuaded into a belief that it would be sent after him. But the profusion of the king and his mother absorbed all that was produced by the funds assigned for that purpose; so that for want of pay, the *Swiss* deserted, and the greatest part of the duchy, and even the city, of *Milan* fell into the hands of the enemy. The joy conceived at this extraordinary success, and the prospect of seeing the *French* driven out of *Italy* in another campaign, so hurried the spirits of *Leo* the tenth, that he fell into a fever, of which he died, which might have been of great advantage to the *French* in *Italy*, if those who commanded their forces in that country had been in a condition to improve any advantage [u]. But, thro' the intrigues then reigning at court, this was not to be done.

1521.

More misfortunes which pro-

THE forces of the pope, the emperor, and the duke of *Milan*, commanded by *Prosper Colonna*, were by their successes become inferior to those of the viscount *de Lautrec*, who

[r] Memoires Du Bellay. Mez. [s] Annales de France.
[t] Polyd. Virg. Hall. [u] Belcar. Thuanus. Dupleix.

had

had been joined by a large body of *Swiſs*, and, therefore, *Proſper*, to avoid a battle, had intrenched himſelf at *Bicoque*, which was an old country ſeat, with a park and gardens well walled and fenced. Here he entrenched himſelf ſtrongly; but, in all probability, he muſt have been forced to ſurrender with his whole army, if *Lautrec* had been ſuffered to purſue his own ſcheme of cutting off the enemies proviſions, and prevented their retreat. But the *Swiſs*, confiding in their numbers and courage, inſiſted that the *French* general ſhould either give them their pay, or put an end to the campaign, by attacking the enemy in their poſts. As he had no money, he was obliged to do what they would have him, and accordingly attempted to force the enemy in their lines, which, though performed with all the bravery imaginable, yet terminated in the loſs of the beſt officers in his army, and about three thouſand *Swiſs*, who, being much diſpirited, left him, and retired into their own country [w]. *Proſper Colonna*, having recovered the ſuperiority, puſhed the *French* ſo effectually, that, before the cloſe of the campaign, the citadel of *Milan*, *Novara*, *Piſighitone*, and the caſtle of *Genoa*, for the city was ſurprized, were all the *French* had left [x]. The news of theſe misfortunes made a ſtrong impreſſion on the *French* court, and occaſioned an enquiry into their cauſes. *Lautrec* inſiſted, that his not being ſupplied with money, according to the aſſurances he received, was the ſole ſource of all this misfortune. Upon this, *De Baune Semblanſai*, who had the direction of the finances, was called upon to know what became of the money. He alleged, and very truly, that madame *d'Angouleſme*, the king's mother, had received it, and appealed to acquittances, which ſhe had given him for it. But thoſe acquittances were not to be found; *Gentil*, who was his deputy, and who had an amour with one of the ducheſs's ladies of honour, had ſtolen and delivered them up. This drew the proceſs into a great length; but, in the end, *De Baune Semblanſai*, an honeſt venerable old man, whom the king himſelf had not been aſhamed to ſtile father, was hanged as a public plunderer, and a falſe accuſer [y]. *Gentil*, for his good ſervice, was promoted to be preſident of parliament; but, all in good time, met with his proper preferment, that of the gallows. Theſe proceedings did not at all contribute to reſtore the face of affairs, which, on the contrary, grew every day worſe and worſe [z], through the unbounded progreſs of corruption.

ducs inquiries, and theſe, inſtead of remedies, acts of injuſtice.

[w] Belcar. P. Dan. [x] Memoires Du Bellay. Mez. [y] Du Tillet. [z] Dupleix.

Henry VIII. *being ſolicited for ſuccours, inſtead of granting them, declares war againſt* France.

AT this time cardinal *Wolſey* was entirely at the devotion of the emperor *Charles*, who replaced the great penſions given him by *Francis*, and many conſiderable preſents beſides, in order to merit which, he induced his maſter to act a very extraordinary part. King *Francis*, on the firſt ſuſpicion of his change, ſent to king *Henry*, under his great ſeal, an exemplification of the treaty ſubſiſting between them, a long detail of the injuries he had ſuffered from the emperor, and a preſſing demand of the ſuccours ſtipulated by the treaty; in anſwer to which, *Henry* ſent a herald to declare war; and, in the month of *July*, debarked a body of *Engliſh* troops at *Calais*, commanded by the earl of *Surry*[a].

1522. This invaſion did not produce any great effects; for, after lying about ſix weeks before *Heſdin*, they were obliged to raiſe the ſiege, and ſuffered conſiderably in their retreat; yet, in its conſequences, this diverſion was extremely fatal to the affairs of *France*. The king found himſelf ſo exceedingly diſtreſſed for money, that, by the advice of chancellor *du Prat*, he had recourſe to the moſt deſtructive methods of raiſing it, ſuch as mortgaging his domain, creating offices, merely to ſet them to ſale, and many other expedients of a like nature[b]. Towards the cloſe of the year the caſtle of *Genoa* was obliged to ſurrender for want of proviſions. The important iſland of *Rhodes* fell this year into the hands of the *Turks*, in conſequence of the war amongſt the great powers of Chriſtendom, and of the league formed by the pope, the emperor, the king of *England*, the archduke of *Auſtria*, the duke of *Milan*, the republic of *Venice*, the ſtate of *Florence*, and that of *Genoa* againſt the *French*[c], the loſs of which iſland was irreparable.

The conſtable Bourbon *leaves* France *and enters into the emperor's ſervice.*

THE *Spaniards* had blocked up *Fontarabia*, from the time it had fallen into the hands of the *French*, and *James Diaillon* Sieur *du Lude*, had defended it with great ſpirit and ſucceſs for near a year, till the marſhal *de Chabannes* arrived with an army and conſtrained the enemy to raiſe the ſiege. This raiſed the credit of the king's arms; and his affairs might have taken a more favourable turn, if his mother, the duchess of *Angoulesme*, who had hitherto perſecuted the conſtable by drawing on him continual mortifications, had not changed her battery, and commenced a ſuit againſt him for his whole eſtate, which was, in all reſpects, the moſt conſiderable that any ſubject poſſeſſed in *France*[d]. The conſtable was a perſon of great abilities, determined courage, of a high ſpirit, ſtrong

[a] Holinsh. Mémoires de Louiſa de Savoye. [b] P. Dan. Polyd. Virg. [c] Hall. Duplex. [d] Hiſtoire de Francis I. Belcar.

resentment, and had very great connections. When, therefore, he saw his ruin determined, he entered into a correspondence with the emperor, the king of *England*, and the rest of the confederates; and finding this discovered, retired privately, and went into the emperor's service (C). The desertion

Mez. P. Daniel. Strowd. Holinshed.

(C) The death of *Susanna*, duchess of *Bourbon*, *April* 28, 1521, at the age of thirty, opened the way to those troubles, which compelled, or at least induced, the constable to quit his country, and to enter into the service of the emperor; an affair of such consequence to the *French* history, that it deserves to be particularly considered. *Madame*, the king's mother, was about the age of forty-five, and was still, at least in her own opinion, handsome; the constable was about two-and-thirty. She caused it to be insinuated, on the one hand, to *Bourbon*, what mighty advantages he would reap from the marriage, in case he consented to it; and on the other hand, she gave her son to understand, that she had his interest greatly in view, since, as there was no appearance of issue by this marriage, the vast estates of the house of *Bourbon*, on the death of the constable, would revert to the crown. *Francis*, either seeing the thing in this light, or out of an earnest desire of obliging his mother, pressed the constable all he could to forget the many mortifications he had received, and to espouse *Madame*. The constable not only rejected absolutely all these offers, but likewise gave some disobliging reasons for his distaste, which the king took highly amiss. The duchess of *Angoulême* being provoked beyond all measure, and ascribing the constable's aversion to the insinuations of *Anne*, duchess-dowager of *Bourbon*, his mother-in-law, who, notwithstanding the death of her daughter, without leaving any child living, had confirmed, as far as it was in her power, all the cessions made in favour of the marriage, resolved to attack the family settlements, and strip the constable of his vast estates. These consisted chiefly in the duchies of *Bourbonnois* and *Auvergne*, and the counties of *Montpensier*, *Clermont*, and *Forez*, some of which, it was pretended, reverted to the crown upon the death of *Peter*, duke of *Bourbon*, the last heir of the eldest line; and the rest, in virtue of old family settlements, ought to descend to *Madame*, as the cousin and heiress of the late duchess *Susannah*. At the accession of *Lewis* the twelfth, this matter had been stirred, the duchess *Anne* was inclined to marry her daughter to the duke of *Alençon*; and, though she had no great reason to expect that monarch's favour, whom she had imprisoned while duke of *Orleans*, yet, knowing that the best part of her husband's estates would revert to him, she requested a new grant in favour of that marriage; but the king told her, that *Charles*, count of *Montpensier*, was the heir male

deſertion of ſuch a perſon occaſioned a general conſternation; and though there did not immediately happen any inſurrection, as was generally expected, yet it had a very bad influence on affairs, and excited ſuch jealouſies, that, for the preſent, the king was forced to ſuſpend the ſending ſuccours, as he deſigned, into *Italy*, which coſt him the few places that were yet held, the commanders of which thought it very ex-

of the family; and that, in prudence as well as juſtice, ſhe ought to give her daughter to him; in which caſe, he was ready to do all that ſhe deſired. Upon this, *Suſannah* was given to the conſtable, then count of *Montpenſier*, and, by the marriage contract, they made reciprocal renunciations of their reſpective rights in favour of each other, and to the longer liver: it was the ceſſion of *Lewis* the twelfth that was attacked as prejudicial to the crown, and this marriage contract as inconſiſtent with the old family ſettlements. All writers agree, that the ducheſs of *Angouleſme*'s pretenſions were unfounded; however, after a long proceſs, her influence was ſo great, that ſhe obtained from the parliament a ſequeſtration of the lands in queſtion, by which the conſtable was to be turned out of poſſeſſion; this, with the death of his mother-in-law, the ducheſs *Anne*, daughter to *Lewis* the eleventh, threw him into deſpair, and induced him to ſend *Adrian de Croi*, count *de Rieux*, to offer his ſervices to the emperor, who accepted them with great joy, and ſent immediately his ſecretary *Beaurain* to the conſtable, to whom he offered his ſiſter *Eleonora*, queen-dowager of *Portugal*, with a portion of two hundred thouſand crowns, and to declare her ſole heireſs of the houſe of *Auſtria*, in caſe himſelf and his brother the archduke *Ferdinand* died without iſſue. He further offered to receive him into the league concluded with the king of *England*, and directed that it ſhould be communicated to him. In the mean time, the king had intelligence in general terms of the intrigue, upon which he took *Moulins*, where the conſtable was in his way on his march into *Italy*. He found him in bed, for he pretended ſickneſs, to avoid attending the king in that expedition; and, having frankly told him what informations he had received, added, that he ſuppoſed the law-ſuit had rendered him a malecontent, and he did not wonder at it; but aſſured him, that, if the cauſe was determined againſt him, he would reſtore him his eſtates. The conſtable made no difficulty of owning that he had treated with the emperor, thanked the king for his kindneſs, and promiſed to follow him to *Lyons*, and began his journey accordingly in a litter, but turned off upon the road; and, by the aſſiſtance of *Pomperant*, made his eſcape, but with great difficulty, to *Trent*, of which, as ſoon as *Charles* the fifth had notice, he declared him his lieutenant general in *Italy*. The diſcovery of his intrigues hindered *Francis* from going that year, in perſon, into that country, and threw the command into the hands of the admiral *Bonivet*.

cuſable

cuſable to ſurrender upon tolerable terms, and before they were reduced to ſuch diſtreſs as ſhould put it out of their power to expect any terms at all. At length, when it was in a manner too late, the king reſolved to ſend a numerous army into *Italy*, though by this very ſtep he expoſed the reſt of his dominions to the moſt imminent peril, and his ſubjects to diſtreſs and danger, even in his capital [f].

While France is attacked on every ſide, the king ſends a new army into Italy.

CARDINAL *Wolſey* was exceedingly diſpleaſed with the emperor, upon the election of *Adrian* the ſixth to the papacy; and could not believe that he, who had been the emperor's preceptor, and at the very time of his election at the head of the adminiſtration in *Spain*, could be choſen, as *Charles* would have it believed, without his interpoſition or aſſiſtance; however, as he was very old, and the emperor ſtill continued his penſions and aſſurances, the cardinal perſiſted in his plan, entered into the intrigue with the conſtable, and concerted a new invaſion of *France*, in conjunction with *Charles*, in both capacities of emperor and king of *Spain*; and this was ſo well concerted, that it ſeemed ſcarce poſſible their deſign ſhould miſcarry [g]. As emperor, *Charles* ſent a corps of troops through the *Franche Compte* into *Burgundy*, where they appeared very unexpectedly, and did a great deal of miſchief; but they were at length compelled to retire, by the prudent conduct of the count *de Guiſe*, and by their diſappointment in not meeting with the aſſiſtance they expected from the conſtable, who, if he had been able to remain in *France* till his ſchemes were ripe, had, without queſtion, reduced the monarchy as low as it had ever been, even in the days of *Charles* the ſeventh. An *Engliſh* army of about fifteen thouſand men, under the command of the duke of *Suffolk*, debarked at *Calais*, and was quickly joined by the count *de Bure*, with the like number of the emperor's troops, in quality of duke of *Burgundy*. The *French* having no army to oppoſe them, they made themſelves maſters of *Bray ſur Somme*, took *Mondidier*, burnt *Roye*, and came within eleven leagues of *Paris*; but by that time *Francis* had ſent a good body of troops from *Lyons*, under the command of the duke *de Vendoſme*, upon which the allies retired; and, by the addreſs of monſieur *la Trimouille*, were obliged to abandon their deſign of taking up winter quarters in *France*. The emperor came, in perſon, into the kingdom of *Navarre*, cauſed his troops to inveſt *Fontarabia*, but ſuddenly, as if he had changed his deſign, though, in truth, he had only concealed it, ordered his forces to paſs the mountains, and beſieged *Bayonne*, into which *Lautrec* had thrown

1523.

[f] DUPLEIX. DU TILLET. HERBERT. MEZ. [g] HALL. HOLINSH.

himſelf

and recover the duchy of *Milan*, which, though contrary to the advice of the wiſer and better part of his officers, was reſolved and executed, becauſe it was his pleaſure [p]. He left his mother, as before, regent in his abſence, tho' the expedition was much againſt her will, and he had even altered his route to avoid ſeeing her, for fear her arguments might diſſuade him. He met with all the ſucceſs he could expect, made himſelf maſter of *Milan*, and the greateſt part of the country, engaged the pope to quit his alliance with the emperor, and that he might drive his enemies at once out of that part of the country, beſieged *Pavia*, tho' it was winter, and his own army ſtood in much need of reſt and refreſhment [q].

Inveſts and beſieges Pavia, *which throws things again into diſorder.*

THE city of *Pavia* was in itſelf ſtrong by ſituation, well fortified, had in it a very ſtrong garriſon of *Spaniſh* and *German* foot, commanded by *Antonio de Leva*, juſtly eſteemed one of the braveſt men and one of the beſt captains in the emperor's ſervice. It muſt, however, be allowed, that the king did not want as gallant and as experienced officers in his army; perhaps he had but too many, as may be gathered from his changing the manner of his attack more than once, which was one great cauſe of the length of the ſiege. It is, however, certain, that though very plauſible reaſons might be aſſigned for them, yet the king committed ſeveral, and ſome ſay great, miſtakes in the conduct of this ſiege, in which he plainly departed from his firſt principle, which was the importance of taking *Pavia*, a point that ought to have been thoroughly conſidered before he inveſted it, and never drawn into queſtion afterwards. He firſt of all detached the marquis of *Saluces* to carry on the war on the ſide of *Genoa*, which he did with great prudence and ſucceſs; but this no way compenſated the abſence of that corps of troops, which he commanded. After this, by the advice of the pope, who it is very probable gave him this advice with good intention, he made another detachment of ſix hundred men at arms, a proportionable number of light horſe, and four thouſand foot, to make a diverſion in the kingdom of *Naples*, which it was ſuppoſed would draw the imperial army, under the command of the viceroy *Lannoy*, out of the *Milaneſe*, which it was very near doing, but did not [r]. The duke of *Bourbon* brought twelve thouſand *Germans*, hired with his own and with the emperor's money, to the camp of the enemy, by which their army was rendered ſuperior to the king's. *Francis*, as ſoon as he was informed of this, recalled the duke of *Albany*;

[p] Memoires Du Bellay. P. Dan. Du Tillet. Le Gend. Mezeray.

[q] Dupleix.

[r] Petrus de Angler. Epiſt.

but

but receiving afterwards a reinforcement of *Swiss* and *Grisons*, countermanded those orders[s].

THE enemy had their difficulties, the place was reduced to the last extremity, the bulk of the garrison consisted of *Germans*, they had mutinied for want of pay, and the governor, *Antonio de Leva*, was so distressed by them, that it was suspected he had poisoned their general, as the only means to prevent their giving up the place. The difficulties were as great or greater in the army, where the foreign troops were ready to mutiny every hour for want of pay. This induced the viceroy, the marquis *de Pescara*, and the duke of *Bourbon*, first to make an attempt upon *Milan*, in which *la Trimouille* had a good garrison, and, if they missed taking the place, to attack the king in his camp[t]. *Francis* was aware of this, and had deliberated more than once how his affairs were to be conducted; his best officers were clearly of opinion that he ought to raise the siege, and to take the properest methods for refreshing and augmenting his army. Pope *Clement*, whose interest was now become the same with the king's, gave the like advice to his minister at *Rome*. The king thought his honour at stake; and that, having besieged *Pavia*, he could not rise from before it without disgrace. On this occasion, *Trimouille* laid down a short and decisive maxim, that the point of honour in war is success; and that no reasons can ever justify a defeat. He shewed him, that in fighting he risked all his army, his person, and even his kingdom; that in raising the siege he risked nothing; and his own circumstances, and those of his enemies considered, was sure of success. But the admiral *Bonivet* undertook to dispose his forces in such a manner as should infallibly reduce the place, and in which the enemy durst not attack; and this *Francis* approved[u]. Others assert the king had written to one of his mistresses, that he would return to her after taking *Pavia*; and that this silly motive determined him to risk all, rather than raise the siege[w]: Be that as it will, he soon saw, or at least might have seen, reasons sufficient to alter his resolution. The *Grisons* in his camp were recalled to defend their own country; he was constrained to bring almost all the troops that were in *Milan* into his lines, which, when he had fortified with all possible care, the generals of the emperor's army resolved to attack; sure, if they gained a victory to relieve *Pavia*, and recover the duchy of *Milan*; and as sure, that, if they did not attempt this, their army would crumble and drop to pieces of itself. In this, therefore, they acted wisely, and

The vice-roy, Lanoy, the marquis Pescara, and the constable de Bourbon, concert the relief of Pavia by diversion, or an engagement.

[s] GUICCIARD. [t] Annales de France. [u] MEZ. P. DAN. [w] Memoires de BRANTOME.

took

took that advantage of *Francis* which he might have taken of them.

The battle of Pavia, in which Francis was defeated and taken prisoner.

On the 24th of *February*, the feast of St. *Matthias*, and the emperor's birth-day, they attacked the caſtle and park of *Morabel*, in which the king's rear guard was poſted, under the command of the duke of *Alanſon*, which they thought themſelves ſecure of carrying, in caſe the king did not advance to its relief, and if he did, he muſt loſe the advantage of thoſe works which both he and they conſidered as impregnable. The armies were pretty equal, and made together near fifty thouſand men. What they expected came to paſs, the king no ſooner ſaw his brother attacked and in danger, than he marched to his aſſiſtance [x]. At the beginning, the advantage was on the ſide of the *French*, ariſing chiefly from the ſmart fire of their artillery, well poſted, and well ſerved; the *Spaniſh* infantry, unable to ſuſtain it, began to give way. The king, to improve this good fortune, marched to attack them thro' a hollow way; but, being between them and his batteries, he loſt the benefit of his artillery; and the viceroy marching with his gens d'armes, and a good body of foot to ſuſtain them, he was himſelf very ſoon in great diſtreſs. His own horſe failed in their duty; the *Swiſs*, contrary to cuſtom, gave way [y]. The king behaved with great intrepidity, and *Francis* of *Lorrain*, brother to the duke, and *Richard de la Pole*, the laſt of the houſe of *Suffolk*, who had brought up the *Lanſquenets* to his aſſiſtance, were killed by his ſide; the admiral *de Bonivet* had the ſame fate, and was not at all regretted; *Galeas de St. Severin*, maſter of the horſe, and another of the ſame name, great maſter of the houſhold, were ſlain at the ſame time and in the ſame place, where fell alſo the great *Louis de la Trimouille*, at the age of ſeventy-five; the marſhal *de Foix*, and the baſtard of *Savoy*, covered with wounds, were taken priſoners, and died in a few days [z]. The count *de St. Pol* fell at the king's feet, and was taken up for dead by a *Spaniard*, who had a mind to a ring upon his finger, which attempting to cut off, he revived, and afterwards recovered. The king having killed five with his own hand before he fell from his horſe, and two after he roſe from the ground, ſurrendered himſelf at length to the viceroy *Lanoy*. The *French* loſt between nine and ten thouſand men in the field, and amongſt them a multitude of perſons of diſtinction, beſides thoſe before-mentioned, the king of *Navarre*, and many others of the firſt rank were taken [a].

[x] Annales de France. [y] J. de Serres. [z] P. Dan.
[a] Sandoval. Mez.

We must now turn our eyes to *France*, in order to see what passed there after this misfortune, the news of which was sent through that kingdom to *Spain*, by the viceroy of *Naples*, the person charged with the dispatches having a safe conduct from king *Francis*: he wrote also to the regent by the same conveyance; and, as under such circumstances, the reader may be desirous to see what the king wrote, we will transcribe his epistle, which contained only these words, "Madam, our honour excepted, we have lost all [b]." The duchess of *Angoulesme* found herself successively embarrassed on all sides, the kingdom being without a monarch, without forces, without officers, without resources, without allies, and surrounded by enemies on every side. The *Flemish* troops were making continual inroads, many thousand boors, inspired by an unaccountable enthusiasm, were assembling in *Alsace*, in order to make an irruption; so much the more to be apprehended, as it was equally impossible to find means to prevent or to repel it. *Henry* the eighth had assembled a great army, and seemed to be on the point of embarking them for an invasion; and, as if all this had not been enough to distract and overwhelm her, there was a party in the kingdom who had formed a design of dispossessing her of the regency, in order to confer it upon the duke of *Bourbon* [c]. It happened very fortunately for her and for *France*, that this prince, who, after the constable, was the head of the house of *Bourbon*, was so generous as to forget, not only the injuries that had been done his family, but his interests. He went himself to *Lyons*, to assure the regent that he had no views but for her service, and that of his country; upon which she formed a council of the ablest heads in the kingdom; and of this she made him president [d]. The famous *Andrew Doria* sailed with the *French* gallies, to take on board the poor remains of the *French* troops, under the duke of *Alva*, whom he landed safely in *France*. Those who escaped out of the *Milanese* found also their way back as soon and as well as they could: the duke of *Alençon* broke his heart, on account of the reproaches cast upon him for his behaviour at the battle of *Pavia*; the marquis of *Saluces*, though he lost his country, preserved his credit and his troops entire [e]. *Henry* the eighth, under the influence of *Wolsey*, acted a very singular part; he resolved not to oppress the oppressed, assured the regent that she had nothing to fear from him; and at the same time advised her to consent to no treaty by which *France* was to be dismembered: but he

The sad condition of France.

[b] Antonio de Vera Hist. de Charles V. [c] Memoires Du Bellay. [d] J. de Serres. [e] Guicciard. Du Pleix.

use

uſed another language to the emperor; he gave him to underſtand that the time was now come when this puiſſant monarchy lay at their mercy; and, therefore, inſiſted that ſo fair an opportunity ſhould not be let ſlip; that, for his part, he would content himſelf with *Normandy*, *Guienne*, and *Gaſcony*, and hoped the empire would make no ſcruple of owning him for king of *France*, adding, he expected the emperor ſhould make a right uſe of his victory, by entering *Guienne*, in perſon, with a numerous army, in which caſe he was ready to bear half the expences of the war. He foreſaw what fell out; the emperor was alarmed at theſe conditions, did not care to have him for a neighbour; and, therefore, agreed to a truce with the regent for ſix months; and to ſhew how little ſollicitous he was about the friendſhip of *England*, he negotiated a marriage for himſelf with the king of *Portugal*'s ſiſter, notwithſtanding he was bound by treaties to marry the princeſs *Mary*, *Henry*'s daughter [f]. This gave the king the occaſion he wanted, and on the 30th of *Auguſt* he ſigned three treaties with the *French* plenipotentiaries (D). In *Picardy*, the *Flemings* were repulſed; and the count *de Guiſe*, with

[f] Leonard. Du Till. Memoires De Bellay. Holinsh. Herbert.

(D) There were, in all, five treaties ſigned at *Moore*, on the 30th of *Auguſt* 1525. The firſt contained a defenſive league between *France* and *England*, againſt all powers, ſpiritual or temporal, that ſhould invade either of the two kingdoms. The allies of the two kings were included, by name, in the league, with the limitation that this article was not to be underſtood of thoſe who had uſurped any thing upon either of the two principal contractors, ſince the league concluded at *London*, *October* the 1ſt, 1518. Hence the emperor, who had lately conquered the duchy of *Milan*, was excluded. Beſides, *Henry* engaged to uſe his beſt endeavours to procure the liberty of *Francis*. The ſecond treaty concerned the payment of the ſums due to *Henry* from the king of *France*, *viz.* 1. By a treaty of the 7th of *Auguſt* 1515, one million of crowns of gold. 2. By another of the 12th of *January* 1518, for reſtitution of *Tournay*, five hundred thouſand crowns of gold. 3. By another of the ſame date, twenty-three thouſand livres *Tournois*. 4. By another of *November* 13th, 1520, four hundred ſixty-two thouſand crowns. For all theſe ſums the regent bound herſelf, in the king her ſon's name, to pay *Henry* two millions of crowns of gold, of thirty-five pence *Tournois* each, which being reduced to crowns *de Soleil*, of thirty-eight pence, amounted to the ſum of eighteen hundred and ninety-four thouſand ſeven hundred thirty-ſix pounds and thirty-two pence, *Tournois*. This ſum was to be paid at ſeveral times;

with the duke of *Lorrain*, had the good fortune, with a handful of troops, to defeat and cut to pieces the *German* peasants. Let us now return to king *Francis* in his confinement, of which we shall treat more succinctly, as we have had occasion to consider it already in another place. Our business here being to continue the personal history of king *Francis*.

THE king was no sooner taken, than the great officers of the emperor's army began to make their court to him; and, as might be expected, were well received. The duke of *Bourbon*, indeed, found some difficulty; but at length the

King Francis makes propositions

times, viz. forty-seven thousand three hundred sixty crowns within forty days after the date of the treaty, the like sum on the first of *November*, and the same every six months, till the whole was paid. This made, in all, forty payments; consequently the whole sum must be paid in twenty-years. It was farther agreed by the same treaty, that if *Henry* died before he had received the two millions, the arrears were to be paid to his heirs and successors: but, in case he outlived the payment of the whole, he should receive, during life, a yearly pension of a hundred thousand crowns, to cease at his death. To secure the performance of the treaty, the regent was to swear to it solemnly before the *English* embassadors, and *Francis* the first was to ratify and swear to it immediately after his return into *France*. Besides, *Henry* had for security the cardinal of *Bourbon*, the dukes of *Vendosme* and *Longueville*, the earls of *St. Paul*, *Maulevrier*, *Brienne*, the lords of *Montmorency*, *Lautrec*, and *Breze*, the cities of *Paris*, *Lyons*, *Orleans*, *Toulouse*, *Amiens*, *Bourdeaux*, *Tours*, and *Rheims*. It must be observed, that in the sum of two millions of crowns due to *Henry*, there was no deduction of what he had received from *Francis* the first, from the year 1515 to their rupture. This was all the advantage *Henry* made, which was not very great, considering how little punctual the king of *France* was in his payments. By a third treaty, the regent engaged to pay to *Mary*, *Henry*'s sister, queen-dowager of *France*, all the arrears of her dowry at several payments; namely, five thousand crowns within forty days after the date of the treaty, and a like sum every six months, till the whole was discharged. Moreover, she promised to let her enjoy her dowry for the future. There was also a fourth treaty, which ran, that the king of *Scotland* should be reckoned in the number of the allies of *France*; but on condition the *Scots* committed no act of hostility against *England*, after the 25th of *December* next. Lastly, by a fifth treaty, it was agreed, that the court of *France* should consent, neither directly nor indirectly, that the duke of *Albany* should return into *Scotland* during the minority of *James* the fifth.

which are rejected, and others propoſed which he rejects.

king ſaw and converſed, and, ſome writers ſay, was reconciled to him[g]. Amongſt them all, the marquis *de Peſcara* was the beſt received; inſtead of going as the reſt did, in great ſplendour, he appeared in mourning, affected ſo deep a concern, and treated the king with ſuch profound reſpect, that *Francis* could not refuſe his good graces to this lord, eſteemed one of the greateſt captains, one of the ableſt ſtateſmen, but withal the moſt artificial man in the world[h]. While in the caſtle of *Piſighitone*, *Francis* had propoſed to the emperor, that, to purchaſe his liberty, he would renounce all pretenſions to the kingdom of *Naples*, and to the duchy of *Milan*, relinquiſh the homage due to him for the counties of *Artois* and *Flanders*, concur in reducing under his obedience whatever *Charles* claimed in *Italy*, furniſh an army and a fleet as often as the emperor ſhould go in that quality into that country, and, laſtly, as he was now a widower, would eſpouſe the queen-dowager of *Portugal*, *Charles*'s elder ſiſter, accepting the duchy of *Burgundy* as her dowry, which ſhould paſs to the children of that marriage[i]. Theſe propoſitions were ſcornfully rejected by the emperor, who treated the titles to *Milan* and *Naples* with contempt, inſinuated that he ſtood in no need of the king's aſſiſtance, and inſiſted that he could not conſider as a ranſom, yielding thoſe things to which he had an inconteſtible right. On the other hand, the terms he propoſed were, that *Francis* ſhould make a ceſſion of the duchy of *Burgundy*, purely and ſimply give *Dauphiné*, *Provence*, and the *Lyonnois* to the duke of *Bourbon*, without the reſervation of any homage, to be erected into a kingdom; and ſhould likewiſe give ſatisfaction to the *Engliſh*; to which *Francis* anſwered he would firſt die in a priſon[k]. In the mean time there appeared no ſmall difficulty in keeping him there. The princes of *Italy* began to cabal for his deliverance; and if the pope had not been frighted into paying the imperialiſts money, but on the contrary had employed it in levying *Swiſs* troops, the face of affairs had been quickly changed. To carry him from *Genoa* to *Naples*, by ſea, was unſafe, becauſe of the *French* fleet; to carry him by land more difficult, ſince the princes of *Italy* might eaſily have reſcued him: but the viceroy *Lannoy* removed all theſe obſtacles, by perſuading them to make it his own choice to go to *Spain* on board his own gallies, manned by *Spaniards*, on a ſuppoſition that, when he came to treat directly with the emperor, face to face, all difficulties would be removed. This was done in the midſt of

He is wearied of confinement in Italy, *he conſents to go to* Spain, *and falls ill there of grief.*

[g] Du Tillet. [h] Memoires de Brantome, tom. 4.
[i] Ferr. Miz. P. Dan. [k] Sandoval. Antonio de Vera.

June,

June; but at his arrival in *Spain* he found himſelf miſerably deceived, in being confined in the caſtle of *Madrid*, without ſo much as ſeeing the emperor; at length, falling ſick of grief, the emperor fearing to loſe all by his death, went to viſit and to comfort him [l]. His beloved ſiſter the ducheſs of *Alenſon*, who was in all reſpects one of the moſt amiable women of that age, came to conſole, and at the ſame time to counſel him. She, in a ſhort time, had ſo many lovers and ſo many creatures in the emperor's court, that he knew not how to act; and, by her advice, the king ſeemed to give up all, inſtructing her, at her return, to cauſe the Dauphin to be proclaimed king, and to abandon him, rather than his people, to diſtreſs and miſery. But under all this were couched a variety of intrigues, for the king's eſcape, reviving the war in *Italy*, and for depriving *Charles* of his own kingdom, and giving it to his own general, the marquis *de Peſcaro*; contrivances which ſo amazed the emperor, though himſelf a deep politician, that he took a reſolution of cauſing her to be arreſted the very day her ſafe conduct expired, which, when ſhe had defeated by travelling night and day, and he heard of the king of *Navarre*'s eſcape out of the caſtle of *Pavia*, he determined to make an end of the treaty, by obliging *Francis* to purchaſe his liberty upon as high terms as poſſible [m]. In which he acted contrary to the advice of the wiſeſt of his council, who foreſaw that all the advantages would be defeated, and the reſentment remain. A. D. 1525.

At the entrance of the year this great affair was adjuſted, the treaty bearing date at *Madrid* [n], on the 14th of *January*; it was in all reſpects as advantageous to the emperor, as diſaſtrous to the king, and as prejudicial to the *French* nation as it well could be (E). Thoſe who ſay that the king's patience *Signs the treaty of* Madrid.

[l] Memoires Du Bellay. Guicciard. [m] Sandoval.
[n] Du Till. P. Dan.

(E) The principal articles of this treaty, ſo much exclaimed againſt, were theſe: That the king of *France* ſhould marry queen *Leonora*, the emperor's ſiſter, and have with her two hundred thouſand crowns of gold. That *Francis* ſhould be releaſed on the 10th of *March*, and the ſame day ſhould deliver to the emperor his two ſons in hoſtage. That he ſhould reſign to the emperor the duchy of *Burgundy*, in full ſovereignty. That he ſhould deſiſt from the homage the emperor owed him for *Flanders* and *Artois*. That he ſhould renounce all claim to *Naples*, *Milan*, *Aſti*, *Tournay*, *Liſle*, and *Heſdin*, &c. That he ſhould perſuade *Henry d'Albret* to reſign the kingdom of *Navarre* to the emperor, or at leaſt ſhould give him no aſſiſtance.

tience was tired out, and that he was determined to gain his liberty at any rate, which he might have done upon much eaſier terms, if he could have brought himſelf to bear his captivity with patience, do much more credit to him and to thoſe who adviſed him, than ſuch as pretend not barely to excuſe but to vindicate his conduct, which certainly was very irregular as well as extraordinary. He proteſted before certain notaries and witneſſes, whom he could truſt before he ſigned it, that what he did was againſt his will, under a force; and therefore null and void. A month after the ſigning the treaty, during all which time he remained as cloſe a priſoner as before, the viceroy of *Naples* came into his chamber juſt as an ague fit left him, and told him he was come to eſpouſe him as proxy for the queen-dowager *Eleanor*, though that princeſs was then within a few miles of *Madrid*; the emperor afterwards conducted him to ſee his future ſpouſe; and, after the viſit, ſent him back to his priſon, notwithſtanding the great repugnance he expreſſed [o]. On the 21ſt of *February*, after exacting from his own mouth the ſtrongeſt aſſurances that he would adhere literally to the treaty, under pretence of conducting him a little way on the road, the emperor took leave of him, and ſent him under a ſtrong guard to the frontiers; there he was exchanged againſt his two eldeſt ſons, put into the hands of the *Spaniards* without their being ſuffered to take leave of him [p]. The viſcount *de Lautrec* received him; and as ſoon as he ſet foot into his own dominions, he mounted a fleet *Turkiſh* horſe, and rode full gallop to *St. John de Luz*; there taking a little refreſhment, he proceeded with all poſſible diſpatch to *Bayonne*, where he found the regent and the whole court overjoyed at his return [q].

[o] Antonio de Vera. [p] P. Dan. [q] Annales de France.

ance. That within forty days he ſhould reſtore the duke of *Bourbon* and all his party to their eſtates. That he ſhould reſtore *Philibert de Chalons*, prince of *Orange*, and *Michael Antonio de Saluzzo*, to their principalities. That he ſhould give no ſort of aſſiſtance to the duke of *Gueldres*, and, after that prince's death, ſhould uſe his beſt endeavours to cauſe his towns to fall into the emperor's hands. That he ſhould pay the king of *England* five hundred thouſand crowns which the emperor owed him. That when the emperor went to *Italy* to receive the imperial crown, he ſhould lend him twelve gallies, four large ſhips, and a land army; or two hundred thouſand crowns inſtead of the army. Laſtly, he promiſed, upon the word and honour of a prince, to execute all theſe articles; or, in caſe of non-performance, to return priſoner into *Spain*.

He

He immediately ſigned the bonds ſtipulated by the treaty, which the regent had made with *Henry* the eighth, and at the ſame time wrote in the ſtrongeſt terms to thank that monarch for the ſhare he had in his deliverance [r]. He was ſtrongly ſollicited by the *Spaniards* to ratify the treaty of *Madrid*; but he refuſed, alleging, that many things were contained therein which regarded his ſubjects, and it was requiſite for him to know their ſentiments, and how far it would be in his power to comply with them before he entered into any freſh engagements. Within the ſpace of two months he entered into the holy league, which was calculated to reduce the emperor's power, to ſettle the quiet of *Italy*, and to vacate the harſheſt part of the treaty of *Madrid* [s]. In the month of *June* he publickly received remonſtrances from the ſtate of *Burgundy*, in which they told him, without ceremony, that he had done what he had no right to do, in breach of the laws, and of his coronation oath; adding, that if he perſiſted in his reſolution of throwing them under a foreign yoke, they muſt appeal to the general ſtates of the kingdom. He received theſe remonſtrances in a public audience, the viceroy of *Naples* and other *Spaniſh* miniſters preſent, who, perceiving the end aimed at, expoſtulated with him in pretty warm terms. At length the viceroy told him, that he had now nothing left but to keep his royal word in returning to the caſtle of *Madrid* [t], as his predeceſſor king *John* had done in a like caſe; to which the king replied, that king *John* did well and right; that he returned to a king, who had uſed him like a king, and treated with him as a king; but that at *Madrid* he had received ſuch uſage as would have been unbecoming to a gentleman; that he had often declared to the emperor's miniſters, that the terms they extorted from him were unjuſt and impracticable; but that he was ſtill willing to do all that was fit and reaſonable, and to ranſom his ſons at the rate of two millions of gold, in lieu of the duchy of *Burgundy* [u].

The meaſures taken by him to avoid complying with this treaty, and to recover his ſons.

Hitherto the treaty for the tranquillity of *Italy* had been kept ſecret, in hopes the emperor would have conſented to ſome mitigation of that of *Madrid*; but now, the reaſon of the thing lying the other way, it was judged moſt expedient to proclaim it, though the viceroy of *Naples* and the *Spaniſh* lords were ſtill at the *French* court. It was ſtiled the Holy league, becauſe the pope was at the head of it; the king, the *Venetians*, and the duke of *Milan*, were the contracting parties [w]. *Henry* of *England* was admitted in the ſuperior title

The league for preſerving the tranquillity of Italy *publickly proclaimed.*

[r] Memoires Du Bellay. P. Dan. Dupleix. Du Till. Le Gend. [s] J. De Serre. [t] Annales de France. [u] Guicciard. [w] Recueil de Traites, par Leon.

of *Protector*; it was wholly defenſive, and the emperor was at liberty to enter into it, provided he accepted the king's offer of two millions for the releaſe of his children, and left the duke of *Milan*, and the reſt of the princes of *Italy*, in quiet poſſeſſion of their dominions. It is the common misfortune of all leagues, that the powers who enter into them keep their own particular intereſts in view, and, by endeavouring to accommodate their meaſures to them, defeat the general end of the confederacy [x]. This was the caſe here. The king's great point was to obtain his children upon the terms he had propoſed; and he was deſirous of knowing what hopes there were of that before he acted againſt the monarch who had them in his power. By this ſlowneſs the duke of *Milan* and pope *Clement* were ſacrificed. The former was obliged to ſurrender to the duke of *Bourbon*, and the latter was ſurprized by the *Colonnas*, both of which would have been prevented if *French* ſuccours had entered *Italy* in time [y].

A. D. 1526.

Odet de Foix, *marſhal* Lautrec, *reduces* Genoa, *and a great part of the* Milaneſe.

MARGARET ducheſs-dowager of *Alenſon*, the king's ſiſter, eſpouſed *Henry* the ſecond king of *Navarre*, and king *Francis* gave his brother hopes of affording him powerful aſſiſtance for the recovery of his dominions [z]. In the ſpring the king ſent a ſplendid embaſſy, compoſed of the biſhop of *Tarbes*, the viſcount *de Turenne*, and the preſident *de Viſle*, to *London*, where they concluded a new treaty [a]. But while theſe negotiations were carrying on, the duke of *Bourbon* ſacked *Rome*, and though he was killed in mounting the breach, his army, under the command of the prince of *Orange*, became maſters of the place, and of the perſon of the pope. It is by no means clear, that *Bourbon* had the emperor's orders for this expedition; on the contrary, it ſeems to have been dictated to him by neceſſity, his army being become what the companies were in the days of king *John*; and ſome have ſuggeſted, that, if he had ſurvived this enterprize, he would have marched into the kingdom of *Naples*, and have either ſeized it for himſelf, or have made his peace, by reſtoring it to the king his maſter [b]. Be that as it will, the news made way for another treaty between the kings of *France* and *England*, by which they engaged to ſend thirty thouſand foot, and a thouſand gens d'arms, into *Italy* [c]. But before the pope received any advantage from theſe ſtipulations, he was forced to deliver up almoſt every place of any conſequence that was in his poſſeſſion, agree to pay a ranſom of four hundred

[x] Memoires DU BELLAY. DU TILL. P. DAN. [y] GUICCIARD. [z] J. DE SERRES. MEZ. [a] Act Public. [b] SANDOVAL. DUPLEIX. [c] Lord HERBERT's Hiſt. of Henry VIII.

thouſand

thouſand crowns, and to remain a priſoner till this treaty was executed. At length, in the beginning of the month of *Auguſt*, marſhal *Lautrec* arrived in the *Milaneſe*, with a numerous army; the king, about the ſame time, concluded a third treaty with *Henry*[d]. *Genoa* ſurrendered and declared once more for *France*; the beſt part of the *Milaneſe* was conquered by marſhal *Lautrec*, and fairly given up to the duke[e]. In *September* there was a fourth treaty concluded with *Henry*, ſome articles of which are worth the reader's notice. The arms of the confederates prevailed in *Italy*, where, on the ſecond of *October*, marſhal *Lautrec* took *Pavia* by aſſault; and, in the firſt tranſports of their fury, the *French* revenged themſelves cruelly on that place, for the defeat which they had ſuffered before it[f]. He afterwards paſſed the *Po*, upon which the duke of *Ferrara* and the marquis of *Mantua* quitted the party of the emperor, and embraced that of the allies. In conſequence of this change of affairs, the pope recovered his liberty, not by treaty, but by ſtealing out of the caſtle of *St. Angelo*[g]. This year the princeſs *Renee* was contracted to *Hercules de Eſte*; and the parliament, after ſeveral letters of juſſion, regiſtered the letters patents, by which the county of *Guiſe* was erected into a dukedom and peerage, in favour of *Claude de Lorrain*, brother to the duke of that title[h]. A. D. 1527.

ACCORDING to the agreement between the two kings, *Francis* and *Henry*, their embaſſadors went into *Spain*, attended each of them by a herald, in order to ſummon the emperor to accept the terms which had been offered him; and, in caſe of refuſal, to declare war. It ſeems the emperor's anſwer was foreſeen at the court of *France*; and therefore king *Francis* had previouſly called together an aſſembly of the notables, that is, perſons of the ſeveral ranks of his people, upon whom he could depend, and in whom he could confide; he propoſed to them the great queſtion, whether he was bound to perform the treaty of *Madrid*, or whether, if he did not perform it, he was obliged in honour to return to *Spain*[i]. That aſſembly pronounced in favour of the negative on both points; they ſaid that *Burgundy* was united to the crown of *France*, and that he could not ſeparate it by his own authority; that his perſon alſo was the property of the public, of which, therefore, he could not diſpoſe; but for the two millions, which they looked upon as a juſt equivalent, they undertook it ſhould be raiſed for his ſervice[k]. Francis *and* Charles *defame each other.*

[d] P. DAN. HALL. HOLLINSH. [e] GUICCIARDINI. Memoires de BRANTOME. [f] Memoires DU BELLAY. BELCARIUS. [g] MEZ. [h] DUPLEIX. [i] ARNOLDI FERRONI de rebus geſtis Gallorum. [k] J. DE SERR.

When the embaſſadors had delivered their propoſition, and the heralds had declared their meſſage to the emperor publickly, *Charles*, as we have ſhewn in another place, treated the *Engliſh* herald with reſpect, and the herald from *France* with contempt, intimating, that *Francis* had broke his word, and that, as he had been before given to underſtand, there was but one way of ending ſuch diſputes between men of honour [l].

New turn of affairs in Italy.

WHEN this was reported to the king, he was extremely angry, ſent a challenge to the emperor, conceived in very coarſe terms; and when an anſwer was returned by *Charles*'s herald, refuſed to hear it, alleging, that his ſafe conduct was limited to the propoſal of a proper field, where they might terminate this quarrel, and, therefore, he would hear him ſpeak to that, and nothing elſe: if both theſe princes had not, upon other occaſions, given indiſputable proofs of their perſonal courage, this proceeding, which could have no other end than to raiſe a high opinion of it, would certainly have had a very different effect [m]. In *Italy*, *Odet de Foix*, marſhal *de Lautrec*, reduced all the kingdom of *Naples*, except *Gaeta* and the capital, while *Phillippin Doria* beat the imperial viceroy *Moncada* at ſea, and killed him; ſo that all things ſeemed to go proſperouſly; but the face of events quickly changed, an epidemic ſickneſs prevailed in the *French* army that blocked up *Naples*, and, from twenty-five thouſand foot, and eight hundred men at arms, reduced them to one hundred men at arms, and four thouſand foot [n]. Marſhal *Lautrec* himſelf died, rather of chagrin than any other diſeaſe; he was never fortunate, nor had a high opinion of his own merit, and had taken this command againſt his will; the king of *England* and the ſtate of *Venice* refuſing their concurrence to this expedition, if he had it not. His grief proceeded from his being ill ſupplied, and very indifferently ſupported by the *Venetians*; the marquis of *Saluces*, who took the command upon his death, raiſed the blockade of *Naples*, and retired to *Averſo*, where, to ſave the handful of troops he had left, he rendered himſelf priſoner to the prince of *Orange* [o]. Another misfortune, not inferior to this, happened about the ſame time. *Andrew Doria*, one of the greateſt captains, and one of the worthieſt men this age had produced, offered king *Francis* two hundred thouſand crowns in gold to have the diſpoſal of the government of *Genoa*, and for the town and port of *Savona*. It was not through intereſt or ambition that he ſought this, but out of a generous deſign of reſtoring liberty

A. D. 1528.

[l] SANDOVAL. P. DAN.
[m] Commentaires de MONTLUC.
[n] Memoires DU BELLAY.
[o] GUICCIARD.

to his native country, and putting into her hands a place that was like to become her rival [p]: there was no reaſon the king ſhould not have done this in return for the great ſervices rendered him by *Doria*, but he had given the cuſtoms of the port of *Savona* to his favourite *Anne de Montmorency*; and the chancellor *du Prat*, to make his court to the favourite, repreſented this propoſal as ſaucy and ſeditious, adviſing that the command of the gallies ſhould be taken from *Doria*, and his perſon ſecured; monſieur *de Barbeſieux* was ſent to *Genoa* for this purpoſe, to whom *Doria* delivered the king's gallies, but carried his own into the ſervice of the emperor, and quickly recovered both *Genoa* and *Savona* [q]. The count *de St. Pol* coming, however, with a freſh body of troops into the *Milaneſe*, recovered ſeveral places from the imperialiſts, and revived a little the drooping hopes of the allies, who ſaw that a peace, made under ſuch circumſtances, would be their ruin [r].

The cruel as well as double dealing of Francis, *with his allies to the peace of* Cambray.

ALL the *French* writers concur in giving *Francis* the character of an open, generous, and candid prince; but, at the ſame time, they record facts which are not very conſiſtent with theſe praiſes; it may be he was naturally ſo; and that, in political points, he ſuffered himſelf to be governed by his miniſters. The reader may poſſibly think this a poor apology; if he does, perhaps he will not be diſpleaſed to know that the writer is of the ſame opinion. The king inſtructed his miniſters to preſs the allies to make their utmoſt efforts, which they could not do without his making at the ſame time promiſes of great ſuccours, and giving them alſo aſſurances that he would act with vigour [s]. He ſent, in all probability, the like inſtructions to his generals; ſo that thus far all was of a piece; but, at the ſame time, all that was meant by it was, obtaining better terms in the concluſion of a peace then on the carpet. The uſe, therefore, this great king made of his allies, was, to miſlead them into meaſures that might turn to his profit at their expence. In conſequence of theſe orders, the few forces he had left in *Calabria* acted very chearfully, in conjunction with the *Venetians*, as the count *de St. Pol* did with the troops of the ſame ſtate, under the command of the duke of *Urbino*, and with the duke of *Milan* in the *Milaneſe*, till his army was entirely routed, and himſelf, chiefly by his own fault, taken by Don *Antonio Leva*, at the battle of *Landriano*, on the 22d of *June* [t]. This event contributed to the concluſion of the treaty at *Cambray*. This has been

[p] Memoires Du Bellay. Mez. [q] Memoires de Brant. [r] P. Dan. [s] Hall. Holinsh. Stowe. [t] Guicciardini.

filed,

ſtiled, with propriety enough, the ladies peace, ſince it was entirely negotiated by the princeſs *Margaret* of *Savoy*, governeſs of the *Low Countries*, on the behalf of the emperor, and *Madame*, the *French* king's mother [u]. It was publiſhed on the 5th of *Auguſt*; and by this peace, inſtead of the poſſeſſion, the emperor contented himſelf with reſerving his rights on the duchy of *Burgundy*, and the two millions of crowns that had been ſo often mentioned; of theſe he was to receive one million two hundred thouſand in ready money, upon delivering the princes' lands in *Flanders*, belonging to the houſe of *Bourbon*, computed at four hundred thouſand, and the other four hundred thouſand was to be paid by *Francis*, in diſcharge of the emperor's debt to the king of *England*. *Francis* was likewiſe to diſcharge the penalty of five hundred thouſand crowns, which the emperor had incurred by not marrying his niece, the princeſs *Mary* of *England*, and to releaſe the rich fleur de lys, many years before pawned by the houſe of *Burgundy* for fifty thouſand crowns [w]. The town and caſtle of *Heſdin* was alſo yielded; together with the ſovereignty of *Flanders* and *Artois*, and all the king's pretenſions in *Italy*.

The generous conduct of Henry VIII. *towards* Francis, *in reſpect to this treaty.*

As for the allies of *France*, they were abandoned to the emperor's mercy, without the leaſt ſtipulation in their favour, and, which was more extraordinary, the biſhop of *Tarbes* was actually ſolliciting the republic of *Venice* to proſecute the war, when the ſenate received advice of this peace. But, to be conſiſtent or rather inconſiſtent in every thing, *Francis* proteſted againſt the validity of this treaty before he ratified it, as his attorney general did, before it was regiſtred in parliament; but both with the greateſt privacy imaginable [x]. *Henry* of *England* received the news coldly, and might probably have diſcovered his diſlike in ſtronger terms; but at the ſame time the news was communicated, the *French* embaſſador added, that his maſter had a great influence over his univerſities, and would very gladly employ it to gratify his brother *Henry*. His majeſty of *England* took this ſo kindly, that he remitted the emperor's penalty of half a million of crowns; and, as a farther inſtance of his generoſity, ſent the famous fleur de lys as a preſent to *Henry* duke of *Orleans*, his godſon [y]. It happened very luckily for the *Italians*, that great troubles broke out about this time in *Germany*, and the *Turks* invaded *Hungary*, which induced the emperor to deal juſtly with them, and to leave *Sforza* in poſſeſſion of the duchy of *Milan*, which, otherwiſe, there is the ſtrongeſt probability he would not have done.

1529.

[u] Memoires de Brant. [w] Act Public. [x] Mem. P. Dan. [y] Du Till.

AT this time the marſhal *de Montmorency* was in the zenith of his favour, and therefore was choſen by the king to carry the money, which was to be paid to the emperor, and to receive his children and his conſort. The king went to *Bourdeaux*, while the marſhal went to *Fontarabia*, where he ſettled all things with the conſtable of *Caſtile*; and towards the end of the month of *June*, the exchange was made at the ſame place, and with the ſame ceremony uſed at the deliverance of the king about four years before [a]. *Francis* went to meet his children and his queen, and, after the marriage ceremonies were performed, made a public entry with her into *Bourdeaux*. She was at this time about thirty, no great beauty, but ſhe had good ſenſe, and, by diſtinguiſhing the marſhal *de Montmorency*, who was the king's favourite, ſhe had an influence in the court, which ſhe would not otherwiſe have had as queen [a]. The return of peace gave the king an opportunity of diſtinguiſhing himſelf in a way that did him great honour. We have ſpoken of the care taken by his mother of his education; and, though buſineſs and amuſements had left him little or no time to make himſelf a ſcholar, yet he had a general knowlege in, and a true taſte for, the ſciences. *William Budé*, one of the greateſt lawyers of that age, and a very able ſtateſman, *John du Bellay* biſhop of *Paris*, and afterwards cardinal, and *Peter du Chaſtel* who became biſhop of *Mâcon*, had acquired and maintained themſelves in the king's good graces by aſſiſting him in his ſtudies. The king gave them, from time to time, heads of what he deſired to underſtand; and it was their buſineſs to inſtruct him by ſuccinct, methodical, and clear diſcourſes, which were commonly read to him at or after his meals. *John Laſcaris*, a *Greek*, of a moſt noble family, by procuring him many valuable manuſcripts, laid the foundation of a royal library, to which a printing-houſe was added. By the advice of theſe great men, he erected chairs for *Hebrew* and *Greek* profeſſors, in the univerſity of *Paris*, which were firſt filled by *Francis Vatable* and *Peter Danés*. By theſe and other acts of the ſame nature, he obtained the glorious title of FATHER and RESTORER OF LETTERS [b], which he would have deſerved ſtill better, if he had followed his own inclination, and had built a college for ſix hundred ſtudents, with proper endowments, from which he was diſſuaded by the chancellor *du Prat*, who told him that the war with the emperor was only ſuſpended, and that arms would produce a better return than books.

The children of Francis delivered, and his queen brought into France.

[a] Memoires de BRANT. P. DAN. [b] J. DE SERRES. DUPLEIX. DU TILL.

THIS

The deaths of ſome perſons of diſtinction.

THIS year was fatal to ſome great perſons, who have been often mentioned in this hiſtory. *Margaret* of *Auſtria* died in the *Low Countries*. The *French* ſay ſhe never forgot the affront offered her by *Charles* the eighth, in ſending her back when he married the heireſs of *Bretagne*, and to this æra the hatred of *France* to the houſe of *Auſtria* is commonly referred. The old duke of *Milan* breathed his laſt in *France*, where he had lived quietly, while all *Europe* was diſturbed with diſputes about his dominions. *Philibert de Chalons*, prince of *Orange*, was killed at the ſiege of *Florence*, which, after a gallant defence of eleven months, ſubmitted to receive *Alexander de Medicis* at the emperor's hand, for their maſter, who eſpouſed the natural daughter of that monarch [c].

1530.

Death of the ducheſs of Angouleſme.

THE coronation of the queen, and her public entry into *Paris*, having gratified the people with ſhews and feaſts, the king thought it expedient for his honour and their ſafety, to appoint judges by a ſpecial commiſſion, who were to travel through the kingdom, and hold what the *French* call *Les Grands Jours*, which is pretty near the ſame with our aſſizes, wherein they judged all cauſes without appeal, and by that means redreſſed innumerable grievances which had crept in during the king's impriſonment, and other diſorders in the government [d]. In the month of *September* died *Madame*, the king's mother, to whom the hiſtorian of *Savoy* [e] gives as high a character as words can well expreſs; but the *French* writers, who conſider that, by her piques againſt the conſtable of *Bourbon* and the viſcount *de Lautrec*, ſhe loſt the duchy of *Milan* twice; that, by her intrigues, *Semblanſai*, one of the wiſeſt and moſt virtuous miniſters *France* ever had, was brought to an unjuſt and ignominious death; and that ſhe was the great ſupport of chancellor *du Prat*, whoſe character was of another caſt, they are not quite ſo laviſh in her praiſes [f]; however, they acknowlege that, during the king's impriſonment, ſhe governed well, and that they were indebted to her for the peace of *Cambray*, of which the nation ſtood in great need; for though king *Henry* of *England* bore a part in the expence of the war, yet he only did this by diſcounting from the *French* debt, ſo that it did not eaſe the people at all.

1531.

Francis is very deſirous of uniting the noble duchy

THE king had been long deſirous of uniting the duchy of *Bretagne* to his crown, in ſome more effectual manner than by all the ceſſions that had hitherto been made. He conſulted upon this, as upon every affair of ſtate, his oracle *du Prat*, who ſtudied the point diligently; and though expedients were

[c] GUICCIARDINI. MEZ. [d] Memoires de BRANT.
[e] GUICHENON. [f] P. DAN.

his

his talent, yet he found this buſineſs ſo perplexed, that he knew not well what method to adviſe. Upon this, the king directed him to confer with *Lewis des Deſerts*, preſident of the parliament of *Bretagne*, a man of great parts and probity. The chancellor entered freely into a long detail of the enquiries he had made, and of the projects he had formed. The preſident heard him patiently, and diſapproved them in the lump. He told him there was but one way of doing this buſineſs, which was, to engage the ſtates of the duchy to demand this union themſelves. The chancellor ſhewed his great abilities in putting up all his papers, and declaring that he would leave the management of this arduous affair to a man who had convinced him, by a few words, that he underſtood it ſo much better than he[g].

of Bretagne *for ever to the crown.*

He ſucceeds in this by the prudent management of the preſident of the parliament of Bretagne.

By the advice of the preſident, the king made a tour into *Bretagne*, where he corrected whatever was amiſs, did many popular acts, careſſed the leading members of the ſtates, and by honours, gifts, and places, gained them to his party. But notwithſtanding this, when the propoſal was opened, debates ran very high in the aſſembly of the ſtates, more eſpecially amongſt the commons. The deputy from *Nantz* particularly inveighed bitterly againſt the propoſal, as tending to invade and deſtroy their liberties, to make them, of a free ſtate, a mere province, and to deprive them of all they had left, which was the hope of being, ſome time or other, what they once were, a free and ſeparate principality; but he declaimed ſtill more violently againſt the method in which this was to be done, which he repreſented as forging their own chains, renouncing their birthrights, and, inſtead of being forced, deſiring this as a favour, which they ought to conſider as the higheſt injury. The preſident, who expected this, obliged the friends of the court to be paſſive, and let the deputies vent their reſentments freely. But when their firſt fury was over, he ſent for the deputy of *Nantz*, and for ſuch as had manifeſted parts as well as zeal in the debate; and repreſented to them calmly, that they entirely miſtook the matter and their own intereſt. He admitted that the privileges, the independency, and the prerogatives of the duchy of *Bretagne*, were extremely valuable to its inhabitants, and what it ought to be their perpetual ſtudy to preſerve; he ſhewed them that they had been often in danger under their dukes; that their country ſuffered frequently by being the ſeat of war; and that, if it ever came to be ſeparated again from the crown of *France*, it would be ſooner or later conquered, loſe its privileges, and become indeed a province. He added, that by being annexed

[g] Argentre Hiſt. de Bretagne.

in

in this manner, they gained all they could wiſh, and more than they could expect in another way; that by having the monarch of *France* not for their king, but their duke, they ſecured the protection of that crown, without loſing their independency. In reſpect to the manner of doing it by their own demand, he proved that this was ſo far from being injurious, that it was both honourable and advantageous; it was a proof of their freedom, an obligation conferred on their ſovereign, and a treaty of union between one ſtate and another. The deputies ſubmitted, their heats ſubſided gradually; and thus, by a prudent application of lucrative motives, to thoſe whom nothing elſe could move, and by opening the true ſtate of things to thoſe whoſe ears were not deaf to argument, he carried his point, and that in ſuch a manner, that the parliament of *Paris* proteſted againſt the condeſcenſion which the king ſhewed in this matter, being aſhamed to ſee that, through the wiſdom and weight of one man, the liberties of *Bretagne* were fixed upon ſo much better a baſis than their own[h].

A. D. 1532.

Francis and Henry continue firmly united.

In the month of *October* the king had a conference with *Henry* the eighth at *Calais*, by which that friendſhip which had ſubſiſted for ſome time between them was much ſtrengthened; they complained mutually of the double dealing of the pope, and of the too great power and ambition of the emperor; but, as things then ſtood, they agreed on nothing but a declaration of their readineſs to arm a body of eighty thouſand men to act againſt the *Turks*, in which they ſought to amuſe *Charles*, and to gain a reputation with the reſt of the *European* powers; for it does not appear that either of theſe monarchs was much in earneſt in this affair, but rather gave it out for the purpoſes before-mentioned, and that they might, if they thought it convenient, arm by ſea or land in their own dominions, under this pretence, and without giving umbrage to other princes[i]. The emperor, on his ſide, amuſed them likewiſe, his affairs being ſo perplexed in *Germany* that he knew not well how to act, and the *Turkiſh* ſultan being on the point of making an irruption into his brother *Ferdinand*'s dominions with the whole force of his empire. In the management of theſe affairs, he made uſe chiefly of the mediation of the queen his ſiſter, whoſe overtures *Francis* received with great teſtimonies of kindneſs and civility, but without ſuffering them to make any impreſſion. Theſe frivolous intercourſes of mere policy anſwered the end of both parties, by keeping things quiet, and affording them leiſure to

[h] Memoires de Brant. Holinsh. P. Dan.

[i] Belcarius. Hall.

take

take their own meaſures, till a favourable opportunity ſhould offer for explaining their true ſentiments.

THE king had many good reaſons to ſuppoſe the peace would not laſt long. He was himſelf not much better ſatisfied with the treaty of *Cambray*, than he had been with that of *Madrid*; he was ſtill as much perſuaded as ever of his rights to the kingdom of *Naples* and duchy of *Milan*, and extremely chagrined at the loſs of his ſuperiority over *Flanders*, which he had been obliged to renounce; beſides theſe, which had been more than ſufficient, the emperor had taken precautions for his own ſecurity, which gave *Francis* freſh diſquiet. He had compelled the princes of *Italy* to enter into a defenſive alliance, which was, in effect, and which he underſtood to be, an alliance againſt *France*. He had taken infinite pains to detach the duke of *Savoy* from the party of *Francis*, and had ſold him the county of *Aſte*, or *Aſti*, very convenient indeed for that duke, but which had been the ancient patrimony of the houſe of *Orleans*. But what gave him moſt pain of all was, that by the help of the duke of *Savoy*, who had a great influence over the *Swiſs*, *Charles* was labouring to detach both them and the *Griſons* from their alliance with *France*. The king determined to uſe his utmoſt endeavours to prevent this blow, but at the ſame time very wiſely conſidering, that a kingdom muſt be very inſecure, while the principal ſtrength of its armies conſiſted in mercenaries, he took a reſolution to put an end to that evil, by eſtabliſhing a national infantry; and as, in all probability, this thought occured to him from his converſations with his learned friends, he directed thoſe corps to be formed in the manner, and beſtowed on them the name, of *Legions* [k]. In order to gain once more an opening into *Italy*, he negotiated a marriage between his ſon *Henry*, duke of *Orleans*, and *Katherine de Medicis*, ſtiled ducheſs of *Urbino*, niece to the pope. The emperor *Charles* had propoſed a marriage between this young princeſs and the duke of *Milan*; but when pope *Clement* mentioned the overture that had been made him from *France*, the emperor himſelf adviſed him to prefer it, thinking it impoſſible the king ſhould be in earneſt, or ever intend to ſink ſo low as ſuch an alliance [l]. In this, however, he found himſelf miſtaken; and though the duke of *Savoy*, to oblige him, rendered an interview at *Nice* impracticable, yet the pope, embarking at *Genoa*, landed at *Marſeilles* on the fourth of *October* [m]. The marriage was celebrated there with all the magnificence for which

He cauſes his ſecond ſon Henry, *duke of* Orleans, *to eſpouſe* Catherine de Medicis.

[k] Annales de France. [l] GUICCIARDINI. FERR. P. DANIEL. [m] Memoires DU BELLAY.

this

this prince was famous [n]. He laboured likewiſe to engage the pope to give his ally, the king of *England*, ſatisfaction; and though ſome have ſuſpected the contrary, yet he appears to have acted in this with equal zeal and ſincerity, and we may add, that if Providence had not interfered, would have acted with ſucceſs. He could not indeed prevail on the pope to ſuſpend his excommunication of *Henry* on his marriage with *Anna Bullen*; but he perſuaded him to keep it ſecret, and ſent *John du Bellay*, biſhop of *Paris*, to negotiate with *Henry*, which he did ſo effectually, as to prevent his ſeparating immediately from communion with the church of *Rome*; though in the depth of winter, he went in perſon to carry this news to the pope, with whom he concerted the means of adjuſting this perplexed affair of the divorce, and procured the publication of the ſentence to be put off to a day certain, that it might be known whether *Henry* would accept the terms or not. No anſwer coming, *Bellay* preſſed for a farther ſuſpenſion for ſix days only, which was refuſed, and the ſentence publiſhed [o]. Two days after arrived the king's ſubmiſſion, but it was then too late [p]. This, however, ſhews the ſincerity of *Francis* and his agent.

Meaſures taken by the emperor.

ALL this time the king had in view a breach with the emperor, when a proper opportunity ſhould offer itſelf, and to this point all his endeavours were directed. *Charles*, who was by no means ignorant of this, took all poſſible methods to let the world into the ſecret, that, whenever a war happened, the blame of it might fall upon *Francis*. He had demanded aſſiſtance both in men and money for his war againſt the *Turks*, in a manner which he knew muſt produce a refuſal: This he magnified to the dyet, and upon all occaſions repreſented the king to the princes of *Germany* as his irreconcileable enemy. In this, as in the affair of the pope, his politicks were too refined, for the princes of *Germany* took from thence occaſion to negotiate with the king for his aſſiſtance, in the ſupport of their liberties, than which nothing could be more diſagreeable to *Charles* [q]. But while they were thus employed in ſecret leagues and negotiations, an event happened, which at once produced a war: the king had ſent a *Milaneſe* gentleman, who had acquired a great fortune in his predeceſſor's ſervice and his own, and who was uncle to the chancellor of *Milan*, as his embaſſador to the duke, who be-

[n] CHALONS. P. DAN. [o] BURNET's Hiſtory of the Reformation. [p] HERBERT. [q] PARADIN. Annales de France.

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ing afraid to receive him openly, deſired that his credentials ſhould be only communicated to himſelf[r].

The king's minister put to death by the duke of Milan, *on which follows a war.*

But the emperor ſuſpecting the truth, gave the duke to underſtand, that unleſs he had ſatisfaction on the head of this *French* miniſter, he was not to expect his niece, the princeſs of *Denmark*, for a wife; the poor duke ſent him king *Francis*'s letters, in which he recommended him only as a gentleman who had a mind to make a tour into his own country, to ſettle his family concerns. *Merveille* having at this juncture a quarrel with one of the family of *Caſtiglione*, and this man coming with ſeveral perſons armed to inſult him in his houſe, was killed by his domeſtics. *Francis Sforza* upon this committed him to priſon, and being apprehenſive he might declare his public character, cauſed him to be beheaded without form or proceſs[s]. This was reſented by the king in the warmeſt manner; he even complained of it at the court of the emperor, who anſwered coolly, that the duke of *Milan* had a right to puniſh his own ſubject for the murder, on which the *French* embaſſador produced the cleareſt proofs that *Merveille* had been ſent to and owned by the duke of *Milan*, as the king's embaſſador, which was a great ſatisfaction to *Charles*, who diſcovered at once the deceit of *Sforza*, and that he was now embarraſſed beyond reconciliation with the court of *France*[t]. It is true he ſent his chancellor to offer excuſes, though he was the nephew of the gentleman who had been ſo hardly treated, which rather inflamed than abated the quarrel. Before the end of the year, an event happened, which was far from being acceptable to the *French* court; this was the death of pope *Clement*, who had promiſed to give his niece *Modena*, *Piſa*, *Leghorn*, *Parma*, and *Placentia*, and to unite his forces with thoſe of the king, for the conqueſt of *Urbino*[u]. But *Francis*, who knew his ambition and his attachment to his family, to which he had more than once ſacrificed his dignity, his ſafety, and his conſcience, relied very much upon his aid in the expedition he was about to undertake; and there is no doubt that, after procuring his nephew to be raiſed by the emperor to the ſovereignty of *Florence*, he would have been equally pleaſed to ſee his niece placed on the ducal throne of *Milan*, by the arms of *France*. The diſappointment was great, and it had been happy for his ſubjects if the king had thought it ſo great as to deſiſt from the intended war, of which, in loſing him, he certainly loſt his chief ſupport.

[r] Memoires Du Bellay. P. Dan. Le Gend. [s] Belcarius. [t] Annales de France. [u] Guicciard. Chalons.

The king enters into a war with the duke of Savoy.

THE war with *Milan* was, notwithſtanding, reſolved, and the king made vaſt preparations for it; but, in order to reach the dominions of that prince, he was under a neceſſity of demanding a paſſage through thoſe of the duke of *Savoy*; and this produced a previous war with that duke, which did not at all diſpleaſe *Francis*, who had many reaſons to be offended with him, and who reſolved to take this opportunity of chaſtiſing him ſeverely. But before he began the war, he took a very extraordinary ſtep with regard to religion. His beloved ſiſter *Margaret*, queen of *Navarre*, was inclined to favour the new opinions; that is, was diſpoſed to become a proteſtant; and ſhe had ſuch an influence on her brother, that he had once taken a reſolution of inviting *Melanchthon* to his court, but he was diverted from that by the cardinal *de Tournon*; and taking occaſion from ſome papers that had been fixed againſt the *Louvre*, in diſproof of the doctrine of tranſubſtantiation, he cauſed ſix perſons to be burnt with extraordinary cruelty; and made a wild declaration, that if he thought the blood in his arm was tainted with the *Lutheran* hereſy, he would cauſe it to be cut off; and that he would not ſpare even his own children, if they entertained ſentiments contrary to thoſe of the Catholic church [w]. This zeal was ſomewhat ſingular, or, to ſpeak out, was ſtrangely abſurd, in a monarch, who had, at this very time, a miniſter at his court from the *Turk*, and made afterwards no ſcruple of acting in conjunction with the Infidels, both by ſea and land. This barbarous execution over, he ſet out for *Lyons*, and ſent admiral *Chabaut* with a numerous army into *Savoy*, the beſt part of which he ſpeedily reduced [x]. But while he was thus employed, an event happened, that once more changed the face of affairs; this was the death of *Francis Sforza*, duke of *Milan*, upon which the emperor ſent the famous *Granvelle* to offer the king the inveſtiture of the duchy of *Milan*, for his third ſon the duke *de Angouleſme*, which produced a long negotiation, with ſtrong profeſſions of ſincerity on both ſides, and with very little of reality in it on either [y]. The duke of *Savoy*, to whom the king had made ſome propoſitions of peace, rejected them, notwithſtanding the diſtreſs he was in, and made an offer to the emperor of exchanging the county of *Nice*, and all his territories on this ſide the *Alps*, for lands in *Italy*, which, if *Charles* had accepted, would have opened him a paſſage into

A. D. 1535.

[w] FLORIMOND DE REMOND Hiſtoire de la naiſſance & progres de l'hereſie, liv. vii. [x] P. DAN. [y] MARIANA. DUPLEIX.

the

the heart of *France*, and this irritated the king ſtill more than all the injuries he had ſuſtained from the duke already [z].

Amuſed by Charles V. while he meditates and prepares for an enterprize of great importance,

THE emperor *Charles* the fifth was now in the zenith of his glory, returned in triumph from his *African* expedition, and having a numerous army and many great captains about him in the kingdom of *Naples*, framed to himſelf vaſt deſigns, in order to which he found it neceſſary to amuſe *Francis*, which he performed with great ſucceſs [a]. Then he proceeded to *Rome*, where, in the preſence of pope *Paul* the third, of the houſe of *Farneſe*, and his cardinals, he inveighed bitterly, in a *Spaniſh* oration, againſt *Francis*, talking of fighting him hand to hand, in an iſland, on a bridge, or in the midſt of a river on board a bark; but when the *French* embaſſadors demanded a copy of this ſpeech, and deſired to know whether he intended it as a defiance to their maſter, or pretended to impeach his honour, he refuſed it, and qualified all he had ſaid, by alleging, that in the heat of his diſcourſe he had mentioned a ſingle combat as a means of preventing the effuſion of Chriſtian blood, which, knowing the generoſity and bravery of *Francis*, he conceived he would not refuſe [b]. All this was mere art, as appeared by the emperor's cauſing copies of his harangue to be diſperſed in *Germany*, of different tenors, according to the temper and diſpoſitions of thoſe they were to move [c]. At the ſame time his partizans gave out that *Francis* had ſollicited the *Turks* to invade *Hungary*, and aſcribed to *French* emiſſaries the fires that happened in different parts of the empire, by which ſuch a ſpirit was raiſed, that *William du Bellay*, lord of *Langei*, whom the king ſent into *Germany* to negotiate, durſt not appear in public [d]. But in a little time, thro' the addreſs of that miniſter, thoſe ſchemes were diſſipated, and, like all others of that kind, turned upon their authors, and proved highly prejudicial to the emperor's affairs, who really intended no more by all this, than to hinder his antagoniſt from levying troops in the empire, to ruin his credit with the *German* princes, and to facilitate his own enterprize [e].

The admiral Brion reduces a great part of Piedmont.

IN the courſe of theſe negotiations the emperor affected to make the king believe that he was very deſirous of having the peace concluded and ſigned by the admiral, *Philip Chabot*, lord of *Brion*, which was only to prevent his taking the command of the army, and making the conqueſt of *Piedmont* with the ſame eaſe he had done that of *Savoy*. The king at laſt perceived this, and ſent the admiral with orders to reduce *Piedmont*,

[a] Annales de France. P. DANIEL. [b] MARIANA. [c] ANTONIO DE VERA. [d] DUPLEIX. MEZ. [e] CHALON'S. Memoires de LANGEI.

but not to commit any hoſtilities againſt the emperor. The admiral quickly became maſter of *Turin*, *Foſſan*, and *Coni*, forced the duke of *Savoy* to ſhut himſelf up in *Verceil*, and had made himſelf maſter alſo of that fortreſs, if he had not been awed by the emperor's army in that neighbourhood, commanded by *Antonio de Leva* [f]. However, when the king received poſitive intelligence that the emperor's true deſign was to invade *France* with that numerous army of veteran troops, which he thought invincible, the king ordered all his forces, a ſmall number excepted, to leave *Piedmont*, and repaſs the mountains, declaring the marquis *de Saluces*, who had been bred up with him, and for whom he had a great affection, his lieutenant in *Italy*, directing him to put *Turin*, *Foſſan*, and *Coni*, into the beſt poſture of defence poſſible [g], and to diſtribute his troops amongſt them. The marquis believing, from the poſture of affairs, that the *French* would never more be able to enter *Italy*, went over to the emperor, betrayed *Coni*, and would have given up the other places, but *Montpeſat*, who commanded in *Foſſan*, defended it ſo gallantly, that he kept the enemy before it a month, and at laſt obtained honourable conditions. *Claude d'Annebaut* had a good garriſon in *Turin*; and appeared ſo little inclined to part with it, that the emperor being afraid of loſing the ſeaſon, contented himſelf with cauſing it to be blocked up by a good corps of troops; and directing his march through the county of *Nice*, entered *France* in *July*, with an army of fifty thouſand men, the marquis *del Vaſto* acting as general of foot, *Ferdinand Gonzaga* as general of the light horſe, and the duke of *Alba* at the head of the gens d'armes, *Antonio de Leva* having the chief command under the emperor [h]. The king gave the command of his army to his favourite the marſhal of *Montmorency*, with inſtructions to lay the whole country waſte from the *Alps* to *Marſeilles*, and from the ſea to the frontiers of *Dauphine*; to encamp with his army under *Avignon*, covered by the *Rhoſne* and the *Durance*; and not to hazard a battle upon any terms [i].

Charles *invades* France, *beſieges* Marſeilles, *and is forced to*

THE emperor quickly found the effects of this diſpoſition: being extremely ſtraitened for proviſions, his army diminiſhed daily; and, after attempting to draw the marſhal out of his lines, and having brought his army before *Arles*, at length he beſieged *Marſeilles* [k]. While he was thus employed, the Dauphin *Francis* died at *Tournon* on the 12th of *Auguſt*, of poiſon, which was charged, by the perſon who adminiſtered

[f] Memoires de LANGEI. [g] ARNOLDI FERRONI de rebus geſtis Gallorum. [h] ANTONIO DE VERA. [i] BELCARIUS. [k] DUPLEIX. P. DAN.

it,

it, when he came to be executed, upon *Ferdinand Gonzaga* and *Antonio de Leva*; whence a great, tho' probably undeſerved, blemiſh was thrown upon the emperor's reputation [1] (F). On the twenty-fifth of *September*, *Charles* raiſed the ſiege, after loſing more than half his army by ſickneſs and ſkirmiſhes. He was ſo harraſſed in his paſſage, that he had not ten thouſand men in a condition to ſerve when he entered *Piedmont*, where he found his affairs in a very bad ſituation, *Annebaut* having forced his troops to raiſe the ſiege of *Turin*, and having a good army in the field. The count *de Naſſau*, who had entered *Picardy* from the *Low Countries*, had met with no better fortune; for the marquis *de Fleuranges*, afterwards marſhal *de la Marck*, defended *Perenne* ſo obſtinately, that after two aſſaults he was conſtrained to raiſe the ſiege [m]. Thus, by three places well defended, the king weathered this ſtorm, which it was believed would have overwhelmed him and his dominions; and the emperor loſt *Antonio de Leva*, with many other brave captains, and, of both his armies, not leſs than forty thouſand men: he felt this ſo ſenſibly, that, after a ſhort ſtay in *Piedmont*, he went to *Genoa*, and embarked for *Spain*. *make a miſerable retreat.* A. D. 1536.

On the firſt report of the great preparations made by the emperor to invade *France*, *James* the fifth, king of *Scotland*, aſſembled a conſiderable body of troops, and having embarked them on board his fleet, endeavoured to tranſport them to the oppoſite coaſt; and tho' this was prevented by contrary winds, yet that monarch landed himſelf at *Dieppe*, and repaired to the *French* camp, where the king then was with the Dauphin *Henry*. This was eſteemed ſo generous an action, that, upon this king's demanding the princeſs *Magdalen* in marriage, *Francis* thought himſelf obliged in honour to grant it, though he was very apprehenſive of its altering the good underſtanding between himſelf and *Henry* of *England*, which had been ſo beneficial to both crowns; and, therefore, he ſent a miniſter to *England*, to obtain *Henry*'s conſent to the marriage *James V. king of Scots, goes to the aſſiſtance of Francis, and marries his daughter.*

[1] Melanges Hiſtoriques de Camuſat. [m] Annales de France. P. Dan.

(F) The death of this young prince is differently reported by the *French* hiſtorians. An *Italian* hiſtorian reports, that he died of drinking cold water, when extremely heated by playing at tennis (1). A reverend prelate, though it may ſeem ſtrange that he ſhould be ſo much better acquainted than others with a ſecret of this kind, aſcribes his death to his indulging himſelf to exceſs with a woman, whoſe name was *Le Strange* (2).

(1) *Paul. Jov. Hiſtor.* (2) *Belcarii, Metenſis Epiſcopi, rerum Gallicarum Commentarii.*

of his nephew, or at leaſt to excuſe it; but the king was ſo angry, that he would not hear it mentioned [n]. It took place, however, on the firſt day of the new year, and the king returned ſoon after with his new queen to *Scotland*, where ſhe did not ſurvive many months [o]. If *Henry* had been well informed of this princeſs's diſpoſition, he would not have been diſpleaſed with the marriage, for ſhe had been bred up chiefly with her aunt, and was ſo ſincerely addicted to the principles of the reformed religion, that if ſhe had ſurvived, it is probable ſhe would have brought her huſband, who was extravagantly fond of her, to have favoured it likewiſe.

The king cauſes Charles to be ſummoned before the parliament of Paris.

THE ſucceſs of the laſt campaign elevated *Francis* ſo much, that he acted the very ſame part *Charles* had done the year before in *Italy*. He ordered the emperor to be proceeded againſt before the parliament of *Paris*; and that aſſembly having declared, that, by violating the treaty of *Cambray*, he had forfeited all title to the advantages derived therefrom, and that conſequently the king entered into his antient rights of ſovereignty over the counties of *Flanders*, *Artois*, and *Charolois*. Upon this he was ſummoned, by ſound of trumpet, by the name of *Charles* of *Auſtria*, vaſſal to the crown of *France*, to anſwer before that tribunal, where, being condemned of felony and contumacy, in taking up arms and not appearing, thoſe counties were declared confiſcated, and united to the crown [p]. After this ſtrange and uſeleſs parade, the king entered *Artois* with an army, where he took *Heſdin* and ſome other places. Afterwards the imperial army, under the command of the count *de Burenez*, covered moſt of them, and beſieged *Terouenne*, which was ſuccoured by *Claude d'Annebaut*, who, in his retreat, was defeated and taken priſoner [q]. The Dauphin then marched with an army to relieve the place, but, by the interpoſition of the queen of *France*, and her ſiſter *Mary*, governeſs of the *Netherlands*, a truce was concluded for that frontier, for the ſpace of a few months [r]. This afforded the king leiſure to fulfil, in ſome meaſure, the treaty he had made with *Solyman*, emperor of the *Turks*, who executed his part punctually, which *Francis* did not, but was ſo far excuſable, as that, in favour of his Infidel allies, he did all that he could. He ſent the Dauphin and marſhal *Montmorency* before him into *Piedmont*, who forced the paſs of *Suza*, relieved *Turin*, and reſtored the face of affairs on that ſide. The king followed them; but, at the perſuaſion of the pope, conſented, in the month of *November*, to a truce, during which

A. D. 1537.

[n] Dupleix. Mez. [o] P. Daniel. [p] Memoires de Langei. Ferr. [q] Memoires de Martin. [r] Annales de France.

both

both parties were to keep what was in their hands, which mortified the duke of *Savoy* extremely, who saw his subjects and his dominions suffer alike from his allies and from his enemies [s]. But *Solyman*, who had made an irruption into *Hungary*, and sent a great fleet into the *Mediterranean* to join the *French*, was no less disappointed and provoked.

Two interviews between the king and the emperor.

THE king, to reward the services he had received from the marshal *de Montmorency*, who since the death of the chancellor *du Prat* was become his first minister, bestowed on him the constable's sword, that he might command his armies with greater dignity, and made *Montejan* and *Annebaut* marshals of *France* [t]. One would have concluded from hence, that he intended to carry on the war with greater vigour than ever; but, by the persuasion of pope *Paul* the third, he agreed to an interview with the emperor and that pontif, at *Nice*, the only place the duke of *Savoy* had left, who was with great difficulty brought to this agreement. The emperor remained at *Villa Franca*, the pope at a monastery near *Nice*, and the king a quarter of a league from thence; so that the two princes did not see each other, but communicated their sentiments to the pope, who conferred with them alternately [u]. The queen of *France* went to make her brother a visit by sea, which had like to have been fatal to them both; for a bridge made in haste being thrown from the shore to her gally, which was about fifty paces, and the emperor going to receive her as she came out of the vessel, the bridge gave way, and they fell both together into the sea, but were happily taken up without hurt [w]. After all, the pope finding it impossible to adjust things so between the two monarchs as to establish a peace, contented himself with doing his own business effectually, by marrying *Octavio Farnese* to *Margaret* of *Austria*, and prolonging the truce between *Charles* and *Francis* for ten years, during which space the king was to keep that part of *Piedmont* which he had conquered, and the emperor for his own security kept the rest [x]. These points settled, the king returned towards the end of *June* into his own dominions, and the emperor embarked for *Spain*: but being driven on the coast of *France*, he sent one of the officers of his household to *Avignon*, where the king was, to let him know that he was very desirous of conferring with him. *Francis*, struck with this mark of civility and confidence, set out for *Aiguez Mortes*, where he received and entertained the emperor on shore with great magnificence, and was in return feasted by him on board his galley, where they had a very long conference on the state of A. D. 1538.

[s] GUICHENON. [t] J. DE SERRES. [u] Memoires DU BELLAY. [w] DUPLEIX. [x] MEZ.

their affairs, and parted with great marks of eſteem and cordiality[y] on both ſides; but it does not appear that they concluded any thing of importance, or that this ſingular interview had any other effect than that of alarming *Henry* the eighth of *England*, who could not be well pleaſed with a reconciliation between theſe two princes, more eſpecially as it was brought about by the pope, whom he conſidered as his capital enemy. The king making his public entry into *Leon*, the crowd was ſo great, that the chancellor, *Anthony du Bourg*, who rode near him, according to the cuſtom of thoſe times, upon a mule, was thrown down and trampled to death. He was ſucceeded by *William Poget*, whoſe great abilities might have enabled him to diſcharge, with honour, that high truſt which he acquired by his agreeable converſation; a circumſtance that had rendered him very acceptable to the king his maſter[z].

Charles, on the revolt of the inhabitants of Ghent, *paſſes thro' the kingdom of* France *into the* Low Countries.

In the beginning of the year a new treaty was concluded at *Toledo* between the emperor and the king, of a very ſingular nature, ſince it imported no more than that neither party ſhould enter into any engagement, or contract any marriage with *England*, without communicating it to the other[a]. The truce for ten years was ſoon after confirmed. The Dauphin *Henry* did homage to his father, in quality of duke of *Bretagne*. About this time the people of *Ghent*, conceiving themſelves oppreſſed, and their privileges invaded by *Mary* queen of *Hungary*, and ſiſter to the emperor, governeſs of the *Low Countries*, revolted, expelled the emperor's officers, and by a ſolemn deputation demanded the redreſs of their grievances from *Francis*, as their lawful ſovereign[b]. This was the faireſt opportunity that could have offered of reſuming what he had loſt by the treaty of *Cambray*. But the king, upon this occaſion, laid aſide the politician, rejected their propoſals, and, not content with this, gave advice to the emperor of all that had happened. *Charles* found himſelf extremely embarraſſed, notwithſtanding the king's generous proceeding; for judging his own preſence abſolutely neceſſary to extinguiſh this unexpected flame, he knew not how to paſs into the *Low Countries* with eaſe and ſafety. By ſea he was apprehenſive of the *Turkiſh* fleets, which rendered the paſſage dangerous; and the religious diſturbances in *Germany* rendered his route that way equally difficult and diſagreeable. The ſhorteſt way was through *France*; and, with the king's conſent, he knew it would be ſafeſt. In order to procure this, he addreſſed himſelf

[y] Memoires de Langei. Annales de France. P. Daniel. [z] Mez. [a] J. de Serres. [b] Antonio de Vera. Dupleix.

to

to the biſhop of *Tarbes*, the *French* miniſter at his own court, and to the conſtable, the king's prime miniſter and favourite, ſuggeſting, that he was willing to grant the inveſtiture of the duchy of *Milan* to the duke of *Orleans*, and hoped the king would not inſiſt upon his entering into any treaties.

THIS point was diſputed in the king's council; the cardinal *de Tournon* inſiſted that the emperor ſhould make his propoſition in writing; but the conſtable *Montmorency* was againſt this: he ſaid, that a promiſe in writing was not either more binding or more effectual than an unwritten promiſe, which, in a matter ſo conciſe, might be eaſily authenticated; and that the inveſtiture being the return of a favour, the beſt way to ſecure it was to heighten the favour as much as poſſible in the manner of doing it. This, being moſt agreeable to the king's own temper, was accepted; and the Dauphin and his brother the duke of *Orleans* ſent to meet the emperor at *Bayonne*, where they offered to remain hoſtages in *Spain*, till the emperor was ſafely arrived in the *Low Countries*; but *Charles* very politely refuſed it, and declared, that he would rely on his brother *Francis*'s word[c]. The king himſelf, tho' but juſt recovered from a dangerous fit of ſickneſs, went to meet him as far as *Chaſtelleraud*. All poſſible honours were paid him in his paſſage, and during his ſhort ſtay at *Paris*. At his departure the king accompanied him as far as *St. Quintin's*, the Dauphin and the duke of *Orleans* attended him to *Valenciennes*[d]. It was now thought good policy, and no breach of decorum, to deſire an explicit promiſe from the emperor of the inveſtiture, as the moſt ſolid proof of his friendſhip, and the ſureſt means of eſtabliſhing a laſting peace. But the emperor began by making a reſtriction, afterwards offered the *Low Countries* with his daughter to the duke of *Orleans* as an equivalent, and at length threw ſo many obſtacles in the way, that the king found himſelf deceived. If the *French* writers are to be believed, it was not barely in this point; they allege that the emperor gained ſuch an aſcendency, by his addreſs, over their monarch, that he drew from him all that had paſſed between him and *Henry* the eighth; and, while he yet held him in hopes of the inveſtiture, prevailed on him to ſend an embaſſy to *Venice*, to diſſuade the republic from making a ſeparate peace with the *Turk*, which having no effect, leſſened his credit with the *Italian* princes, and ruined him for the preſent with *Soleyman*[e], who imputed to ingratitude what was owing to incapacity.

He avails himſelf of his ſuperior policy.

A. D. 1539.

[c] BELCAR. Annales de France. ANTONIO DE VERA. FER.
[d] J. DE SERRES. DUPLEIX. DU TIL. SANDOVAL. MARIAN.
[e] MEZERAY. P. DANIEL.

THIS

The conſtable, admiral, and chancellor, are all diſgraced.

THIS tranſaction had terrible conſequences in reſpect to the court and the king's favourites. *Francis*, from the moſt eaſy, open, and generous man living, became angry, vindictive, and ſuſpicious. The conſtable was the firſt victim; who, finding himſelf diſgraced, retired to the caſtle of *Chantilly*, where he reſided during the remainder of this reign. The admiral, who was next in favour, was next alſo in diſgrace. The king, one day out of humour, told him, that poſſibly ſome reſearches might be made into his conduct. The admiral told him, in return, that his conduct would bear any reſearches he could make. *Francis* cauſed him to be arreſted, and ſent priſoner to *Melun* [f]. The chancellor *Pojet* moſt unworthily undertook to be the inſtrument of the king's vengeance, picked out commiſſioners to inquire into his behaviour, and put himſelf at the head of them; and, partly by promiſes, but chiefly through menaces, prevailed upon them, in conſequence of very equivocal teſtimonies of, or cauſing ſome duties to be levied as admiral, to which he had not a very clear right, to pronouce a ſentence, by which he was deprived of his employments, and condemned to baniſhment. He had aſſured the king that the admiral had been guilty of many flagrant, and ſome capital, offences: when, therefore, he brought him this ſentence, he laughed at it; and, having pardoned the admiral, ſent for him again to court. The firſt time he appeared in his preſence, the king ſaid, "You ſee, "my lord, it is not quite ſo ſafe to ſet me at defiance." "True, Sire," returned the admiral, with his uſual ſteadineſs, "but they did not find the ſlighteſt inſtance of my want "of care or fidelity in your ſervice." "No," replied the king, "we will look into that." Upon this the proceſs was referred to the parliament to examine, and they declared him intirely free from blame, on which he was reſtored to all his employments, which did not hinder his dying of chagrin [g]. The chancellor met with a worſe fate: the family of the admiral attacked his conduct, which brought in a multitude of informations; and upon theſe, after four years impriſonment, he was condemned in parliament to loſe his office, pay a fine of one hundred thouſand livres, and to ſuffer five years impriſonment [h]. He ſuffered the two firſt, but the laſt was remitted; and, being old and poor, he was forced to get his bread by giving opinions, for his knowlege was reſpected, while his perſon was deſpiſed.

A. D. 1540.

[f] Memoires de BRANT. DUPLEIX. [g] SERRES. DU TILL. MEZ. CHALONS. Pr. Henault. LE GEND. [h] Memoires de LANGEI. ESTIENNE PASQUIER Recherches de la France. DUPLEIX.

ALL

ALL his old favourites being either dead or diſgraced, the marſhal *d'Annebaut*, who, without the title, executed the office of conſtable, came into the prime direction of affairs, *William du Bellay*, lord of *Langei*, ſucceeding him in the government of *Piedmont* [1]. The principal object the king had in view was to prepare for a war; and in this innumerable obſtacles were to be overcome, the emperor's power being as great as ever, and the king's reputation much ſunk with foreign powers. In the firſt place, it was thought expedient to make a treaty with *Chriſtian* the third, king of *Denmark*, and *Guſtavus* king of *Sweden*, who had the ſtrongeſt intereſt in oppoſing *Charles* [k]. The king took the duke of *Cleves* next under his protection, whoſe title to *Gueldres* was queſtioned by the emperor, and whoſe alliance, by marrying with *Henry* the eighth of *England*, flattered *Francis* with the hopes of regaining that monarch, though theſe proved vain. However, the alliance of this prince was thought of ſuch conſequence, that the king gave him in marriage *Joan* of *Albret*, heireſs of the kingdom of *Navarre*, in order to widen the breach between him and the emperor, as well as to attach him more immediately to his own intereſts; but, the princeſs being but eleven years of age, the marriage was never conſummated. In order to diſſipate the ſuſpicions which the emperor's emiſſaries had infuſed at *Venice* and *Conſtantinople*, the king ſent *Cæſar Fregoſo* and *Antonio Rincon*, firſt to the Seigniory, and, when they had finiſhed their negotiation with that republic, they were to proceed to the Porte. The marquis *del Vaſto*, or, as the *French* call him, *du Guaſt*, governor for the emperor of the duchy of *Milan*, and the countries depending upon it, having intelligence of their paſſage, and ſome hint alſo of their buſineſs, cauſed their veſſel to be attacked by a party from the garriſon of *Pavia*, and both the miniſters killed. Some who were with them eſcaped, and gave an account of the whole affair to Monſ. *de Langei*, who commanded in *Piedmont*, and, as ſoon as the king was acquainted with it, he publiſhed it to all *Europe*, as a moſt flagrant inſult upon the law of nations, as well as a direct breach of the truce. The governor of *Milan*, however, ſteadily diſavowed the fact; the emperor diſclaimed its being done by his orders; and the king, finding that no ſatisfaction was to be obtained in the way of negotiation, reſolved, which was, indeed, the thing he wanted, to ſeek it by the ſword [l].

The king's miniſters to Venice and the grand ſignor are murdered in the Milaneſe.

A. D. 1541.

[1] Annales de France. MEZ. P. DAN. [k] Memoires de LANG. BELCAR. DUPL. DU TIL. Recueil des Traites par LEONARD. [l] Memoires de LANG. MEZERAY. P. DAN.

IN

The French army ravages Luxemburgh and Brabant.

In the ſpring of the year the crowns of *France* and *Denmark* declared war againſt the emperor, who, contrary to the pope's advice, had made a ſecond expedition into *Africa*, in hopes of ruining *Algiers*, and, inſtead of that, had ruined his own fleet and army. At the entrance of the ſummer the *French* army, conſiſting of between forty and fifty thouſand men, commanded by the duke of *Orleans*, and, under him, by the duke of *Guiſe*, entered the duchy of *Luxemburgh*, took *Damvilliers*, and afterwards *Yvoi*, which was a place of ſtrength; *Arlon* ſurrendered next, and then the army inveſted *Luxemburgh*, which, though ſtrong and well fortified, and provided with a good garriſon, ſurrendered in a few days: *Vireton* and *Montmedi* had the ſame fate; and, if the young prince could have been prevailed upon to have followed the duke of *Guiſe*'s advice, the whole county had been reduced, as the duke of *Cleves* ravaged *Brabant* to the very gates of *Louvain* and *Antwerp* [m]: but, of a ſudden, he diſmiſſed his army, and went to his father at *Montpellier*. *Rene de Naſſau* prince of *Orange* recovered *Luxemburgh*, and ſome other places, and had recovered all if it had not been for the duke of *Guiſe*, who defended *Yvoi*, and afterwards recovered *Montmedi*; while the prince of *Orange*, entering the duchy of *Juliers*, revenged upon that poor country the miſchief which the duke of *Cleves* had done in *Brabant*. The Dauphin's army, which was ſtronger than that of his brother, having with them

A. D. 1542. Monſ. *de Montpeſat*, marched into *Rouſſillon*, and beſieged *Perpignan* [n]. The king expected that the emperor, who was returned into *Spain*, would have marched to its relief with an army, and, in that caſe, he would have put himſelf at the head of his own troops, in order to have given him battle. But the duke of *Alba* ſaved him the trouble: he threw himſelf into the place with ſome bands of old *Spaniſh* foot, and finding the artillery, ammunition, and ſtores, that remained after the *Algerine* expedition, defended the place ſo well, that, after a ſiege of three months, the king having ſent *Annebaut*, now made admiral of *France*, and the count *de St. Paul*, to ſee how things ſtood, they adviſed deſiſting from this enterprize; and accordingly, towards the end of *October*, by the king's command, the ſiege was raiſed [o]. The admiral then marched with part of the troops into *Piedmont*, where the *French* were this year on the defenſive.

[m] Haroeus in Annal Brabant. Dupl. Annales de France. Du Til. [n] Belcar. Haroeus in Annal Brabant. J. de Serres. Du Til. Dupl. [o] Memoires de Brant. Memoires de Lang. P. Dan.

In the beginning of the month of *March*, the army of the duke of *Cleves*, commanded by *Martin du Reſſem*, defeated the emperor's forces, under the command of the duke of *Arſcot*, killed four thouſand upon the ſpot, took five thouſand priſoners, and all their baggage and artillery. This haſtened the king into the field, who marched towards *Cambray*; and, having taken the little town of *Landrecy*, ordered it to be fortified, and left in it a good garriſon. The duke of *Orleans* and the admiral *Annebaut* reduced the beſt part of the duchy of *Luxemburgh*; but, in the mean time, the duke of *Cleves*, being oppreſſed with the whole weight of the emperor's force, found himſelf under the neceſſity of making the beſt terms he could, and was able to obtain no better than that he ſhould renounce his alliance with *France*, ſend back *Joan* of *Albret*, and put part of his troops, under the command of his general beforementioned, into the emperor's ſervice [p]. This was a ſevere blow to the *French* intereſt; but the alliance of *Henry* the eighth with the emperor, which was the pure effects of the king's own imprudence, was a much greater, as it was immediately followed by the deſcent of ten thouſand men in the *Low Countries*, which, having joined the emperor's army, induced him to lay ſiege to *Landrecy*, though the king was yet in the field, and conſequently in a condition to march to its relief; but, having the good luck to relieve it twice by ſurprize, the emperor was forced to retire both from before this place and *Guiſe*, inſtead of marching to *Paris*, which he had threatened, after the junction of the *Engliſh* forces [q].

The emperor ſerved by Engliſh *auxiliaries.*

Captain *Paulin*, one of the king's agents, found means to diſſipate at the Porte the impreſſions which the emperor *Soleyman* had received of king *Francis*; and, in conſequence of theſe perſuaſions, the Grand Signor not only paſſed by what he knew, as well as what he had heard, but promiſed him alſo to ſend a fleet into the *Mediterranean*, in the proper ſeaſon, on board which captain *Paulin* himſelf was to embark [r]. The *French* hiſtorians are themſelves very much embarraſſed in ſpeaking of the treaties between their monarch and the Soltan, and inveigh bitterly againſt *Charles* the fifth, for expoſing the king at the dyet, as being cloſely connected with Infidels: nor are they leſs angry at the ſame monarch's taking care care to let *Soleyman* underſtand, that, by the help of a little condeſcenſion, he could have drawn this good ally

The caſtle of Nice *attacked by the* French *and* Turkiſh *fleets.*

[p] Belcar. Annales de France. Du Tellet, Le Gend. [q] Memoires de Langei. Hall. Hollinsh. Herb. Durl. P. Dan. [r] Guichenon Hiſt. de Savoye. Serres. Miz.

of

of his, without receiving the leaſt provocation from him, to have entered into an alliance for attacking, with all his forces the *Ottoman* empire [s]. There is no reaſon for us to fall into this embarraſſment likewiſe, ſince we are under no obligation ſo much as to diſſemble, much leſs to deny the truth, which is, that *Francis*, if he could have gained the emperor, would have acted againſt the *Turk*; but, as he could not, he demanded the aſſiſtance of the *Turk* againſt the emperor, and received it. *Soleyman* in perſon entered *Hungary*, and ſent the famous *Barbaroſſa*, with a fleet of one hundred and thirty gallies, into the *Mediterranean*, where he put the city of *Oſtia*, and all the ſea coaſt of the pope's territory, under terrible apprehenſions, but without doing them any hurt, upon captain *Paulin*'s declaring that they were under his maſter's protection [t]. In the beginning of *July* this fleet arrived on the coaſt of *Provence*, and were joined there by twenty-two *French* gallies, commanded by *Francis* count of *Anguien*, of *Enghien*, the ſon of *Charles*, and brother of *Anthony*, duke of *Vendoſme*, and then ſailed to the coaſt of *Nice*, where they reduced the city of that name, but were not able to take the caſtle, though they beſieged it two months [u]. *Babaroſſa* ſhewed an equal contempt for the *French* fleet and its commander; the former was ſo ill equipped, that they were forced to borrow bullets, ammunition, and naval ſtores from the *Turks*; and the count being but in his twenty-third year, *Barbaroſſa* looked upon and treated him as a child, which the count ſhewed his judgment in bearing, and ſoon after made it evident, that old men, and even great men, might be miſtaken. After this unſucceſsful expedition, the *Turkiſh* fleet came and wintered at *Toulon*, where *Barbaroſſa* is ſaid to have exerciſed his trade of piracy, without paying much reſpect even to the *French* flag; and, in the ſpring, demanding the king's leave to depart, very readily received it [w]. After this one cannot wonder that *Charles* V. reproached his antagoniſt with joining the *Turks*. In *Piedmont*, after the departure of the *Turkiſh* and *French* gallies, the duke of *Savoy* and the marquis *du Guaſt* took *Mandovi*, and, in breach of their capitulation, cut to pieces a great part of the *Swiſs* garriſon, and plundered their baggage. Towards the cloſe of the year *Bouilieres*, who commanded for the *French*, took *St. Germain*, and was on the point of taking *Yvrée*, which was a place of conſequence; but, finding himſelf ſuperſeded, and the command given to the

[s] Memoires de Montluc. Memoires de Langei. P. Dan. [t] Guich. Sleidan Commentar. Dupl. Mez. [u] Memoires de Langei. Belcar. [w] Guich. Du Til. Mez. P. Dan.

count

count *d'Anguien*, upon his ſending to him for an eſcorte, *Boulieres* marched to meet him with the whole army, and ſo abandoned the ſiege, rather than allow his ſucceſſor to have the honour of taking the place [x].

THE views of *Francis* and *Charles* in this war were very different; and thoſe of the former, in compariſon of the latter, might be ſtiled inſignificant. What he aimed at was the duchy of *Milan*, which, once acquired, either by the ſword or by a treaty, he had ſat down contented; but *Charles* aimed at an aſcendency over all the powers of *Europe*, and to obtain this at the deſtruction of *France*. *Francis* took his meaſures but indifferently for the gaining his little end; whereas *Charles* took his meaſures ſo well, that he was very near carrying his point; ſo that it may be truly ſaid, that *Francis* ſtaked his kingdom againſt a duchy. At the dyet of *Spire* the emperor prevailed on the princes and ſtates of *Germany*, Proteſtants as well as Papiſts, to declare the king an enemy to the empire, and to furniſh him with an army of twenty-four thouſand foot and four thouſand horſe, to carry on the war againſt him. At the ſame time he ſollicited the pope to declare him an enemy to Chriſtendom, and the *Swiſs* to relinquiſh their alliance: if he had ſucceeded in theſe, the king had been undone: as it was, he was very near it [y]. *Henry* the eighth agreed with the emperor to attack *France* on one ſide with fifty thouſand men, while he, with a like number, entered it on the other, and the two armies joining, were to march directly to *Paris* [z]. *Francis* was not ignorant of this; and yet, to gratify the ardour of the count of *Anguien*, who beſieged *Carignan*, for the relieving of which the marquis *de Guaſt* was aſſembling a great army; conſented that he ſhould give him battle. He did this againſt the advice of his council, who repreſented, that the ſafety of *France* would be riſked by that engagement; ſince he had with him the flower of the *French* troops, and the king under the greateſt neceſſity of employing them in another place. Yet, weighty as theſe arguments were, they urged them in vain; the young general had the king's conſent; and, on the fourteenth of *April*, he fought the battle of *Cerizolles*, in which he gained a complete victory [a] againſt a ſuperior army, killed ten thouſand men upon the ſpot, made three thouſand priſoners, and took the

Imperialiſts defeated at Cerizolles.

[x] GUICH. Memoires de LANGEI. BELCAR. Commentar. DUPL. MEZ. P. DAN. [y] SLEID. [z] Lord HERBERT's Hiſtory of Henry VIII. HALL. HOLINSH. [a] Memoires de LANGEI. Memoires de Montluc. ARNOLD. FERRON. de rebus geſtis Gallor. J. DE SERRES. DUPLEIX. DU TIL. CHALONS. LE GEND.

enemy's artillery, ammunition, and baggage. If this victory had been improved, the whole duchy of *Milan* might have been eaſily conquered. It was not, indeed it could not, be improved; for the king was obliged to recall the beſt part of the army to defend his frontiers, and even his capital. What was in the power of the count *d'Anguien* he did; he took *Carignan*, *Moncalles*, *St. Damien*, *Vigon*, *Pont Pierre*, and, which was ſtill more, he put it out of the power of the imperialiſts to attempt the invaſion of *France* on this ſide [b]; the only ſignal advantage that aroſe from the victory.

The gallant defence of St. Dizier *ruins the emperor's army and ſaves* France.

COUNT *William* of *Furſtenberg*, who had quitted the king's ſervice upon ſome diſguſt, beſieged *Luxemburgh* on behalf of the emperor, and took it in a fortnight. *Commerci* ſurrendered alſo as ſoon as a breach was made. *Ligny* in *Barrois* was carried by aſſault, and then the emperor, with his army, inveſted *St. Dizier*, a place of no great ſtrength, but which was defended by Monſ. *La Lende*, and Monſ. *du Bueil*, count *de Sancerre*, who preſerved it for ſix weeks, and obtained a good capitulation at laſt [c]. *Henry* had landed at *Calais* in the month of *May*, but, finding the emperor intent on taking towns, he followed his example, and inveſted *Montreuil* and *Bologne* at the ſame time [d]. If they had held to their firſt propoſal, and had joined their two armies before *Paris*, which would have conſiſted of eighty thouſand foot, and twenty-two thouſand horſe, *Francis* muſt have abandoned his capital, and all the country on this ſide the *Loire*; nay, if the emperor, after the taking of *Luxemburgh*, had marched to *Paris*, there was nothing to oppoſe him; for the king, depending upon the defence that fortreſs ſhould have made, had not haſtened the *Swiſs*, ſo that it was the defence of *St. Dizier* that, in this critical conjuncture, ſaved *France*. As ſoon as this place was taken, the emperor ſummoned *Henry* to march to *Paris*; but the king refuſed to ſtir till he had taken *Bologne* and *Montreuil* [e]. The emperor then advanced with his army, which was much reduced, ſo far into *Champaigne*, that he was in great danger of being defeated by the Dauphin, or reduced to great diſtreſs for want of proviſions, if *Epernai* and *Chateau-Therrie*, where the king's magazines were, had not been betrayed into his hands: and this again threw the inhabitants of the city of *Paris* into ſuch a conſternation, that they fled on every ſide. But the emperor, inſtead of advancing towards that city, turned off to *Soiſſons*, and entered into

[b] Memoires de Montluc. Mez. P. Dan. [c] Belcar. Arnoldi Ferroni de rebus geſtis Gallorum. Annales de France. Dupl. [d] Herb. Hall. Hollingsh. [e] Memoires de Langie.

a treaty,

a treaty, to which he invited *Henry*, who refuſed to treat at all [f].

Treaty of Crepi, in which Francis is again duped by Charles V.

In order to underſtand this, we muſt obſerve, that the *French* court was divided into two factions; that of the Dauphin, and that of his brother the duke of *Orleans*. The latter was his father's favourite, and the favourite alſo of *Anne de Puiſſeleu*, ducheſs of *Eſtampes*, the king's miſtreſs, who had an inveterate hatred to *Diana* of *Poictiers*, the miſtreſs of the Dauphin. *Charles* the fifth made that ducheſs believe that he had a great affection for the duke of *Orleans*, and was very deſirous of ſeeing him married to his daughter, which the Dauphin treated as mere artifice; and, believing the danger over, and himſelf in a condition to make the emperor repent his invaſion, was not at all inclined to peace; of which the ducheſs ſeeing no hopes, if the emperor was beaten, contrived things ſo as to let the king's magazines fall into his hands. This brought on the treaty of *Crepi*, by which the emperor promiſed to give the duke of *Orleans* his own daughter, or his brother's daughter, and either the duchy of *Milan* or the *Low Countries*, with the counties of *Burgundy* and *Charolois*, and all the places taken ſince the treaty of *Nice* were to be reſtored [g]. The king was the more eaſily induced to ſign this treaty, by the news of the loſs of *Boulogne*, a place ſtrong, well fortified, ſupplied with all things neceſſary, and which had a numerous garriſon, but commanded by *Vervines*, a young man, who, for this ſlip in his conduct, in the next reign loſt his head [h]. As for *Montreuil*, which was old, ill fortified, and had but a ſmall garriſon, the marſhal *de Biez* preſerved it; for half the duke of *Norfolk*'s army that beſieged it being compoſed of the emperor's troops, who quitted him upon the ſigning the treaty, he was obliged to retire [i]. *Henry* returned to *England* as ſoon as *Boulogne* ſurrendered; and the Dauphin, underſtanding that the breaches were not repaired, made a bold attempt, recovered the lower town, and, if his troops had not fallen to plundering the *Engliſh* baggage, had actually carried the place [k].

A. D. 1544.

Francis at a vaſt expence equips a fleet, with an army on board,

The Dauphin was ſo much diſpleaſed with the peace of *Crepi*, that he proteſted againſt it privately, as did the parliament of *Thouloufe*, as contrary to the dignity and unalienable rights of the crown of *France*. Some remains of the antient *Vaudois* being ſettled in the villages of *Merindol* and *Cabrieres*, the former under the juriſdiction of the legate of *Avignon*, and the latter in the king's territories, ſome zealots,

[f] Dupl. Du Til. P. Dan. [g] Belcar. Leonard.
[h] Memoires de Langie. Hall, & al. [i] Dupl. Du Til. Mez. [k] Hall. P. Dan.

to invade England.

making an ill uſe of their power, fell upon the poor people, and cut the throats of about three thouſand in the firſt of thoſe places, and many more in the latter, and in twenty-two little villages in the neighbourhood; for which barbarous deed ſome of the principal authors were deſervedly puniſhed in the ſucceeding reign [l]. The king, being very deſirous of recovering *Boulogne*, reſolved to employ for that purpoſe the whole forces of his kingdom by ſea and land; and having taken into his ſervice a conſiderable number of ſhips from the *Italian* ſtates, he appointed the admiral *Annebaut* commander in chief of this puiſſant navy, with a large number of land forces on board; but, before they ſailed, the king intended to have given the ladies of his court a great feaſt on board the admiral, which carried an hundred guns; but, by ſome accident or other, in making preparations for this feaſt, the ſhip took fire, and, with moſt of the people on board her, periſhed [m]. The admiral, notwithſtanding this accident, ſailed with his fleet, conſiſting of one hundred and twenty large ſhips, and twenty-five gallies: their deſign was to attack an *Engliſh* ſquadron which lay at *Portſmouth*, in which their gallies gave them a great advantage: but they found them ſo ſecurely poſted, that, after a little cannonading, they declined attacking them. They next debarked three different corps to ravage the *Iſle of Wight*, and held a council of war to deliberate whether they ſhould fortify themſelves there, which was at length determined in the negative. Leaving the *Iſle of Wight*, they made ſome deſcents upon the coaſt, with little advantage, and then returned home [n]. The land army, under the command of the marſhal *de Biez*, was not more fortunate; he was ordered to build a large fort that might command the entry of the harbour of *Boulogne*, in which he departed from his inſtructions, built it where it was of no uſe, and ſo ſmall that it was forced to be pulled down. He forced, however, the lines of *Oye*, but did not proſecute this ſucceſs with effect. The king, who had brought his ſon the duke of *Orleans* into *Picardy*, with an intent to be preſent at the ſiege of *Boulogne*, had the mortification to find the ſeaſon ſo much advanced, and his army in ſo bad a condition, that it was impracticable. An epidemic diſtemper reigning at this time, the young prince was ſeized with it, and died on the eighth of *September*, not without great ſuſpicion of poiſon [o], to the inexpreſſible grief of his father. The council of *Trent* was opened this year, to which the king ſent ambaſſadors, who were received and

A. D. 1545.

[l] Dupl. P. Dan. [m] Memoirs du Bell. [n] Hall. Hollinsh. [o] Memoires du Bellay. Belcar. Dupleix.

treated

treated with great reſpect; but this did not conſole him for the loſs of his ſon, and his diſappointments in the war, which had coſt him immenſe ſums of money, and this levied in ſuch a manner, as grievouſly diſtreſſed his ſubjects, which filled the king's mind with very melancholy reflections.

THE two kings were, by this time, tired of the war, and with equal reaſon; it had anſwered the purpoſes of neither, and was a heavy burden on both. *Henry*'s health was declining, and *Francis* alſo felt himſelf daily decay: their ſubjects equally wiſhed and needed a peace: but, notwithſtanding this, the overtures that had been hitherto made for the concluſion of it, had met with great difficulties. *Francis* inſiſted on the reſtitution of *Boulogné*, and the *Scots* being included as his allies; but *Henry* would not liſten to either. At length expedients were found, with reſpect to the firſt, and *Henry* conſented to the latter, with this qualification, that the *Scots* gave him no freſh provocations. The two admirals of *France* and *England* were the principal plenipotentiaries, and the peace was at length concluded in the beginning of *June*, on terms which were hard enough upon *Francis* P. He confirmed former treaties, recognized the validity of antient obligations, which he promiſed to perform; contracted a new debt of eight hundred thouſand crowns, for the reſtitution and fortification of *Boulogne*, which was to be diſcharged by annual payments in eight years, and the place to remain till that time in the hands of the *Engliſh*. *Francis* was as well pleaſed with this as with the treaty of *Crepi*; they were neither of them favourable or honourable, but they were both neceſſary. The king was very deſirous to leave his dominions in ſafety and in peace: he was ſenſible of former miſcarriages, and intended to repair them as far as was in his power. It was with this view that he viſited his frontiers, and directed ſeveral fortreſſes to be repaired, eſpecially on the ſide of *Germany*, becauſe, under pretence of chaſtiſing the Proteſtants, the emperor was aſſembling a great army; and when the admiral *Annebaut* had demanded of him, after the death of the duke of *Orleans*, what his intentions were with regard to the duchy of *Milan* and the peace, he told him very roundly, that, as to the former, he looked upon himſelf to be under no obligation; and that he would obſerve the latter, unleſs he was provoked: which the king underſtood to be, when he found himſelf in a condition to break it with advantage. In this ſituation *Francis* might have availed himſelf, as his ſucceſſors afterwards did, by a cloſe alliance with the Proteſtants in *Germany*; but from

A peace concluded between France *and* England.

P ARNOLDI FERRONI de rebus geſtis Gallor. BELCAR. DU TIL. STOWE, & al.

A. D. 1546. this he was diſſuaded by cardinal *Tournon*, who likewiſe prevailed upon him to revive religious perſecutions in his own dominions, which rendered him unquiet at home, and ruined his reputation abroad; at the ſame time that it diverted him from what he had once deſigned, the reformation of the numerous abuſes that, through his own indolence, his frequent neceſſities, and the advice of bad miniſters, had been introduced during his reign, and to which his duty and his intereſt obliged him.

Death of Henry VIII. *which is quickly followed by that of* Francis.

AT the beginning of the enſuing year, being at *St. Germain en Laye*, he received the news of the death of *Henry* the eighth, his grief for which, ſome writers ſay, was the cauſe of his own [q]; for, notwithſtanding their frequent quarrels, theſe two monarchs had a great affection for each other, as well as great reſemblance, being nearly of a height, having the ſame air, the ſame tone of voice, and the ſame inclinations: *Henry* was, of the two, ſomewhat elder. *Francis* had reckoned much upon his aſſiſtance, in caſe of being attacked by the emperor, and, upon his loſs, altered his ſentiments with regard to the Proteſtants of *Germany*, with whom he ſaw it abſolutely neceſſary for him to unite: but, before he could proceed far in theſe or in any other of his ſchemes, he found himſelf attacked by a ſlow fever, occaſioned by a malady brought upon him by his pleaſures. He ſought relief from exerciſe and change of place, but in vain; and as he went from one country palace to another, he found himſelf ſo ill at *Rambouillet*, that he began to prepare for death, which he received with great compoſure of mind, adviſing his ſon to imitate him in his good qualities, if he had any, and to avoid his vices and foibles, which were but too numerous and too apparent [r]. He recommended to him the admiral in very ſtrong terms, and diſſuaded him from recalling the conſtable. This had little effect; for, as a great hiſtorian [s] ſays, they were forgot before he was well in his coffin. He deceaſed on the laſt day of *March* [t], in the fifty-third year of his age, and the thirty-third of his reign, and, with all his faults, univerſally regretted by his ſubjects (G). We need the leſs wonder at this:

[q] Memoires de Langie. DUPL. [r] FERRONI de rebus geſtis Gallor. [s] JACOBI THUANI Hiſtor. ſui temporis. [t] Iid. ibid.

(G) This monarch was tall and tolerably well-ſhaped, had an high open forehead, briſk eyes, a long noſe, a fine complexion, and his hair black. He was very expert in his exerciſes, very brave, and took great pleaſure in feats of arms (1). At the ſe-

(1) *Memoires du Bellay. Belcarius. Arnoldi Ferroni de rebus geſtis Gallor.*

cond

this when we reflect, that almoſt all men of letters in *Europe* received penſions from him.

HENRY

cond marriage of *Lewis* the 12th he gained great honour in a tournament. At the beginning of his reign, in ſome diverſions of this ſort, captain *de Lorges*, lord of *Montgomery*, toſſing a firebrand, it fell upon the king's head, by which he was ſo burnt, that he was forced to be ſhaved, and ever after wore his hair ſhort, and his beard long, which became the faſhion (2). In the battle of *Pavia* he ſlew with his own hand the laſt heir male of the famous *Scanderbeg* (3). He had great natural parts, as appears from ſeveral pieces of poetry of his compoſing, which are yet extant. At his meals, in his recreations, and at night, before he went to ſleep, he had perſons who read to him, and it was by this means that he gained ſo general an acquaintance with the ſciences (4). He was magnificent in every thing, and not only introduced the *belles lettres*, but a taſte for the fine arts. He built many royal palaces, ſuch as *Fontainbleau*, *St. Germaine en Laye*, *Chambard*, the caſtle of *Madrid* in the wood of *Boulogne*, and he had laid the foundation of the *Louvre* (5). In the firſt part of his life he was profuſe, but however it was in a noble way; his palaces were richly furniſhed; he had as fine jewels and finer pictures than moſt of the princes of his time: but what coſt him the moſt was his penſions to great men, that is, to men of ſuperior talents; for there was not an able officer, or an accompliſhed ſcholar, of whom he had any knowlege, but he either gave, or at leaſt offered, him a penſion. After he became infirm, he applied himſelf with more aſſiduity to his affairs, and grew ſo good an œconomiſt, that, at the time of his death, he had diſengaged his whole domain, had four hundred thouſand crowns in his coffers, and a quarter's revenue untouched, which his ſucceſſor received (6). His firſt conſort *Claude* of *France* died at the caſtle of *Blois*, *July* 20th, 1524, at the age of twenty-five (7). By her he had the Dauphin *Francis*, who was poiſoned at the age of nineteen; *Henry*, who ſucceeded him; and *Charles* duke of *Orleans*, who is ſaid to have died as his elder brother did, in the twenty-fourth year of his age. He had alſo four princeſſes by the ſame queen, of whom *Louiſa* and *Charlot* died young, *Magdalen* married *James* the fifth of *Scotland*, with whom ſhe lived only ſeven months, and *Margaret*, who, after his death, married *Emanuel Philibert*, duke of *Savoy*; ſhe was ſtiled the *Pallas* of *France*, and died at *Turin*, in the fifty-eighth year of her age, univerſally beloved, eſteemed, and admired. By his ſecond queen, *Eleanora*, ſiſter to the emperor *Charles* the fifth, and the widow of the famous Don *Emanuel* king of

(2) *Memoires du Bellay. Dupleix.* (3) *Belcarius. Du Tillet. P. Daniel.* (4) *Arnoldi Ferroni. Scip. Dupleix.* (c) *Dupleix. Mezeray.* (6) *Memoires de Brantome. Le Gend.* (7) *Dupleix. Mezeray. P. Daniel. Le Gend.*

Henry II. *breaks through all his father's injunctions.*

HENRY the ſecond acceded to the throne the very day that he became twenty-nine years of age, with great expectations of the whole *French* nation: it is ſaid that his father exhorted him in his laſt moments to conſider the admiral *Annebaut* as one of his ableſt and moſt faithful ſervants; to withdraw his confidence from the conſtable, whom he ſuſpected of holding a correſpondence with *Charles* the fifth, and to keep a ſtrict eye over the princes of the houſe of *Lorrain*[u]. *Henry*, to gratify his own inclinations, or to ſhew that he was a king, broke every one of theſe injunctions. He diſgraced *Annebaut*, and deprived him of his employments, without ſo much as aſſigning a cauſe; he recalled the conſtable immediately, and he took the duke of *Guiſe* and his children into his council[w]. His coronation

[u] Memoires du BELLAY. P. DAN. [w] THOMÆ CORMERII Alenſonii rerum geſtarum Henrici II. Regis Galliæ, Libri quinque. Annales de France.

Portugal, he had no iſſue. After his death, ſhe returned to the court of her brother, who, as we have ſhewn in another place, carried her with him into *Spain*, where ſhe died at the age of threeſcore. Amongſt all the foibles of *Francis*, his love of women was the greateſt: he was extremely ſmitten with *Mary* of *England*, the wife of his predeceſſor, and chancellor *du Prat* is ſaid to have owed his fortune to the good advice he gave him, not to ſuffer his paſſion to defeat his ſucceſſion. In his youth he had a miſtreſs whoſe name was *Cureau*, by whom he was thought to have been the father of *Stephen Dolet*, who ſuffered an infamous death for impiety. By another lady, whoſe name is not mentioned, he had a ſon, who took the name of *Vilecouvin*. His amour with *Frances de Foix*, counteſs of *Chateaubriant*, made a great noiſe; and ſome ſay her huſband, after a long impriſonment, put her to death: but this ſeems to be diſproved by her monument, which ſhews ſhe was reconciled to him, and died in 1537. However this be, he had another gallantry which was equally fatal to himſelf and his miſtreſs; ſhe was a married woman, and the huſband's reſentment induced him to give her a diſeaſe, of which ſhe died miſerably, and the king, after languiſhing for many years, owed his death to the ſame cauſe. His laſt miſtreſs was *Ann de Piſſeleu*, who, at her coming to court, was ſtiled mademoiſelle *d'Helli*. She had a prodigious aſcendency over *Francis*, tho' he would have made the world believe that nothing criminal ever paſſed between them. She married *John de Bretagne*, who, for her ſake, was created duke *d'Eſtampes*. He gave for his device a ſalamander in the flames, with this motto, *Nutriſco et extinguo*, that is, "I am nouriſhed and I extinguiſh;" but the meaning is either impenetrable, or at leaſt very obſcure. He was buried with great pomp at *St. Denis*, and the bodies of his two ſons were alſo interred with his, near that of their mother queen *Claude*.

was celebrated at *Rheims*, on the 26th of *July*, where the ſix antient peers were repreſented by ſix of the new, and the duke of *Guiſe* had precedency of the duke *de Montpenſier*, as the elder peer, though the latter was of the blood [x]. This prince either delighted in change, or yielded implicitly to thoſe who did. The ducheſs of *Eſtampes*, finding herſelf neglected and deſpiſed, retired to her caſtle in the country, and became a zealous Proteſtant; but *Diana* of *Poictiers*, the widow of *Lewis de Breze*, whom the king created ducheſs of *Valentinois* [y], directed all at her will, and was the principal cauſe of ſo many changes. The chancellor was diſgraced, though he could not be deprived, and the ſeals, in proceſs of time, given to *John Bertrandi*. The cardinal *de Tournon* was turned out of the council, to make way for the duke of *Aumale*, ſon to the duke of *Guiſe*. The two ſecretaries of ſtate were diſmiſſed, and many others [z]. This was not all; the king, though he is repreſented as a good-natured prince, made ſome examples likewiſe. *Edward du Biez*, marſhal of *France*, was not only diſgraced, but, by a ſentence pronounced upon him for his want of conduct, or rather for his want of ſucceſs, in the late reign, was degraded from his office and impriſoned. His ſon-in-law *James de Couci*, lord of *Vervines*, loſt his head for ſurrendering *Boulogne* to the *Engliſh*, when the ſuccours were almoſt in ſight; but this was not executed till two years after, the proceſs being ſo long depending [a].

AFTER his coronation, the king made the tour of his frontiers, and, at his return, permitted a duel on a private quarrel, occaſioned by their amours, between *Guy Chabot*, lord of *Jarnac*, and *Francis de Vivonne*, lord of *Chaſteneraye*: the former was but juſt recovered from a fit of ſickneſs; the latter was an active vigorous man, for whom the king had a great affection. The court was preſent, as was ſometime the cuſtom on ſuch occaſions, when, contrary to all expectation, *Vivonne* was borne to the ground by *Jarnac*, and ſo much enraged at his diſgrace, that, obſtinately refuſing to have his wounds dreſſed, he died in deſpair; at which the king was ſo much troubled, that he is ſaid to have made a vow never to permit any thing of this kind again [b]. The queen-dowager being deſirous to retire into the dominions of her brother, the king made no difficulty of giving his conſent, and, at the ſame time, ſettled her jointure, which conſiſted of the revenues of *Touraine* and *Poitou*, to her wiſh [c]. The miniſters, apprehending that the

Permits a duel in his preſence, and renews his alliance with the cantons.

[x] BELCAR. Memoires de Francis de Rabutin. CORM. Hiſt. DUPL. [y] THOM. DU TIL. [z] JACOB. THUAN. [a] Memoires de François de RABUTIN. P. DAN. Annales de France. JACOB. THUAN. [b] Iidem ibid.

reſidence of twelve cardinals at court might be prejudicial to their intereſts, and bring too many eccleſiaſtics into the council, adviſed, under colour of doing honour to pope *Paul* the third, who had begun to negotiate an alliance with the king, and that they might have a ſtronger party in the conclave, which, they judged could be at no great diſtance, as the pontif was arrived at a very great age, ſent no leſs than ſeven of them to *Rome*, where they were directed to uſe all poſſible methods to promote the king's intereſt, and to thwart the views of the emperor [d]. The delivery of the queen being expected towards the cloſe of the year, the king directed his embaſſadors to intreat the *Swiſs* cantons, as a mark of their kindneſs and friendſhip, to aſſiſt, in quality of ſponſors, at the baptiſm of his child; to which they readily aſſented, and named ambaſſadors to give their attendance at this ceremony, which they did in the month of *December*, when the young princeſs, who was named *Claude* after her grandmother, was carried to church by one of the ambaſſadors. This was intended to ſignify to the world the cloſe conjunction there was between the crown of *France* and the *Swiſs* cantons, and to make way for renewing the alliance upon ſuch terms as were moſt convenient for the king's deſigns, which was alſo, tho' at ſome diſtance of time, brought about [e]; only the cantons of *Zurich* and *Berne* abſolutely refuſed to be included in this new alliance, on account of the great ſeverities that were daily exerciſed in *France* againſt their brethren the Proteſtants; yet this procured them no indulgence.

Sends ſuccours to the Scots, *and, during his abſence in* Piedmont, *an inſurrection breaks out in* Guienne.

THE king, as a freſh mark of his favour, made *Francis* duke of *Aumale* a peer of *France*; and it was aſcribed to the influence of that family, as well as to the politics of thoſe times, that the king determined to ſend a fleet, with ſix thouſand good troops on board, under the command of the lord *d'Eſte*, to the relief of the *Scots*. The queen-dowager was the daughter of the duke of *Guiſe*, and the ſiſter of the duke of *Aumale*; ſhe had vigouroufly promoted the views of *France* in hindering the marriage of her infant daughter with king *Edward* of *England*, and had, by that means, embarked the nation in a war, which had brought them to the brink of ruin. The ſending this ſuccour, whatever it might do to the *Scots*, clearly anſwered the king's intention, as it enabled the *French* party in *Scotland* to execute what they had long intended, the ſending over their queen *Mary*, a child of ſix years old, to be

[d] THOM. CORM. JACOBI THUAN. P. DAN. [e] THOM. CORM. Hiſt. STETTLER Chron. Bernenſ. JACOBI THUANI. SERRES.

educated

educated at the court of *France* [f], which loſt her the love of her ſubjects, and was the true ſource of all her misfortunes. The king made another progreſs this ſummer through *Picardy*, *Champagne*, *Burgundy*, *Savoy*, and at length paſſed into *Piedmont*. His deſign was to ſee that all his frontier places were in a good ſtate of defence, his forces complete, and to give countenance to his friends in *Italy*, where he was very deſirous of reviving his pretenſions to ſeveral countries; and, beſides his jealouſy of *Charles* the fifth, now at the very ſummit of his greatneſs, his perſonal reſentment was ſtronger againſt him than that of his father, on account of ſome ill uſage he had received when he was a hoſtage at *Madrid*. In the courſe of this progreſs he cauſed the marriage of the heireſs of *Navarre* to be celebrated at *Moulins*, where *Anthony* duke of *Vendoſme* eſpouſed the princeſs *Joan* of *Albret*, whom *Francis* the firſt had given in marriage to the duke of *Cleves*, and who, through the terror of the emperor's arms, had been forced to ſend her back [g]. While the king was thus employed, and had his thoughts chiefly occupied with foreign affairs, there broke out, very unexpectedly, a kind of civil war at home. It firſt appeared at *Saintonge*, and in the *Angoulmois*, but quickly ſpread itſelf through all *Guienne*, and was owing to the impatience of the people in regard to the ſalt tax [h]; for the ſalt being the natural product of their own country, and conſidered as the peculiar bleſſing of Providence, derived to them without labour, by the influence of the ſun upon the ſea, they thought the tax very oppreſſive; but it was the inſolence of the officers which rendered it intolerable. In this revolt the clergy and nobility had little ſhare; the grievance did not fall upon them, and the people, as is commonly the caſe, tho' their cauſe was in itſelf worthy of compaſſion, rendered themſelves, by their conduct, inexcuſable, committing the moſt horrid acts of barbarity, and treating as enemies all who declined taking their method of expreſſing their reſentment [i]. At length the flame of ſedition caught the city of *Bourdeaux*, where, notwithſtanding all the care that could be taken by the magiſtrates, and in ſpite of the remonſtrances of the parliament, the populace firſt beſieged the king's lieutenant M. *de Monems*, in the citadel, and, when they had drawn him forth upon the public faith, that all poſſible reſpect ſhould be paid to his perſon, they maſſacred him and another gentle- A. D. 1548.

[f] Annales de France. HALL, & al. [g] Annales de France. JACOBI THUANI. P. DAN. [h] THOMÆ CORM. Hiſt. Memoires de Francois de RABUT. DUPL. [i] Annales de France, & auct. ſup. citat.

man,

man, who attempted to defend him in the ſtreets [b]. The king, at his return, ordered two corps of troops, one commanded by the conſtable, the other by the duke of *Aumale*, to reduce the revolted provinces to their duty. The duke took the higher road; and paſſing through *Saintonge*, with fair words, and making a very few examples, brought every thing into perfect order [c]. The conſtable took his route by the ſea-ſide; and though the city of *Bourdeaux* opened her gates, and ſent deputies to meet him, he would not enter otherwiſe than by a breach made in their walls, poſted his troops in all parts, as if the place had been taken by ſtorm, with cannon pointed at the head of every ſtreet; and, after a ſhort proceſs, declared the citizens had forfeited all their privileges, which he cauſed to be burned; ſeized their bells, as well as their records; declared all their privileges forfeited; hanged up one hundred ſubſtantial tradeſmen; diſarmed the reſt; fined them in two hundred thouſand livres; and finiſhed by ſuſpending the parliament from the exerciſe of their functions [d]. Some ſay his reſentment was ſharpened on account of *Monems*, who was his near relation; and indeed there is ſome appearance of it, for he cauſed the town-houſe to be demoliſhed, and a chapel to be erected over it, where a ſolemn ſervice was to be ſaid annually for the ſoul of the deceaſed; the magiſtrates, with an hundred of the principal inhabitants, were obliged to dig his body out of the grave with their nails, which was then carried in great pomp to the church of *St. Andrew*, and there interred, upwards of five thouſand citizens attending the ceremony with torches [e]. The king remitted a great part of theſe penalties; but the different conduct of his officers had a ſtrange effect: the conſtable remained ever afterwards odious to the people; the family of *Guiſe* began from that moment to reign in their hearts. The king cauſed the edicts againſt the Proteſtants to be executed with the utmoſt ſeverity; erected a chamber on purpoſe, compoſed of members of the parliament of *Paris*, becauſe he found the clergy too mild in the proſecution of hereſy [f].

The king proceeds ſeverely againſt the

In the month of *February* the king was bleſſed with another ſon, who had the name of *Lewis*, and the title of *Orleans*, beſtowed on him [g]. The aſtrologers, who were in thoſe days in great vogue, promiſed mighty things on the behalf of this

[b] Jacobi Thuan. Memoires de Francois de Rabutin. [c] J. de Serres. Dupl. [d] Annales de France. Jacobi Thuan. [e] Memoires de Francois de Rabutin. Annales de France. P. Dan. [f] Jacob. Thuan. Du Till. [g] Thom. Corm. Hiſt.

young

young prince; but, as he died under three years of age, they gained no great credit by theſe predictions. The factions in the court of *England*, and the popular inſurrections in the country, inſpired the king with the hopes of recovering *Boulogne* eaſily; in order to which, he reſolved to attack it by ſurprize, the nobility having ſecret orders to bring with them a great number of gens d'arms, when they came to attend the ceremony of the queen's coronation and public entry, which was fixed for the month of *June*. It was performed with great magnificence [h]; but the ſplendour of it was quickly clouded by proceedings of a different nature; for it was at this time that the lord of *Vervines* ſuffered, and his head and quarters were placed on the *French* forts neareſt to *Boulogne*. After this followed a ſolemn proceſſion, which was cloſed by the burning of many Proteſtants. The king was himſelf preſent at this dreadful ſpectacle, which, however, ſhocked him to ſuch a degree, that he could never forget it, but complained, as long as he lived, that, at certain times, it ſeemed before his eyes, and troubled his underſtanding [i]. About the beginning of *Auguſt*, all things being ready, and *Strozzi* with the *French* fleet, having attacked the *Engliſh* near *Guernſey*, with ſome advantage, by reaſon of a calm, which gave them an opportunity of uſing their gallies, the *French* forces attacked and carried all the advanced poſts of the *Engliſh* about *Boulogne*; notwithſtanding which, and the preſence of the king, the conſtable, the dukes of *Vendoſme* and *Aumale*, the place was ſo gallantly defended, that they were conſtrained to change the ſiege into a blockade [k], after war had been proclaimed againſt *England*, as a ſort of juſtification of this enterprize. At the cloſe of the year died *Margaret* queen of *Navarre* [l], the king's aunt, whoſe engaging manners and great abilities had rendered her admired throughout *Europe*. She had ſhewn ſo much zeal for the new opinions as occaſioned their ſpreading in *France*, and, as far as ſhe could, protected their profeſſions. *Proteſtants, and fails in his attempt on* Boulogne. A. D. 1549.

On the humble application of the people of *Bourdeaux*, the king reſtored them to his favour, and the parliament to its functions: they were likewiſe permitted, upon the payment of a ſum of money, to withdraw their bells from the fortreſſes to which they had been carried, at the time that city was puniſhed by the conſtable [m]. The blockade of *Boulogne*, which had continued all this time, alarmed the new government of *England*, Boulogne *is yielded, and a peace concluded with* England.

[h] Belcar. Jacob. Thuani. Memoires de François de Rabutin. Dupleix. Du Till. [i] Mez. P. Dan. & al. [k] Annales de France. [l] Dupl. Mez. [m] Jacobi Thuani,

land, where *John Dudley*, earl of *Warwick*, and afterward duke of *Northumberland*, had ſupplanted the protector *Somerſet*, and, not knowing how to relieve it, at the ſame time that money was much wanted, a treaty was ſet on foot for the ſale of it, to which king *Henry* readily liſtened: The negotiation was quickly concluded, by which it was agreed, that the place ſhould be yielded to *France*, upon the payment of four hundred thouſand crowns, one half on the day of reſtitution, and the other before the middle of *Auguſt* following: *Scotland* was included, where the *Engliſh* reſtored what they had taken, and the claims of both parties were reciprocally reſerved in general terms, and hoſtages given on both ſides for the due performance of articles [n]. This was the moſt advantageous peace that *France* had hitherto made with *England*; the vaſt arrears that were due from that crown being, in effect, remitted, and thoſe penſions, which looked ſo like tribute, for want of being mentioned, in effect extinguiſhed. The earl of *Warwick* himſelf was ſo ſenſible of the diſgrace his nation had ſuffered by this ſcandalous bargain, that he pretended to be ſick, to avoid ſetting his hand to the ratification. But, notwithſtanding this, it was both ratified and executed. A peace being proclaimed, to ſhew that a thorough underſtanding was reſtored between the two courts, it was agreed to exchange their orders; and accordingly the marſhal *de St. André*, the king's favourite, was ſent with that of *St. Michael* to king *Edward*, and the garter was ſent in return to *Henry* [o]. *Claude* duke of *Guiſe*, and his brother *John*, cardinal of *Lorrain*, dying, *Francis* duke of *Aumale* aſſumed the title of duke of *Guiſe*, and his brethren, *Charles* and *Lewis*, both cardinals, were ſtiled, the former of *Lorrain*, and the latter of *Guiſe* [p]. An edict was made to reſtrain the extravagant remittances the clergy were obliged to make to *Rome*, and for correcting other abuſes committed by the papal notaries, with which pope *Julius* the third, of the houſe of *Caraffa*, who had ſucceeded *Paul*, was highly diſpleaſed [q]. About the ſame time the affair of *Merindol*, which happened in the former reign, was revived; and, after expoſing all the cruelties with which it was attended, thoſe who were moſt criminal eſcaped, and only *Guerin*, the king's attorney, felt the weight of the ſword of juſtice, by the loſs of his head, conſidered by the Proteſtants as a victim, and by the Papiſts as a martyr. *Charles de Coſſe*,

[n] Leonard. Du Til. Hayward's Life of Edward VI. P. Dan. Holinsh. Rabut. Dupl.
[o] Dupl. Hayward's Life of Edward VI.
[p] Jacob. Thuan. Memoires de Francois de
[q] Thom. Corm. Hiſt. Jacobi Thuani.

count

count of *Briſac*, one of the gallanteſt and one of the handſomeſt men in *France*, was ſent to command in *Piedmont*, in the abſence of the prince of *Melfi*, that he might be out of the ſight of the ducheſs of *Valentinois*; and the prince dying ſoon after, he ſucceeded him in the government, and in the poſt of marſhal of *France* [r]. The taxes were at this time ſo high, that the country people reſorted in crowds to *Paris* to avoid them, by betaking themſelves to trades; and, to prevent this, the king publiſhed an edict to reſtrain additional buildings, being apprehenſive the city ſhould become too big. A D. 1550.

ALL things were now in that order, which the king had ſo much wiſhed, for reſuming the old plan of foreign affairs [s]. The ſcheme of pope *Paul* the third had been to aggrandize his family. He had firſt given his natural ſon *Peter Lewis Farneze* the city of *Camarino*, with the title of duke, which he afterwards exchanged for *Parma* and *Placentia*. This ſon of the pope's was one of the moſt profligate men in the world, and had puſhed his brutality ſuch a length, that his ſubjects conſpired againſt him and killed him: upon which *Ferdinand Gonzagua*, who governed for the emperor in the duchy of *Milan*, ſeized *Placentia*. This duke left behind him three ſons, *Alexander* the eldeſt, on whom his grandfather had beſtowed a hat; *Octavio*, the ſecond ſon, had married the emperor's daughter, who, notwithſtanding, would not reſtore to him *Placentia*, or even conſent that he ſhould keep *Parma*. *Horatio*, the third ſon, had the duchy of *Caſtro*, and the king had conſented that he ſhould marry his natural daughter *Diana*. The pope, in order to adjuſt things as well as he could, had formed a plan of accommodation, by which *Octavio* was to quit *Parma*, and conſent that it ſhould be united to the dominions of the holy ſee, which he refuſed in ſo peremptory a manner, that, upon reading his letter, the old pontif fell into ſo high a paſſion, as brought on a fever, which carried him to his grave [t]. *Julius* the third had been choſen by the *French* faction, and the creatures of his predeceſſor, with whom he acted at firſt, but quickly entered into ſchemes for the emperor, and laboured to diſpoſſeſs *Octavio Farneſe* of *Parma*, as well as ſome other *Italian* princes, which threw them into the arms of the king, who declared his reſolution to protect them. The pope, upon this, became very angry, and, under pretence that *Parma* was a fief belonging to the church, and

The king makes war on the pope and the emperor.

[r] JACOBI THUANI. P. DAN. [s] THOM. CORM. Hiſt. Memoires de Francois. BOIVIN. DU VILLARS. DUPL. [t] Lettre originales au Recueil de M. LAMOIGNON. Commentar. de Statu Relig. et Reip.

that *Octavio Farneſe* was a rebel, declared war againſt him, and demanded the aſſiſtance of the emperor to reduce him; the king, who had all along determined to ſupport him, ſent proper orders to the marſhal *de Briſac*, who, upon *Gonzagua's* beſieging *Parma*, gave the duke ſuch effectual ſuccours, as ſaved the place [u].

He renders himſelf odious by calling in the Turks.

THE war being carried on in the name of the pope, and the emperor acting as his auxiliary, *Julius* threatened the king with the cenſures of the church, more eſpecially after the *Turks* entered into the war, and ſent a powerful fleet into the *Mediterranean*, where they threatened the iſland of *Malta*, ruined that of *Gozo*, and made deſcents upon *Sicily*. *Charles* the fifth alſo made loud complaints, that, for granting ſuccours to the holy ſee, the *French* king had committed hoſtilities againſt him, and, after the example of his father, had called in the *Turks*. *Henry* vindicated himſelf, by ſhewing that the emperor had given the *Turks* ſufficient provocation; and many of the *French* writers ſtill inſiſt upon this, and treat the emperor's complaints as calumnies; whereas, in truth, their own excuſes are trivial, and can make no impreſſion upon any that are not diſpoſed to believe any-thing that can be alleged in favour of the *French* monarch; and what they urge as the ſtrongeſt proof, that *Henry* did not call in the Infidels to his aſſiſtance, becauſe the *French* ambaſſador on board the *Turkiſh* fleet interpoſed with effect, in favour of the order of *Malta*, is the fulleſt and cleareſt teſtimony to the contrary; ſince, if the king had not been in cloſe alliance with the *Ottoman* Porte, his ambaſſador would not have been there, or if he had, would not have been able to preſcribe to a *Turkiſh* admiral, whom he ſhould act againſt and whom not. This diverſion had all the conſequences that were expected from it; the emperor would not ſupport the pope as he intended, and *Julius*, whoſe complaiſance for the emperor roſe entirely from the high opinion of his power, as ſoon as he found himſelf miſtaken in that, began to lay aſide his rough language, and conſider how to get out of a quarrel which had already exhauſted his finances [w].

Pope Julius ſues for peace.

THE king no ſooner determined to enter into a war with the pope, than he very wiſely reſolved to prevent his enemies from drawing ſupplies out of his dominions, and, for that reaſon, forbid by an edict the ſending of money to *Rome* on any pretence, which was almoſt as great a blow to *Julius* as the military operations of marſhal *Briſac*, who made war

[u] SLEIDAN Commentar. JACOBI THUANI. DU TIL. Pr. Henault. [w] THOMÆ CORM. Hiſt. JACOBI THUANI. DUPL. LE CEND.

with

with infinitely more prudence, better diſcipline, and more ſucceſs, than any of the *French* generals had formerly done in this part of the world [x]. To qualify this, and to ſhew that, though he was an enemy to the pope, he was as zealous as ever for the church of *Rome*, the king publiſhed at *Chateaubriant*, a flaming edict againſt the Proteſtants [y]. The barony of *Montmorency* was erected into a duchy and peerage, in favour of the conſtable, who ſtill continued at the head of affairs, and who, in the month of *October*, negotiated, by the biſhop of *Bayonne*, a league with the Proteſtant princes of the empire againſt *Charles*, by which it was ſtipulated, that the king ſhould pay down two hundred and forty thouſand crowns for the expences of the three firſt months of the war, and ſixty thouſand crowns towards the ſame expences every month after the war was declared, to be for reſtoring the liberties of *Germany*; neither party was to treat ſeparately; and the king was to take into his poſſeſſion, by way of ſecurity for the juſt performance of this alliance, *Cambray*, or the cities of *Metz*, *Toul*, and *Verdun*, and to hold them with the title of vicar of the empire [z]. Pope *Julius*, to ſhew his ſtrong deſire of peace, ſent, towards the cloſe of the year, a legate to *Paris*, and the king who, during his quarrel, affected to ſupport the rights of the *Gallican* church, not only obliged this legate to ſend his powers to be recognized by the parliament, but alſo to ſignify to that illuſtrious body in writing, that he was content to execute them according to the reſtrictions made by the parliament, and not otherwiſe [a]. The reader will diſcern from hence, that, as the intereſts of the court dictated, the parliament or the pontif prevailed. A. D. 1551.

AT the very opening of the year, the king ratified his treaty with the *German* princes, and levied immenſe ſums of money upon his ſubjects, by a variety of oppreſſive meaſures, that he might be enabled to execute it [b]. *Maurice* elector of *Saxony*, and the reſt of the allies, having received the ſtipulated ſubſidies, were quickly in motion, and puſhed their enterprize with ſuch vigour, that they were very near ſeizing the perſon of the emperor. As ſoon as *Henry* ſaw them embarked, the king gave orders for his army to advance towards the *Rhine*, which was one of the moſt numerous and beſt provided, that, to this time, *France* had ſet on foot. The *The king ſeizes on* Toul, Verdun, *and* Metz, *which he annexes to his kingdom.*

[x] BELCAR. JACOB. THUAN. DUPL. P. DANIEL. CHALONS. [y] THOM. CORM. Hiſt. Pr. Henault. [z] LANCELOT VOESMS. Sieure de la POPELINIERE. SLEIDAN Commentar. JACOBI THUANI. LE GEND. [a] Lettres originales au Recueil de M. LAMOIGNON. MEZ. P. DAN. [b] THOMÆ CORM. Hiſt.

queen

queen was appointed regent in his abſence; and, to give ſome ſatisfaction to the people, the admiral *Annebaut*, who had been lately recalled to court, was directed to aſſiſt her. At the king's entrance into *Lorrain* he was met by the ducheſs dowager, who was the emperor's niece, whom the king treated with great civility; but, on his arrival at *Nancy*, he told her plainly, that, as it was a point of importance to have that country in the hands of a friend, he muſt endeavour to ſecure it for the future, by ſending the young duke her ſon to be educated at *Paris*, and, for the preſent, by putting the adminiſtration into the hands of his uncle the count *de Vaudemont* [c]. The cities of *Toul* and *Verdun* opened their gates, of which *Metz* made ſome ſcruple; but the conſtable took them ſo unprepared, that the citizens could not reſiſt [d]. The truth is, the princes of the houſe of *Lorrain* ſettled in *France*, that is, *Francis* duke of *Guiſe*, his brother *Claude*, to whom he had yielded the duchy of *Aumale*, and the two cardinals, one of whom was biſhop of *Verdun*, forgetting the regard due to their family and to their country, promoted to their utmoſt the reduction of theſe places, by which the empire was deprived of its barrier, and the poſſeſſion of *Lorrain* rendered thenceforwards precarious.

The princes of the empire and the Swiſs *oblige him to deſiſt from his enterprize.*

THE king next extended his conqueſts into *Alſace*, taking every thing that had an appearance of ſtrength between *Haguenau* and *Wiſſembourgh*; he made alſo an attempt upon *Straſburgh*, that he might have the command of the *Rhine*; but in this he failed; for the inhabitants, reflecting on the fate of *Metz*, had formed a garriſon of nine thouſand men, and were not either to be cheated or threatened out of their liberties [e]. The confederate princes alſo, being deſirous to ſtop his further progreſs, intreated him to be content, and not give occaſion to his and their enemies to ſay, that the prince whom they ſtiled the protector, was become the oppreſſor of the liberties of *Germany*. The *Swiſs*, who were no leſs apprehenſive of his entering their territories, ſent deputies to make him a compliment of the like nature, which he received very graciouſly, and took a reſolution to retire, as if it had been in compliance with their requeſts [f]. This was a very high ſtroke of policy, and founded upon very different motives; he knew that the confederate princes were treating with the emperor; had a proper ſenſe of the advantages already gained, which he reſolved to keep; and found it neceſſary

[c] THOM. CORM. Hiſt. PALLAVICIN. Hiſt. Concil. Trident. Memoires de BOIVIN. [d] JACOB. THUAN. Memoires de BOIVIN. P. DAN. [e] JACOBI THUANI, & al. [f] THOM. CORM. & auct. ſup. citat.

to

to provide for the ſafety of his own dominions, *Mary* queen of *Hungary*, governeſs of the *Low Countries*, having ſent *Martin Koſſem* into *Champagne*, where he committed moſt dreadful depredations [g]. The king made a turn, however, thro' the duchy of *Luxembourgh*, where he took *Damvilliers*, *Ivoy*, and *Montmody*, and furniſhed *Robert de la Mark* with a body of forces, with which he recovered *Bouillon*, that had been taken from his grandfather by the emperor thirty-one years before. But, through the fatigue he ſuffered in this expedition, the king was ſeized with a fever, which almoſt brought him to the grave, at *Sedan*, which alarmed the nation much, and the favourites more [h].

Charles V. beſieges Metz, but is forced to raiſe the ſiege with loſs.

In *Italy* the flame of war was ſtopped; the marſhal *de Briſac*, though his army was far from being numerous, had ſeized the city of *Sienna*, and gained ſo many advantages, that the pope, who had concluded a truce with him for two years, inclined rather to his ſide; and the emperor, very wiſely taking advantage of his having hitherto acted only as an auxiliary, deſired to be included in that truce, which left the family of *Farneſe* in poſſeſſion of the duchy of *Parma* [i]. He knew that, whenever the circumſtances of things in *Italy* would permit, he might revive this quarrel; and, being at preſent attentive only to the recovery of what had been taken from the empire, he was very deſirous of being ſecure on this ſide, where, with the aſſiſtance of the *Turks*, he was apprehenſive the *French* might make the conqueſt of the kingdom of *Naples*. *Henry* having carried his own point in *Italy*, readily conſented to the truce, without conſulting the intereſt of his Infidel allies. The princes of the empire acted preciſely from the ſame motives; they had obtained all they could deſire by the treaty of *Paſſau*, and therefore made no ſcruple of leaving their troops at the diſpoſition of the emperor, *Albert* of *Brandenburgh* only excepted. That monarch, with twelve thouſand horſe, one hundred thouſand foot, and a numerous train of artillery, came before *Metz*, towards the end of *October* [k]. The place was large, and ſo poorly fortified, that he might reaſonably have hoped it would make but little reſiſtance. The duke of *Guiſe* threw himſelf into it with two princes of his houſe, three princes of the blood, fifty noblemen of the firſt rank, five hundred gentlemen of quality on horſeback, with their followers, and five thouſand of the beſt infantry in *France*. While the ſiege laſted, *Albert* of

[g] Jacob. Thuani. Dupleix. Mez. P. Dan. Memoires de Brant. [h] Thom. Corm. Belcar. Le Gendre. [i] Stettler Chronic. Bernenſ. Dupl. [k] Chronic. Bernenſ. Sleidan Commentar.

Brandenburgh, having adjuſted things with the emperor, ſurprized a good corps of troops, under the command of the duke *d'Aumale*, and put a great part of them to the ſword; ſo that the garriſon of *Metz* was equally deprived of ſuccour, and of the hopes of any diverſion in their favour[l]. The count *de Roeux* carried the war into *Picardy*, with all the circumſtances of rage and fury imaginable, made himſelf maſter of *Noyon*, *Roye*, *Neſle*, *Chauny*, and burnt the royal palace of *Folembray*, which ſo alarmed the city of *Paris*, that the inhabitants demanded the king's leave to fortify on the ſide of *Picardy*, which he gave them, provided they did it at their own expence[m]. Thus the emperor had all the leiſure and all the advantages he could deſire in carrying on the ſiege. But the advanced ſeaſon of the year, perpetual ſallies from the place, the indefatigable attention of the duke of *Guiſe*, and his great military abilities, rendered all his attempts vain; ſo that, after lying before it two months, during which his army was leſſened one third, he did not judge it expedient to proceed to an aſſault, though there were breaches on every ſide; but, on the contrary, finding the diſeaſes and diſtreſſes to which his army was expoſed multiply every day, he was conſtrained to decamp[n]. The duke of *Guiſe* might have deſtroyed great part of his forces in their retreat; but he generouſly cauſed them to be picked up in the roads and villages, and ſent to the hoſpitals, being aſhamed, after having defeated an imperial army, to ſtain the glory of his arms with the blood of diſeaſed and dying men. But the city of *Metz*, which has remained ever ſince in the hands of the *French*, has never recovered its former ſplendor, ſince, in order to his defence, the duke of *Guiſe* found himſelf obliged to demoliſh thirty convents and churches in and about the city, in ſome of which were the tombs of ſeveral of the kings of the *Carlovingian* race, whoſe remains were, with the formality of a ſolemn proceſſion, removed.

The emperor takes and razes Terouenne *and* Heſdin, *and the*

THE relief of *Metz* was celebrated with all poſſible expreſſions of ſatisfaction and joy[o], which was very natural, but ought certainly to have been accompanied with a reaſonable regard to what might happen in the ſucceeding campaign. The emperor had been repulſed with loſs; but *Charles* the fifth was not a prince capable of being diſcouraged by any diſappointment. He uſed incredible diligence in recruiting

[l] THOM. CORM. Hiſt. JACOB. THUANI. Lettres du Sieur de SALIGNAC. SERRES. [m] HILARION DE COSTE. Memoires de BRANT. MEZ. [n] JACOB. THUANI. P. DAN. LE GEND. [o] DU TILL. P. DAN. CHALONS. Pr. Henault.

his

his army, ſo that the next ſummer the count *de Roeux* inveſted *Terouenne*, with numerous forces: the place was ſtrong, but very ill provided, and the garriſon ſmall. The *French* army was not able to take the field, though in the month of *June*; but *Andrew Mantalabert*, lord *D'Eſſe*, who had commanded with great reputation in *Scotland*, and who had ſaved *France* by the defence of *Landrecy* in the former reign, was ordered to throw himſelf into it, which he did, with a handful of brave men. He defended it with that intrepidity which was expected from him; ſuſtained a ſtorm of many hours, till at length he was killed in the breach [p]. *Francis de Montmorency*, ſon to the conſtable, next aſſumed the command; but, being ſurprized at the operation of a mine, conſented to treat; and, while the articles of capitulation were regulating, the *German* and *Flemiſh* ſoldiers ſurprized ſome weak poſts, and, entering the town, put not only the garriſon, but the inhabitants, men, women, and children, to the ſword. The *Spaniards*, with ſome difficulty, ſaved the principal officers; but the emperor carried his reſentment ſo far, as to deſtroy the city to its very foundations, ſo that at preſent there is ſcarce any diſcernable marks of its ruins [q]. The count *de Roeux* being dead, the command of the imperial army fell to *Cæſar Ponce de Lalain*, lord of *Biencourt*: but the emperor, believing it would be more for his advantage to have his army commanded by a perſon of ſuperior rank, replaced him by *Emanuel Philibert* prince of *Piedmont* [r]. His firſt enterprize was the ſiege of *Heſdin*, where the marſhal *de la Mark* commanded, who was ſon-in-law to *Diana de Poitiers*. *Horatio Farneſe*, duke of *Caſtro*, the ſolemnization of whoſe marriage with the king's natural daughter *Diana* had employed the *French* court, while the emperor was forcing their barrier, threw himſelf into this place, with fifty perſons of quality; notwithſtanding which the prince of *Piedmont* conducted his enterprize with ſo much diligence and vigour, that the marſhal was forced to capitulate [s]. While they were treating, a prieſt throwing a granade at random, it fell into a mine, by which the caſtle was blown up, and the duke of *Caſtro*, and many other perſons of diſtinction, buried in the ruins. The *German* troops, ſeeing this diſorder, forced their paſſage into the town, and put the garriſon, a few of the principal officers excepted, to the ſword. *Henry* was marching to the relief of the place, at the head of a complete army, conſiſting of ten

king of Terouenne attempts the ſiege of Cambray in vain.

[p] Annales de France. Belcar. Strada de Bello Belgico. Dupl. [q] Iacob. Thuan. Du Til. Mez. P. Dan. [r] Mar. Fer. [s] Annales de France. Strada de Bello Belgico.

thouſand excellent cavalry, and fifty-four thouſand foot, with a train of a hundred pieces of cannon; yet this mighty force performed nothing worth mentioning, except defeating a corps of *Flemiſh* cavalry, making the duke of *Arſcot*, who commanded them, with about five hundred men, priſoners, and killing about ſix hundred more, amongſt whom was the prince of *Epinoy*; for prince *Philibert* declined a battle, and prevented the ſiege of *Cambray*, which ſo chagrined the conſtable that he fell ſick, and upon this the *French* army went into winter quarters; at which the people murmured exceedingly, but without ſhaking the credit of the favourite [t].

The war in Italy *carried on between the king and the emperor.*

THE truce in *Italy* was broke almoſt as ſoon as it was concluded; for the emperor thought it practicable to recover *Sienna*, with the aſſiſtance of the duke of *Tuſcany*, and the prince of *Salerno* perſuaded the *French* that it was very poſſible for them to become maſters of the kingdom of *Naples*. Theſe deſigns reciprocally defeated each other; the *Turkiſh* fleet, commanded by the corſair *Dragut* and *Sinan Baſha*, came time enough on the coaſts of the kingdom of *Naples* to oblige the imperialiſts to raiſe the ſiege of *Sienna*, but the prince of *Salerno* did not reach that fleet ſo early as to excite a revolt in *Naples*, which otherwiſe he would have done [u]. Monſieur *de Termes*, who had defended *Sienna*, made, with the aſſiſtance of the *Turkiſh* and *French* fleet, which had defeated that of *Andrew Doria*, an attempt on *Corſica*, and reduced the whole iſland, except *Calvi*: but, ſome difference ariſing between him and *Dragut*, the *Turkiſh* fleet retired, and the *Genoeſe* recovered all except *Fiorenzo*, and the ſouth part of the iſland. The marſhal *de Briſac* took ſeveral places in *Piedmont*, and introduced a new method of making war, which has been but little imitated. The peaſants were exempted on both ſides from injuries, and people paſſed through the ſeat of war about their buſineſs, with as much ſecurity as in time of full peace [w]. *Edward* the ſixth of *England*, being in a very declining condition, and the *French* miniſters having intelligence of the emperor's views, *Anthony de Noailles* was ſent over to aſſure the duke of *Northumberland* of the king's aſſiſtance, which ſerved only to animate him to an enterprize, which had its concluſion on the ſcaffold [x]. On the twelfth of *December* this year, the ducheſs of *Vendoſme* was delivered of *Henry*, firſt king of *Navarre*, and then of *France* [y].

A. D. 1553.

[t] JACOB. THUAN. STRAD. de Bello Belgico. DU TIL. MEZ. P. DAN. [u] JACOB. THUAN. POPELINIERE. Memoires de Montluc. DUPL. P. DAN. [w] THOM. CORM. Hiſt. CHALONS. LE GEND. [x] DU CHESNE. P. DAN. HOLIN. [y] DUPL. MEZ.

POPE

POPE *Julius* thought it became him to endeavour, at leaſt, the concluſion of a peace. But the emperor inſiſted on very high terms, which king *Henry* thought it diſhonourable for him ſo much as to hear; ſo that, inſtead of a treaty, the pope's propoſitions did not ſo much as produce a negotiation. What chiefly raiſed the emperor's ſpirits ſo much, was the concluſion of the marriage between his ſon *Philip* and queen *Mary* of *England*, in ſpite of all the endeavours of *France*, as well as contrary to the inclinations of the *Engliſh*. This, however, did not hinder *Henry* from ſending Monſieur *de Noailles*, who had been employed to defeat her ſucceſſion, to compliment queen *Mary* upon her marriage [z]. Cardinal *Pole*, in his paſſage through *France*, employed his eloquence with great ſincerity to ſoften things between both princes, but to little purpoſe, though the king teſtified great eſteem for his perſon. The remembrance of what had paſſed the preceding year engaged *Henry* not only to guard againſt a ſurprize, but to labour all that was in his power to be in the field before the emperor; and having aſſembled, in different places, ſixty thouſand men, he entered the dominions of that prince with three different armies; the firſt commanded, under himſelf, by the conſtable, the ſecond by the duke of *Vendoſme*, and the third by the marſhal *de St. André* [a]. The conſtable, having deceived the emperor's generals, came unexpectedly before *Marienburgh*, a new town, to which queen *Mary* of *Hungary* had given her own name, and there he was joined by the other two armies; the place being but indifferently provided, the governor and officers were made priſoners of war. The king was ſo much pleaſed with it, that he was reſolved to keep it; and, with this view, not only placed a garriſon there, but alſo, to facilitate the correſpondence with his own territories, fortified *Rocroi* [b]. In the beginning of *July*, the king took *Bovines* by aſſault; and the duke *de Vendoſme* reduced *Dinant*, though the caſtle was gallantly defended by a *Spaniſh* officer.

Henry invades the Low Countries with three armies.

THE emperor having put himſelf at the head of his army, the king, who was very deſirous of bringing him to a battle, waſted all the country, and razed *Maubrege*, *Bavay*, *Binch*, and *Mariemont*; the laſt but one of theſe was a village, ſurmounted by a beautiful caſtle, and *Mariemont* a pleaſant country palace of the queen before-mentioned, which was the rea-

Charles at the head of his army, has the worſt in the ac-

[z] DU CHESNE. GODIVINI Annales. [a] Lettres du Sieur de SALIGNAC. Annales de France. JACOBI THUANI. P. DAN. [b] Lettres du Sieur de SALIGNAC. DUPLEIX. MEZ.

tion before Renti.

ſon that the king burnt the one, and beat the other to pieces, as he likewiſe did the caſtle of *Roeux*, in reſentment of the ravages committed by the queen's order by its late maſter, and particularly for demoliſhing his favourite palace of *Folembray*[c]. There was a high antipathy between *Mary* and *Henry*, which, after venting itſelf in ſongs and lampoons, that were indecent, produced at length theſe acts of violence that were clearly inhuman. How much ſoever the emperor might be diſpleaſed at a war carried on in this manner, for which if any conduct could give cauſe, his own had afforded too much, he could not be brought to fight with any advantage. The king, therefore, having waſted the country about *Cambray*, paſſed through the country of *Artois*, and, towards the end of *July*, inveſted the caſtle of *Renty*, which, tho' but ſmall, was very ſtrong, and from whence the emperor's ſubjects made frequent excurſions into the country of *Bologne*[d]. *Charles*, who had under him *Philibert* duke of *Savoy*, and *Ferdinand Gonzague*, advanced to its relief, and encamped ſo cloſe to the *French* army, that there was only a narrow valley between them. On the 13th of *Auguſt*, there happened a ſmart action, in which the king diſtinguiſhed himſelf perſonally at the head of the *Swiſs*, and the duke of *Guiſe*, who is the favourite hero of the *French* writers, gained a conſiderable advantage[e]. The field of battle, ſtrewed with two thouſand dead bodies, a conſiderable number of ſtandards and colours, and a few pieces of cannon, were the proofs of this victory, which, it is ſaid, might have been more complete, if the conſtable had been more lively in his motions. It ſeems he remembered the battle of *Pavia*, and, with a ſuperior army in his front, and a ſtrong garriſon in his rear, was unwilling to run any riſk. What offends the *French* ſtill more, he prevailed upon the king, a few days after, to raiſe the ſiege, and to retire before the emperor, which, they ſay, tarniſh the luſtre of this campaign. But a better judge than they thought otherwiſe; for when a great lord went to viſit the emperor *Charles* in his retreat, and told him that he had adorned his gallery with the pictures of his military exploits, and particularly his laſt, which was the flight of the *French* from *Renty*, *Charles* anſwered gravely and gently, "Then you muſt ſet "your painter to correct it; for inſtead of a flight it was a "gallant and ſoldier-like retreat, in day-light, and in good

[c] Jacob. Thuan. Lettres du Sieur de Salignac. Belcar. P. Dan.
[d] Memoires de Francois de Rabut. Serres. Mez.
[e] Thom. Corm. Hiſt. Memoires de Tavennes. P. Dan.

"order."

"order [f]." After this the army went into winter-quarters, having added ſome places to the *French* territories, and much to the ſecurity of the frontiers.

ON the ſide of *Italy* a new ſcene opened. *Coſmo de Medicis*, duke of *Tuſcany*, who had acted covertly as an auxiliary, or rather as a feudatory to the emperor, perceiving clearly that he ran as great hazard, without being able to reap ſo great advantage, as if he declared openly againſt the *French*, and exerted his whole force, firſt made a good bargain with the emperor, and then did what his intereſt would have prompted him to, if he had made no bargain at all. He ſet on foot a numerous army, the command of which he gave to the marquis *de Marignan*, who was deſirous of being thought the duke's relation [g]. The point he aimed at was to reduce *Sienna*, where *Peter Strozzi* commanded, an excellent officer, but unfortunate, becauſe he was obſtinate. The marquis beſieged it in vain; he changed his ſiege into a blockade to as little purpoſe. *Strozzi*, leaving the command of the place to *Montluc*, marched with nine or ten thouſand men into the duke's territories, and beſieged *Marciano*. The marquis marched to the relief of the place, and the ſituation of the armies was much the ſame as between the *French* and imperialiſts at *Renty* [h]. Want of water forced *Strozzi* to decamp: it was much againſt his will, and he ſent a courier to *Monluc*, to demand his ſentiments, whether it was beſt to retire by night or by day. *Montluc*, whoſe bravery was as little queſtioned as his abilities, anſwered, "That is beſt which is "ſafeſt." But, notwithſtanding this, *Strozzi* had his head ſo full of the point of honour, that he made his retreat before a ſuperior army, in open day, and was thoroughly beaten for his pains, being dangerouſly wounded, and loſing four thouſand men, his baggage, and artillery. It was the news of this misfortune that induced the conſtable to raiſe the ſiege of *Renti* The marſhal *Strozzi* preſerved, however, *Sienna* for this year [i]. Monſ. *de Termes* kept his ground in *Corſica*, and the marſhal *de Briſac* made himſelf maſter of *Joree* in four days. The *French* ambaſſador at *Rome* proteſted againſt the inveſtiture which the pope gave to *Philip* of *Auſtria* of the kingdom of *Naples*. At the very cloſe of the year, *Metz* was on the point of being ſurprized by a conſpiracy, which was managed by the ſuperior of the *Cordeliers*, and was diſcovered by

The French *defeated in* Italy, *and* Sienna *beſieged.*

A. D. 1554.

[f] ANTON. DE VERA, vie del Carlos V. [g] JACOBI THUANI, Memoires de Montluc. P. DAN. [h] Memoires BRANT. DUPL. MEZ. [i] Annales de France. Memoires de Montluc.

the vigilance and penetration of the governor, who killed about twelve hundred of the garrison of *Thionville*, that was charged with the execution of this project [k], and had advanced into the neighbourhood of *Metz* with that view.

The campaign in Italy *warm, and attended with variety of fortune.*

THE city of *Sienna*, the siege of which was continued thro' the winter, was defended with great courage and constancy by *Montluc*, who prevailed upon the inhabitants to resist both force and famine, and to venture a variety of deaths, from the sole hope of preserving their liberty. But the factions in the *French* councils hindered any relief from being sent to marshal *Strozzi*; for the queen, who had afterwards too much, had now so very little power, that she could not support her relation. At length, therefore, after a siege of eight months, *Sienna* was surrendered [l]. *Montluc* was consulted in the capitulation, by which the liberty of the city was preserved, under the protection of the emperor, and the garrison was permitted to march out: but, notwithstanding this, *Montluc* refused to sign it. The marquis *de Marignan* was surprized; but *Montluc* persisted in his resolution: adding, that the republic had made a good capitulation, and he was willing to afford them the benefit of it, by quitting their city; but that he and his garrison would owe their safety to their swords, in case they should be attacked on their march. The marquis thought so good a defence excused this singularity of sentiment, and suffered *Montluc* to take his own way, who, at his return to *France*, received the king's order, which was then a great honour, and afterwards the staff of marshal of *France* [m]. In *Piedmont*, the marshal *de Brissac* had meditated the relief of *Sienna*, with the small army that he commanded; but there was a faction against him too, so that the project he sent of this expedition to court was rejected. However, being at liberty in his government, he contrived and executed the surprize of *Casal*, on *Shrove-Tuesday*, when the officers of the imperial army were intent on the diversions that closed the carnival. Their general saved himself in the castle, but he was obliged to capitulate in a few days [n]. The duke of *Alba* was sent to command in his room: he took some places by storm, where he put the *Italian* soldiers to the sword, and sent the *French* to the gallies; but, the duke of *Aumale* arriving with a considerable reinforcement, he received several severe checks, and the campaign ended, as it began, on this side, to the advantage of the *French*.

[k] Annales de France. BELCAR. P. DAN. de Montluc. JACOB. THUANI. MEZ. CORM. Hist. POPELINIERE. DUPLEIX.

[l] Memoires de Montluc.

[m] THOMÆ

[n] Memoires de

IN

In the mean time cardinal *Pole* ſet on foot a new negotiation for peace, to which the king ſeemed to liſten with great cordiality; but this, the *French* writers fairly own, was owing to his apprehenſion of ſeeing the *Engliſh* embarked, as they afterwards were, in the *Spaniſh* quarrel. But the treaty, notwithſtanding, came to nothing; for, though the coffers of both monarchs were exhauſted, yet neither had any real deſire of making peace. *Henry* reſolved not to part with *Metz*, *Toul*, and *Verdun*, and yet he could not avow that reſolution, for fear of provoking the princes and ſtates of the empire. He ſeemed, therefore, willing to part with them, but then he peremptorily demanded the duchy of *Milan*, which the emperor refuſed, and, in as peremptory a manner, demanded *Burgundy*; ſo that *Pole*, ſeeing his good deſigns defeated, ſuffered the conferences to end, without teſtifying any thing more than a deep concern for the obſtinacy of both princes [o]. The campaign in the *Low Countries* ſhewed that they were not more unwilling to make peace than unable to make war. The imperialiſts intended to beſiege *Marienburgh*, or at leaſt to have blockaded it; but the *French* found means to relieve it; and therefore, as the laſt effort of his military genius, *Charles* directed the conſtructing two fortreſſes for the ſecurity of his dominions, which were *Charlemont* and *Philipville* [p]. On the other hand, the *French* were able to do nothing, not even to prevent *William* of *Naſſau*, prince of *Orange*, from ravaging *Picardy*, after cutting a great part of the militia of the province to pieces. Thus ended the great operations of the year; but there happened beſides ſeveral other events, of which it is abſolutely neceſſary that we ſhould take ſome notice, in order to preſerve a perſpicuous connection between the paſt and ſucceeding parts of this hiſtory.

New negotiations for a peace.

The emperor *Charles* the fifth, finding his faculties extremely exhauſted, thought fit to reſign his regal and hereditary dominions to his ſon, which he did gradually, and with all the circumſtances of deliberation and dignity, which were conſpicuous in the great actions of his life [q]. This was far from being a matter of indifference to *France*, and yet the king could not publicly take any ſhare in it. His miniſters in *Germany*, however, uſed all their ſkill to prevent *Ferdinand* king of the *Romans* from reſigning that dignity in favour of *Philip*, in which their endeavours were attended with ſucceſs. The death of *Henry d'Albret* king of *Navarre* was another

The reſignation of the emperor, the death of the king of Navarre, and acceſſion of Paul IV.

[o] Du Chesne. Mez. P. Dan. Dupleix. Mez. Chalons. Sieur de la Popeliniere. Sleidan Commentar. Thomæ Corm. Hiſt.

[p] Jacobi Thuan.

[q] Lancelot Voesins.

intereſting

intereſting circumſtance; for the king, either of his own motive, or prompted by ſome of his miniſters, had a ſtrong inclination to take the poor remains of that kingdom from *Anthony* duke of *Vendoſme*, who had married the heireſs, and to give him an equivalent in the heart of the kingdom. But *Anthony*, having either ſome intelligence or ſome ſuſpicion of it, made ſuch haſte into the principality of *Bearn*, as ſecured him peaceable poſſeſſion, in which the king did not think it afterwards expedient to trouble him[r]. But, as a mark of his reſentment, he detached *Languedoc* from his government of *Guienne*, and refuſed that of *Picardy* to his brother *Lewis* prince of *Condé*. On the death of pope *Julius* the third ſucceeded *Marcellus* the ſecond, a man of exemplary virtue and rational piety. Pontifs of this character are ſeldom long-lived. He poſſeſſed this dignity twenty-five days, and was ſucceeded in it by *John Peter Caraffa*, upwards of fourſcore, who took the name of *Paul* the fourth, and, laying aſide that great ſhew of auſterity and ſanctity of manners by which he ſeemed to have merited the pontificate, aſſumed at once not only the ſtate of a great prince, but of the prince of princes, which was the title he affected. He had two nephews, *John* and *Charles*: the former he made general of the forces of the church, and covered the head of the latter with a cardinal's hat. Pope *Paul* was ſcarce warm in his throne before he entered into a negotiation with the king, for the recovery, as it was ſtiled, but in effect for the partition, of the kingdom of *Naples*, which propoſal was well received at court, through the intereſt of the princes of *Lorrain*, the cardinal aſpiring to the popedom, and the duke of *Guiſe* having a vehement deſire to be viceroy of *Naples*, having alſo, as heir to the houſe of *Anjou*, a ſort of title to the kingdom itſelf[s]. The better part of the council were againſt this project; but their oppoſition was of little weight. The conſtable, indeed, was alſo againſt it, and might have oppoſed it with effect, but he contented himſelf with hinting at the bad conſequences that might attend it, being willing to be quit of one who had ſo great a ſhare as the duke of *Guiſe* evidently had in the king's favour. The cardinal of *Lorrain*, therefore, was ſent to *Rome*, to put the laſt hand to this treaty, and directed to carry with him the cardinal *de Tournon*, who was but juſt returned from thence, who went, indeed, in obedience to the king's orders, but very plainly and honeſtly declared how much he diſliked
A. D. the commiſſion, which did not hinder the treaty from being
1555. concluded in the month of *December*[t], though, for reaſons of

[r] Thomæ Corm. Jacob. Thuan. Dupl. [s] Pallav. Du Till. [t] Mez. P. Dan.

ſtate

ſtate reſpecting both parties, it was kept extremely ſecret, in order to ſave the pope from the emperor's immediate reſentment, and to give time for engaging other allies.

THE abſence of the cardinal of *Lorrain*, left the king's ear more open to free council than it had been; and ſome deputies of his, having conferred with ſome of the emperor's about the exchange of priſoners, the latter demanded if they had no inſtructions to agree to a truce, of which the court being informed, and cardinal *Pole* renewing his inſtances at the ſame time, the conſtable took this opportunity of procuring ſuch inſtructions [s]. The pope, being acquainted with this by the cardinal *de Tournon*, refined a little too far upon it; for in confidence that neither the emperor, nor his ſon the king of *Spain*, would leave *Piedmont*, part of *Tuſcany*, and *Corſica*, in the hands of *France*, together with her conqueſts in the *Low Countries*, for any length of time, he diſſembled his diſlike of this propoſition, and adviſed the king to accept the truce, which was accordingly concluded in the beginning of the month of *February*, at the abbey of *Vaucelles*, near *Cambray*, the emperor being exceedingly deſirous to leave his ſon in peace [t]. The pope was greatly diſpleaſed, but not diſconcerted, with this news; he reſolved immediately to ſend a cardinal legate to each of the monarchs, to congratulate them on the concluſion of the truce, and to exhort them, out of pity to their ſubjects, and charity to the reſt of Chriſtendom, to convert this truce into a ſolid and laſting peace. But the true intent of ſending his nephew, cardinal *Caraffa*, to the court of *France*, was to prevail upon the king to break the truce, and to revive the war in *Italy* immediately, the real motive to which was, that, according to the courſe of nature, he had not long to live, and he was deſirous of ſeeing the houſe of *Caraffa* on a level with that of *Medicis*, or, at leaſt, with that of *Farneſe*. In the management of this negotiation, cardinal *Caraffa* found ſome difficulty, for the conſtable exclaimed warmly againſt the breach of the truce, as equally inconſiſtent with the kingdom's intereſt and the king's honour [u].

A truce between the emperor and the king.

IT was carried, notwithſtanding, by the influence of the duke of *Guiſe*, ſupported by that of the queen, and, which was much more powerful, the ſollicitation of the ducheſs of *Valentinois*. The queen was deſirous to ſee her couſin, marſhal *Strozzi*, once more in command; and the duke of *Aumale* having married a daughter of the ducheſs, that lady was entirely devoted to the houſe of *Lorrain* [x]. But the pope, to

but it is broke and the war renewed.

[s] DUPLEIX.
[t] DU TILLET.
[u] Recueil de Traites par LEONARD.
[x] Memoires de FRANCOIS.

remove

move all obſtacles, ſeized the king of *Spain*'s miniſter, charging him with being privy to a conſpiracy againſt his government, and even againſt his perſon, declared his maſter to have forfeited his right to the kingdom of *Naples*, and threatened both him and his father with excommunication [z]. Upon theſe provocations, the duke of *Alva* had orders to enter the eccleſiaſtical ſtate; and the pope thereupon exclaimed that the truce was broke, which gave him a right to demand the ſupport of *France*. The marſhals *Strozzi* and *Montluc* were thereupon ſent to *Rome* with ſome forces, marſhal *Briſac* began hoſtilities in *Piedmont*, and the duke of *Guiſe* prepared to paſs the mountains with a puiſſant army [a]. In the mean time king *Philip*, by offering to reſtore *Placentia*, drew over the duke of *Parma*, and the reſt of the princes of the houſe of *Farneſe*, to his party; ſo that tho' the pope had promiſed for all the powers in *Italy*, none would enter into the league, and none remained attached to *France* but the duke of *Ferrara* [b]. It is, however, true, that the pope ſollicited the *Venetians* with all the zeal imaginable; and finding all intreaties would not prevail, threatned at length to bring in the *Turks* upon them, which proved alſo ineffectual.

A. D. 1556.

The duke of Guiſe *enters* Italy, *notwithſtanding which the pope is reduced to make peace on the king of* Spain's *terms.*

AT the very opening of the year, the duke of *Guiſe* entered *Italy* with an army of twenty thouſand men; and, by the king's command, conferred with marſhal *de Briſac*, as to the conduct of the campaign. The marſhal obſerved, that their maſter had two things in view, the relief of the pope, who was extremely preſſed by the duke of *Alba*, and the recovery of the countries upon which he had a claim in *Italy*. He propoſed the invaſion of the duchy of *Milan*, as a meaſure which would anſwer both ends, ſince it would oblige the duke of *Alba* to retire out of the eccleſiaſtical ſtate, and would certainly put the king's forces in poſſeſſion of the beſt part of that duchy [c]. This propoſition was ſo reaſonable, that there was nothing to be ſaid againſt it, and yet the duke of *Guiſe* had no inclination to follow it. He approved it very readily; but as it did not agree with his inſtructions, he deſired that the marquis *de Villars* might be diſpatched to court with the marſhal's reaſons, in order to receive the king's commands; but, before he propoſed this advice, he had diſpatched a courier to the cardinal his brother. The marquis, at his arrival, ſtated the marſhal's propoſition to the council, where it was ſo ſtrenuouſly ſupported by the conſtable and the marſhal *de St. André*, that the king could not help applauding it. In the evening, however, the cardinal of *Lorrain*, the queen, and the duchefs,

[z] Dupleix. [a] Memoires de Boivin. [b] Memoires de Montluc. [c] Jacob. Thuan.

ſo

ſo importuned the king, that they obtained expreſs orders to the duke of *Guiſe* to march directly to *Rome*, and ſent back his courier with them in the night. The marquis *de Villars* being informed of this in the morning, went to the king booted and ſpurred, deſiring his diſpatch, purſuant to the reſolution taken in council, which gave *Henry* infinite diſquiet; but he made the beſt excuſe he could, acknowleged the marſhal *de Briſac*'s capacity and zeal for his ſervice, and ſent him a ſmall ſupply of money, which he had not obtained without [d]. We have reported this the more largely, as from this incident the reader may frame to himſelf a juſt idea of this monarch's conduct during his whole reign. When, in purſuance of theſe orders, the duke of *Guiſe* advanced into the papal territories, he was quickly convinced how ill he had taken his meaſures; and, after being deceived over and over by cardinal *Caraffa*, he was plainly told, that, the pope being unable to fulfil his treaty, he muſt act as well as he could. But, tho' pope *Paul* could not furniſh troops to his ally, he was very deſirous of aſſiſting *France* by his intrigues; and, with this view, ſet on foot a negotiation with the duke of *Tuſcany*, for the marriage of his ſon with *Elizabeth*, king *Henry*'s eldeſt daughter. *Coſmo de Medicis* received this propoſition with great reſpect and complaiſance, on which it was publiſhed at *Rome* that the marriage was concluded. King *Philip*, who knew the conſequence of this alliance, offered the duke the ceſſion of *Sienna*, and its territory, which was preciſely what he deſired, who thereupon excuſed himſelf as to the marriage, alleging himſelf to be highly honoured in the propoſition, which, however, it was unfit for ſo little a prince to accept. Thus the houſes of *Medicis* and *Farneſe* acquired by this war all they could deſire, without being expoſed either to danger or expence, while the duke of *Guiſe* found it abſolutely impoſſible to penetrate into the kingdom of *Naples*; and while things were in this ſituation, came the news of the total defeat of the *French* army at *St. Quintin*, with expreſs orders to the duke of *Guiſe* to return without delay [e]. By this means the pope was left entirely at the mercy of king *Philip*, who treated him with ſuch moderation in reſpect to his perſonal intereſts, with ſuch deference in regard to his political capacity, and with ſuch profound marks of reſpect for his dignity, by ordering the duke of *Alba* to go, in perſon, and make his ſubmiſſions to the pontif, that he gained him entirely, inſomuch that he told the duke of *Guiſe*, at his audience of leave, that in this expedition he had done little for the king, leſs for the intereſts of

[d] Memoires de Bouvin. P. Dan. Serres.

[e] Jacob. Thuan.

the holy ſee, and nothing for his own reputation [f]. The marſhal *de Briſac*, on the ſide of *Piedmont*, acted with the ſame vigilance and vivacity in this as in former campaigns, and with like ſucceſs; but as the king's jealouſy had ſent him to this diſtant command, ſo his weakneſs and condeſcenſion deprived *France* of all the advantages which, by his great courage and conduct, he had obtained.

England declares war, Spaniards invade Picardy, beat the French at St. Quintin.

THE king, though he did not take the field this year, ran no ſmall hazard of his life in his own palace; for one day as he was going to chapel, one *Caboche*, who had a ſmall place in the ſecretary's office, drew his ſword, and advancing haſtily towards his majeſty, cried out, "Stop King! I have a command from God to put you to death." But the *Swiſs* guards ſeized and prevented him from executing his purpoſe; and afterwards, by judgment of the parliament, he was hanged [g]. In the beginning of *June*, the queen of *England* ſent a herald at arms to denounce war, having at the ſame time given orders for embarking twelve thouſand men, which were to ſerve in conjunction with the troops of king *Philip* in the *Low Countries* [h]. This alarmed the *French* court exceedingly, as it was a ſtep they did not at all expect. The war in *Italy* had ſo occupied their councils, and ſo exhauſted the king's treaſures, that there were but few forces in the garriſons of *Picardy*, and ſcarce any in the field, when, in the month of *July*, the king of *Spain*'s army aſſembled, by the march of troops on all ſides, at *Givet*, where, when *Emanuel Philibert*, duke of *Savoy*, came to take upon him the command, they conſiſted of thirteen thouſand horſe, and fifty thouſand foot. In his march the duke ſeemed reſolved to beſiege firſt *Marienburgh*, and afterwards *Rocroi*; but on a ſudden, turning aſide in the beginning of the month of *Auguſt*, beſieged *St. Quintin*, which at this time was the ſtrongeſt place on the frontier of *Picardy*; but, having a very weak garriſon, could not have made any great reſiſtance. *Gaſpar de Coligni*, admiral of *France* and governor of *Picardy*, with ſeveral perſons of diſtinction, forced a paſſage into it, with five hundred horſe, and two hundred foot, where he diſpoſed every thing in the beſt manner he could for an obſtinate defence [i]. The conſtable, his uncle, had by this time drawn together an army of twenty-five thouſand men, with which he reſolved to throw a conſiderable body of infantry into the place. It was with this view that, on the 10th of *Auguſt*, which is regarded

[f] JACOB. THUAN. [g] Recueil des choſes memorables avenues en France depuis 1547, juſqú au commencement de 1594, pag. 53. imprimé a Heden 1603, in 8°. [h] BELCAR. [i] Memoires de Tavannes.

by

by the *Roman* church as the feaſt of St. *Laurence*, he paſſed the river *Somme*; and, having ſurprized the enemy, *Dandelot*, the admiral's brother, found means to get into the place with five hundred foot. It is agreed, by all hiſtorians, that if the conſtable had made his retreat immediately after the ſuccours entered, and before the duke of *Savoy* had recovered his ſurprize, which had obliged him to quit his own quarter to retire to that of count *Egmont*, he might have done it with ſafety; but he was ſo ſlow in his motions, and count *Egmont* preſſed ſo hard upon his rear, that the perſons who had the care of the artillery and baggage began to fly, which confuſion was ſo well improved by that count, that at length the duke of *Savoy* came up, and charged with his whole army; ſo that in the ſpace of half an hour, the whole *French* army was routed, with the loſs of three thouſand ſix hundred killed, and at leaſt as many taken, together with all the artillery, except two pieces of cannon, and the baggage entire [k]. But what was ſtill more diſaſtrous, as well as more diſhonourable to the nation, was the number of great perſons ſlain and taken priſoners; amongſt the former was the duke *D'Anguien*, the viſcount *de Turenne*, with upwards of ſix hundred gentlemen of note; the conſtable himſelf, the dukes of *Montpenſier* and *Longueville*, the marſhal *de St. André*, with upwards of three hundred other perſons of diſtinction were amongſt the latter [l].

THE conſtable is exceedingly blamed for making ſuch a retreat againſt the expreſs advice of the marſhal *de St. André*, and, after the misfortune that had befallen *Strozzi*, for not ſending away the baggage and artillery in time, of which he was put in mind by an old officer that ſerved under him, to whom, when things were at a criſis, the conſtable ſaid, "Tell "me, good old man, what ſhall we do?" "Really Sir, re-"plied he, I cannot now, but two hours ago I did;" and for not poſting ſome infantry with fire arms in his rear, who might have checked the enemy's cavalry, and ſaved the reſt of the army at their expence. On the other hand, the duke of *Savoy* is as loudly blamed for not marching directly to *Paris*, which all agree he might have done; but a *Spaniſh* writer wiſely aſked, could he as eaſily have come back? Adding, that his father perſuaded *Charles* the fifth to his expedition into *Provence*, where at their entrance they eat pheaſants, but fed upon roots, and were glad of them when they came back [m]. But, be this as it will, the duke of *Savoy* thought the advantage that might accrue from ravaging the flat country was

Remarks on the conduct of both parties.

[k] Annales France. [l] MEZERAY. [m] Memoires de Montluc.

not

not equivalent to the reduction of *St. Quintin*, and ſome other places on the frontier, from whence excurſions might be made at pleaſure; and king *Philip* acquieſcing in his reaſons, the duke returned to his camp before the place, to which, ſoon after, the king reſorted in perſon. The admiral *Coligni* [n] having, in the mean time, received ſome freſh ſuccours, laboured with incredible diligence to repair and ſtrengthen the place; on the other hand, the enemy changed their manner of attack, and proceeded by mining, till at length, all things being prepared, they renewed their firing, and, by the effects of their batteries and mines, having made five breaches, they prepared for a general aſſault, which, tho' he had no hopes of ſuccour, and very little of repelling, the admiral reſolved to ſuſtain, which he did with incredible valour, till, thro' the cowardice of one officer, the *Spaniards* entered the place, of which *Coligni* being informed, he went with a very few perſons of diſtinction, who were about him, to try whether any thing could be done, but was preſently ſurrounded and taken priſoner. The place was then forced on every ſide, and the greateſt part of the garriſon put to the ſword [o]. Many have blamed the admiral for ſacrificing ſo many brave men by his obſtinacy; which is very ſtrange, conſidering that the beſt informed writers agree that his obſtinate defence ſaved *France*, and fairly own, that, if but a thouſand men had paſſed the *Oyſe*, all its inhabitants were ready to abandon *Paris*: but a delay of three weeks gave people time to recover their ſpirits and their ſenſes; the king came thither in perſon, the duke of *Nevers*, and the reſt of the great officers who had eſcaped from the battle, drew together the ſcattered remains of the army, which was reinforced on all ſides, fifty perſons of quality undertook to defend each of them a town, and the great cities of the kingdom vied with each other in ſending ſums of money to the king, without being ſo much as aſked; ſo that *Henry* had reaſon to confeſs the truth of the laſt words which his father pronounced, "Remember, ſon, the *French* are the beſt people in the world:" but, after all, it is very difficult to know what turn things would have taken, if it had not been for the interpoſition of the *Swiſs*; for, while the king and all his miniſters and generals were labouring to aſſemble ſuch a force as might prevent the progreſs of the duke of *Savoy*, they were alarmed by an unexpected invaſion, upon which, in all probability, the duke of *Savoy* depended for the plundering of *Paris* [p], after the reduction of *St. Quintin*. There was one *Nicholas de Pollweiler*, a gentleman of diſtinction in *Alſace*,

St. Quintin taken by aſſault.

[n] Du Tillet. [o] Belcar. [p] Annales de France. Mez.

who

who pretended to raiſe, upon his own credit, a body of troops to march into *Hungary* againſt the *Turks*; but when they were in motion, and by throwing out dark expreſſions, he had increaſed their numbers to about ten thouſand men, he ſuddenly paſſed the *Rhine* at *Straſburgh*, and, notwithſtanding the neutrality eſtabliſhed for *Franche Comté*, penetrated as far as *Breſſe*, intending to proceed to *Lyons*, where he had ſome intelligence; and this threw the kingdom into ſuch a conſternation, as muſt have diſconcerted all *Henry*'s deſigns, if the cantons of *Bern*, *Friburgh*, and *Soleure*, had not thrown garriſons into ſeveral places, and begun to march ſuch a numerous body of troops, that *Pallweiler* thought fit to abandon his deſign, and to march precipitately into *Alſace* [q]. The duke of *Savoy*, with the *Spaniſh* army, reduced, in the month of *September*, *Catelet*, *Ham*, *Noyon*, and *Chauni*, and probably would have proceeded further, if the *Engliſh*, diſguſted with the haughtineſs of the great lords in the army, had not inſiſted upon going home, which they did; and a great body of *German* infantry, mutinying for want of pay, not only diſbanded, but went the greateſt part of them into the *French* ſervice; ſo that when the duke of *Guiſe* arrived, and had received the fourteen thouſand *Swiſs*, which the king had raiſed with his ſubjects free gifts, he was in a condition to ſtop the duke of *Savoy*'s progreſs; and, that he might do it the more effectually, he gave him the title of lieutenant-general of his armies, within and without the kingdom; and it was once propoſed to have given him that of viceroy. Thus the miſeries of *France* proved the ſource of the glory of the houſe of *Guiſe* [r]; but at the ſame time that the king heaped theſe favours upon the duke, he did not forget his father's caution not to raiſe the houſe of *Lorrain* too high, tho' he acted directly contrary to it; for he aſſured the conſtable that he acted merely from neceſſity; that he would never prejudice the authority of his office; that he retained the moſt ſincere affection for his perſon, and would always pay the greateſt reſpect to his advice; and in this, as it afterwards appeared, the king meant to keep his word [s].

Progreſs of the duke of Savoy.

A. D. 1557.

THE duke of *Guiſe*, on the other hand, ſtudied to augment his reputation, that he might at all times preſerve his power, which was already as great as could be enjoyed by a ſubject; and it fell out very fortunately for him that he diſcovered the admiral *Coligni*, being governor of *Picardy*, had formed a deſign of ſurpriſing *Calais* in the winter, had reduced the project he had formed for this purpoſe to writing, and had em-

The duke of Guiſe beſieges Calais *and reduces it.*

[q] Annales de France. [r] DU TILLET. P. DANIEL. [s] DUPLEIX.

ployed ſome of the moſt experienced officers who ſerved under h n, to examine every thing with the greateſt care. The duke of *Guiſe*, having read this paper, and examined the officers who had been truſted with the ſecret, ſaw, that notwithſtanding the great appearance of difficulty, there wanted in reality nothing but a little good conduct to make this enterprize ſecure; and, as things then ſtood, the conſtable and admiral being both priſoners, he had all things in his own power. He began, by ordering the privateers of *Normandy* and *Bretagne* to cruize in the channel, and more eſpecially in the very ſtreights of *Calais*; he then detached the duke of *Nevers* with a conſiderable army towards the country of *Luxembu gh*, which drew the attention of the *Spaniards* that way; and, when all things were ready, he procured an application from the people of *Bologne*, for a body of troops to ſecure them againſt the incurſions of the *Spaniards*; he ſent a ſtrong detachment at their requeſt, which was followed by another, under colour of ſupporting them, and then followed himſelf, ſecure that his officers would follow his inſtructions; and thus, on the firſt day of the new year, *Calais* was inveſted. He immediately attacked *Fort St. Agatha*, which the garriſon quitted, and retired into the fort of *Nieulai*, which, together with the *Riſbank*, they attacked at the ſame time, granted good terms to the officer who commanded in the former, but obliged the garriſon of the latter to ſurrender priſoners of war[t]. By this means he opened a communication with the ſea; and having received from on board the ſhips an immenſe quantity of hurdles, his infantry, by the help of theſe, paſſed the moraſſes that lie round the town. He then made a falſe attack at the water-gate, which drew the attention of the garriſon, who fatigued themſelves exceedingly in retrenching behind the breach; but when they had finiſhed their work, he began to fire upon the caſtle, where the walls were very old, and had been neglected on account of the breadth of the ditch, which was alſo very deep when the tide was in; but a great breach being made, the duke cauſed it to be attacked in the night, and during the ebb, the ſoldiers paſſing almoſt up to the ſhoulders. The place was eaſily carried, tho' the governor made three vigorous attacks before the break of day, in order to diſlodge them; but the *French*, tho' they loſt a conſiderable number of men, kept their poſts[u]. The governor then ſaw that it was impracticable to defend the place any longer; and therefore made the beſt terms for himſelf that he could, which, however, were not very good; and thus,

t: Annales de France. Rabutin. Dupleix.

u Memoires de Francois de Rabutin. Dupleix.

in

in eight days, the duke of *Guiſe* recovered a fortreſs, which coſt the victorious *Edward* the third a whole year's ſiege, and which had been now two hundred and ten years in the poſſeſſion of the *Engliſh*, without ſo much as a ſingle attempt to retake it. There are very different accounts given of this matter. Some *Engliſh* hiſtorians ſay, that king *Philip* penetrated the deſign of the *French* upon this fortreſs, gave notice of it in *England*, and offered to take the defence of it upon himſelf; but that this, out of jealouſy, was refuſed, it being believed to be only an artifice to get a place of ſuch conſequence into his own hands. The truth of the matter ſeems to be this; the ſtrength of *Calais* conſiſted in its ſituation and outworks, which required a very numerous garriſon; but this being attended with a very large expence, the beſt part of the troops there had been ſent to join *Philip*'s army; ſo that the governor had not above five hundred men, and there were not more than two hundred and fifty of the townſmen able to bear arms. As to ammunition, artillery, and proviſions, the *French* found there abundance; but with ſo ſlender a garriſon it was impoſſible to make a better defence; and, therefore, when the lord *Wentworth*, who was governor, and whom the *French* call lord *Dumfort*, was tried by his peers for the loſs of this place, he was acquitted [w]. The caſtle of *Guiſnes* ſurrendered alſo, after a ſhort, but a very ſharp, ſiege, and the garriſon in that of *Hames*, tho' the ſituation rendered it impregnable, abandoned it; ſo that, by the end of *January*, the *Engliſh* had nothing left of what for ſo long a time they had [x] poſſeſſed in *France*. The duke of *Guiſe* obliged all the *Engliſh* inhabitants to quit *Calais*, and beſtowed the government of it upon *des Termes*, who was ſoon after made a marſhal of *France* [y], in conſideration of his eminent ſervices in *Scotland* and *Italy*.

THE king, while this was doing in the field, held the ſtates, as is generally ſaid, or, as others ſtile them, an aſſembly of the notables at *Paris*, in which the parliament entered as a diſtinct body, and took place between the nobles and the people. The king demanded from this aſſembly three millions of livres, which were very chearfully granted [z]. The ſtates ſat but a week, and as ſoon as they ſeparated, the king went with the Dauphin to viſit the frontiers, and made a kind of triumphant entry into *Calais*. The houſe, or, as it began to ville, being now filled, the faction of *Lorrain*, was predominant; and to ſecure their authority, as well as in ſome meaſure to perpetuate it, they preſſed the marriage of the Dauphin with

The marriage of the Dauphin with Mary *queen of* Scots; *the taking of* Thionville, *and the great defeat at* Gravelines.

[w] HOLINSH. [x] Annales de France. [y] MEZERAY. P. DAN. [z] BELGAR.

queen *Mary* of *Scotland*, which was accordingly celebrated on the 24th of *April*[a]; but the *Scots* embaſſadors, who were ſent over by the ſtates to aſſiſt at the ſolemnity, having refuſed to acknowlege the Dauphin for their ſovereign, are ſaid to have paid dear for it, four of them dying with ſtrong ſuſpicions of poiſon, which threw a ſhade on that marriage, and verified the conſtable's prediction, that it would be fatal to both nations. But the cardinal of *Lorrain* and the duke of *Guiſe*, who were uncles to the queen, fortified their intereſt by it for the preſent. They procured, not long after, the king's permiſſion for the ducheſs dowager of *Lorrain* to viſit her ſon at *Peronne*: ſhe brought with her the famous *Granvelle*, biſhop of *Arras*, and the cardinal of *Lorrain* conducted thither the young prince. What the avowed motive of this interview might be does not very clearly appear; but it is commonly, and with great probability, ſuppoſed to have been the ſource of all the ſubſequent miſeries of *France*[b]. *Granvelle* informed the cardinal, that *Dandelot*, the admiral's brother, and the conſtable's nephew, was a zealous proteſtant. The cardinal told this to the king at his return, who did not believe it. He queſtioned him, however, about it publickly, as he attended him at dinner, and aſked particularly what he thought of the ſacrifice of the maſs? He anſwered firmly that he thought it an impiety. The king, going to throw a plate at him, hurt the Dauphin who ſtepped in between them, and immediately ſent *Dandelot* priſoner to the caſtle of *Melun*[c]. The pope, when he heard of it, was very angry that the king did not cauſe him to be burnt. The king deprived him of his great office of colonel general of the infantry, notwithſtanding the great ſervices he had performed, and beſtowed it upon *Montluc*, who was attached to the duke of *Guiſe*[d]. He attended that prince at the ſiege of *Thionville*, which, tho' a very ſtrong place, was taken in ſeventeen days; but it coſt the life of marſhal *Strozzi*, whoſe batoon was given to Monſieur *des Termes*[e]. Orders were ſent to that officer to march with a ſmall body of troops into the enemy's country, with an aſſurance that he ſhould be ſupported by the duke of *Guiſe*. Monſieur *de Termes* executed this command with all poſſible ſpirit and ſucceſs; he took *Dunkirk* and *Bergue-Saint-Winoc*, and penetrated as far as *Nieuport*. Hearing nothing of the duke of *Guiſe*, he was obliged to retreat, followed by count *Egmont*, with a ſuperior army, who forced him to a battle on the ſands, near *Graveline*, on the 13th of *July*, where, being expoſed to the fire of

[a] Thom. Cormer. [b] Jacob Thuan. [c] Belcarius. [d] Dupleix. P. Daniel. [e] Memoires de Montluc.

ten

ten *Engliſh* men of war, his troops were ſoon broke, about a third killed, another third taken priſoners, and himſelf and many perſons of diſtinction [f]. As for the reſt, they were moſt of them knocked on the head by the peaſants. The duke of *Guiſe* came in ſo good time with his army to cover the frontiers, that it highly raiſed his glory with the populace, tho' there wanted not thoſe who ſuſpected that marſhal *de Termes*, with his forces, had been ſacrificed with this view. Admiral *Clinton*, with a body of ſix thouſand *Engliſh*, made a deſcent in *Bretagne*, and became maſters of the town of *Conquet*; but they were quickly forced to reimbark by the duke *d'Eſtampes*, who, after throwing great garriſons into *Breſt* and *St. Maloes*, marched towards them with fifteen thouſand foot, and ſeven thouſand horſe.

The princes of the houſe of Lorrain *quarrel with the ducheſs of* Valentinois.

In *Italy* the *French* affairs declined extremely, and all the importunities of marſhal *Briſac*, to obtain ſupplies, were fruitleſs; and the cardinal of *Lorrain*, to juſtify his own conduct in this manner, gave out that *Briſac* had raiſed a fortune to himſelf, by diverting the public money to his own uſe. The ducheſs of *Valentinois* upon this charge abandoned the marſhal, for whom ſhe had ſhewn ſo much eſteem; and it was not without ſome difficulty that he obtained leave to come to court in order to vindicate himſelf, which he did ſo effectually, that he not only recovered his credit with the king, but grew alſo into his favour, which did not contribute to make his circumſtances eaſier in *Piedmont*, ſince thoſe who hated him for his abilities were now become jealous of him as their rival [g]. For theſe reaſons it was never put in his power to avail himſelf of the diverſions made by the *Turkiſh* fleet on the coaſts of *Naples* and *Sicily*, which were afterwards victualled in *Provence*; ſo that they rendered the *French* exceedingly odious throughout Chriſtendom, without rendering them any ſervice. At the cloſe of the ſummer, *Henry* and *Philip* both put themſelves at the head of their reſpective armies, which were encamped very near each other, as if they intended to decide all their quarrels by a battle. But on a ſudden things changed their face; for the princes of the houſe of *Lorrain* having taken the liberty to doubt whether a woman of ſeventy could pique herſelf on beauty, without being ridiculous, the ducheſs of *Valentinois*, in her turn, took the freedom of laying before the king the miſeries of his ſubjects, and adviſed him to make uſe of the conſtable to ſet on foot a negotiation for peace [h]. Upon this *Philip* gave that nobleman leave to go to the king's camp, where he was received by his maſter with all poſſible marks of

[f] Annales de France. Belcarius. [g] Jacob. Thuan.
[h] Memoires de Rabutin.

eſteem and tenderneſs. Yet a ſhort truce was all that followed, *Philip* inſiſting peremptorily upon the reſtitution of *Calais*, as *Henry* did that *Navarre* ſhould be reſtored to its ſovereign; but in the mean time died *Charles* the fifth, and *Mary* of *England*, which rendered *Philip* leſs poſitive, and made way for the conferences of *Chateau Cambreſis*, where the *Engliſh* and *Spaniſh* plenipotentiaries differing, they treated apart[1], and at length each concluded a ſeparate peace, notwithſtanding the Dauphin, by the king's command, had aſſumed the arms of *England*, as if upon the death of queen *Mary* he had acquired a title to that crown, in right of his conſort the queen of *Scots*; a circumſtance uſeleſs to *France*, and fatal to her.

Conſequences of the peace, the marriages in the royal family, and unfortunate death of the king.

THE princes of the houſe of *Lorrain*, ſenſible that their favour was rather on the decline, preſſed the marriage which had been promiſed between the duke, chief of their houſe, and the king's ſecond daughter the princeſs *Claude*, which was accordingly celebrated in the month of *February*[2], while the negotiations for peace were yet depending. The duke of *Guiſe* and his brother, according to the maxims of their policy, affected to blame a treaty which was ſo viſibly diſadvantageous to *France*, ſince for *Hames*, *Catalet*, and *St. Quintin*, they rendered one hundred and ninety eight fortified places to their enemies. But the conſtable had perſuaded the king that, in order to become truly puiſſant, he did not ſtand in need of any acceſſion of territory, but of a kingdom, where the people lived more at eaſe, had their lands better cultivated, and were addicted to induſtry and traffick. At the ſame time that he introduced theſe new maxims, he prevailed upon the king to diſcard two old ones, which he convinced him had been the one ruinous, and the other ſcandalous to his predeceſſor; and ſo long as they continued to influence his councils, could not fail of producing the ſame effects: the firſt was the pretenſions of the houſe of *Orleans* in *Italy*, which ſerved only to exhauſt the wealth and the force of the nation, and to exalt a number of new families in *Italy* to the rank and degree of princes; the other was the cloſe alliance with the *Turks*, which had indeed made the *French* formidable; but had, however, made them hated by all the princes in *Europe*. Theſe maxims once diſcarded, the quitting the places that were ſtill in their hands in *Italy* was a thing natural, and, in ſome meaſure, a thing political, which ought to have qualified the ſeeming inequality of the places rendered by the king, in compariſon of thoſe given up to *France* by the peace.

[1] Memoires de l'Amiral de Coligni. [2] Annales de France. Memoires de RABUTIN.

But,

But the true equivalent for all theſe places was the preſerving *Calais* and its dependencies, and the three imperial cities of *Metz*, *Toul*, and *Verdun*, which were of infinitely more conſequence to *France* than all that ſhe relinquiſhed, more eſpecially when it is conſidered, that, by reſtoring his territories, the king had in view alſo the gaining the duke of *Savoy*, who was to marry the king's ſiſter. At the beginning of *June* he came with the duke of *Alba* and the prince of *Orange*, and a train of one hundred perſons of quality, to receive the princeſs *Elizabeth* for king *Philip*, and to eſpouſe the princeſs *Margaret* himſelf. The firſt of theſe marriages being over [l], the king would hold a tournament, in which himſelf, with the duke of *Guiſe*, the duke of *Nemours*, and the prince of *Ferrara*, were defendants; the firſt day he acquitted himſelf with great applauſe, as he likewiſe did on the ſecond, which was the 30th of *June*; but in the evening he would break a lance with the count *de Montgomery*, the ſon of Monſieur *de Lorges*, captain of his guards, who was eſteemed one of the ſtrongeſt as well as one of the ableſt knights in *France*; the count did all he could to avoid it, and the queen preſſed the king not to enter the liſts again; but he perſiſted in his firſt intention, and in this encounter *Montgomery* broke his lance in ſhivers up to his hand, one of the ſplinters of which (the king inſiſting that they ſhould tilt with their vizors up), flew with great violence into his right eye, ſo that reeling from his horſe he was caught by the Dauphin and ſome other perſons of quality [m]. Some ſay that he loſt all ſenſe and the power of ſpeech, and that he never recovered either; others affirm that he forgave the count of *Montgomery*, and forbid his being queſtioned. His ſurgeons, on the taking off the firſt dreſſing, had very little hopes of his recovery; the duke of *Savoy*, who foreſaw the difficulties that would attend the reſtitution of his dominions, in caſe his marriage was deferred till the king's death, cauſed it to be repreſented to him, and it was thereupon celebrated on the 9th of *July* [n], ſome ſay, in the king's chamber, others, in the church of *Notre Dame*: on the 10th the king died, in the forty-ſecond year of his age [o], and in the 13th of his reign, exceedingly regretted by his ſubjects; for, with many faults, he had moſt of the qualities that endear a monarch in *France*; he was brave, liberal, and polite; and though he was not learned himſelf, yet he had a great affection and eſteem for learned men, and more eſpecially for poets. He died very unſeaſonably for *France*, ſince he was diſpoſed to have laid aſide the princes of *Lorrain*, to have

[l] J. de Serres. P. Dan. [m] Memoires de Brant.
[n] Belcar. Mez. [o] Thom. Cormer.

leſſened the taxes, and to have concerted other means of giving eaſe and ſatisfaction to his ſubjects [p] (H).

At

[p] Jacob. Thuan. Dupleix. Le Gendre.

(H) This great king, to whom the *French* writers, at leaſt ſome of them, have given the ſurname of *Belliqueux*, or, *warlike*, was indeed of a martial diſpoſition, and fortunate enough in ſome of his expeditions, particularly thoſe againſt the *Engliſh*, by which he recovered *Calais* and its dependencies, and kept them by a well-timed negotiation. He was magnificent in his court, rather than in his buildings; he was not very nice in his dreſs, though it has been remarked, as an evidence of his finery, that he wore ſilk ſtockings (1). He had ſome tincture of learning, and was a patron to men of letters, more eſpecially poets; he is blamed for ſuffering his court to ſink into every kind of vice and luxury, under the ſpecious titles of gallantry and politeneſs; ſo that he ſpent incomparably greater ſums in gratifying his humour, and by an ill-timed liberality, than his father had done under all his neceſſities (2). He eſpouſed, during the life time of his father and his brother, *Katherine de Medicis*, daughter of *Laurence*, duke of *Bourbon*, born at *Florence April* 13th, 1519, who, at the time of her marriage, tho' but fourteen, was eſteemed handſome. It is true, ſhe was not a regular beauty, but very agreeable; and, having excellent parts, and a good education, made it her principal ſtudy to ſuſtain the luſtre of her charms, by the prudence and affability of her behaviour. Yet, notwithſtanding this, and her being 19 years younger than his miſtreſs, ſhe never made any great impreſſion on the king's heart, nor had much ſhare in the management of affairs during his reign, at which, tho' ſhe was exceedingly chagrined, yet ſhe knew how to diſſemble it, and ſpent her time chiefly in the education of her children, whoſe tempers ſhe diligently ſtudied, and acquired over them an aſcendancy which ſhe preſerved to within a few years of her death (3). She was ten years before ſhe had any children. She bore afterwards ten, *Francis*, Dauphin and king of *Scots*, in right of his wife; *Lewis*, duke of *Orleans*, who died at two years of age; *Charles* who ſucceeded his brother *Francis*; *Alexander*, whoſe name at his confirmation was changed to *Henry*, who ſucceeded *Charles*; and *Hercules*, who at confirmation aſſumed the name of *Francis*, and who was ſucceſſively duke of *Alenſon*, *Brabant*, and *Anjou*, a prince of whom we ſhall have occaſion to ſay much hereafter, but whoſe character may be eaſily collected from the appellations given him by his mother and his brother *Henry*. The queen always called him her *Fils egaré*, that is, her *light-headed ſon*; and *Henry* never mentioned him by any other title

(1) *Dupleix, Le Gendre, Serres, Mezeray.* (2) *Catherine de Medicis.* (3) *J. de*

than

At the acceſſion of *Francis* the ſecond, he was not quite ſixteen years of age, weak in his conſtitution, and no way remarkable for the forwardneſs of his capacity [q]. His wife, *and the* *Acceſſion of* Francis II.

[q] J. de Serres. Mez. P. Dan.

than *ce Scelerat, that villain*, and charged the king of *Navarre*, who was afterwards his ſucceſſor, to put him to death, which was not in that monarch's nature (4). Her daughters were alſo five, *Elizabeth* or *Iſabella*, who was intended for *Edward* the ſixth of *England*, demanded for the Infant Don *Carlos*, and at length married to his father *Philip* the ſecond: ſhe died in childbed, *October* the 3d, 1568. *Claude*, who eſpouſed *Charles* the ſecond, duke of *Lorrain*; ſhe was the favourite daughter of the queen, who it is thought deſigned to place the crown of *France* on the head of her eldeſt ſon, in caſe ſhe had ſurvived *Henry* the third. *Margaret*, who was the firſt wife of *Henry*, king of *Navarre*. *Victoria* and *Joanna*, twins, who died in their cradles (5). Beſides theſe, the king had ſeveral natural children. By a *Scots* lady, whoſe name was *Fleming*, he had *Henry d'Angouleſme*, grand prior of *France*, and governor of *Provence*. By *Philippa*, who was a native of *Piedmont*, he had *Diana d'Angouleſme*, who firſt eſpouſed *Horatio Farneſe*, and afterwards *Francis de Montmorency*, in order to which the law was made againſt clandeſtine marriages. By madame *de Sevigné* he had *Henry de St. Remy*. By the ducheſs of *Valentinois* he had no children (6).

The manner of this monarch's death was ſo extraordinary, that an opinion very ſtrongly prevailed of its being foretold by *Luke Gauric*, a famous aſtrologer. As this fallacious art was the grand foible of that age, even the moſt judicious of *French* hiſtorians has given into this tale, and reports, that *Katherine de Medicis* having cauſed the king's horoſcope to be judged by the aſtrologer beforementioned, he predicted that the king would be killed in a duel by a wound received in his eye, for which he was extremely derided, till the king's misfortune verified his prediction (7). The firſt part of the ſtory is very likely to be true, and part of the laſt; for the judgment of *Gauric* was, that if the king ſurmounted the dangers with which he was threatened in the 63d and 64th years of his age, he would live happily to the age of ſixty-four years and nine months, in which he was miſtaken full thirty years (8). *Henry* the ſecond gave for his device a creſcent, with this motto, *Donec totum impleat orbem*; that is, 'till her orb ſhall become full, in honour of *Diana de Poitiers* (9). His body was interred with his anceſtors at *St. Denis*, the conſtable *de Montmorency* having this charge left to him by thoſe who excluded him from any ſhare in affairs of ſtate.

(4) *Popeliniere, Brantome.* (5) *Pr. Ilenault.* (6) *Scip. Dupleix.* (7) *Le Gendre.* (8) *J. de Serres.* (9) *Thuan. Hiſt. Popeliniere, P. Daniel, Mezeray.*

Mary

Settlement of the adminiſtration in the Guiſes.

Mary queen of *Scots* was alſo very young, but had infinitely better parts, which had been cultivated with great care by her mother and by her uncles [r]. In the eye of the law the king, however young or infirm, was of age, and at liberty to chuſe his own council, thoſe who in name were to govern under him; but who, in reality, were to govern both him and his kingdom. It was the full ſenſe of this that excited thoſe intrigues which gradually occaſioned troubles that were of near ſeventy years continuance [s] (I). The princes of the blood, who thought

[r] Jacob. Thuan. Dupleix. Mez. [s] Memoires de Michel de Caſtelnau.

(I) As this ſhort reign was remarkable only for faction and intrigue, it is abſolutely requiſite, in order to render the text intelligible, that we ſhould give the reader, in this note, a ſuccinct memoir of the ſtate of the court. The houſe of *Guiſe* was equally numerous and great, the duke having five brothers and two ſiſters. We ſhall ſpeak of the ladies firſt. The eldeſt, *Mary*, had eſpouſed firſt, *Lewis* duke of *Longueville*; and next, *James* the fifth, king of *Scotland*, whoſe dowager ſhe then was, regent of that kingdom, and mother to the reigning queen of *France* (1). *Louiſa*, who married *Charles de Croy*, prince of *Chimay* (2). The duke *Francis* was, in the opinion of all the writers of thoſe times, one of the moſt accompliſhed men in *France*, gentle, modeſt, affable, liberal, an excellent officer, a finiſhed courtier, polite without meanneſs, and ſincere without offence; ambition was his only vice, and moſt think that, if it had not been for his brother, he would have kept this within bounds (3). *Charles*, cardinal of *Lorrain*, archbiſhop of *Rheims*, was a man of great natural parts, aſſiſted by an excellent education, and an indefatigable ſpirit: he ſpoke eloquently, and wrote admirably: but his ambition was yet more boundleſs than his capacity; he was haughty and enterprizing in proſperity; and had but a ſmall ſhare of that fortitude which his brother poſſeſſed in a ſupreme degree. He was no enemy to reformation, if it might have been done in his own way; and it was ſuſpected would have brought in the confeſſion of *Augsburgh*, in order to have governed, with the title of primate, the church of *France* (4). *Claude*, duke of *Aumale*, *Lewis* cardinal of *Guiſe*, the grand prior of *France*, and the marquis of *Elbeuf*, acted under their brethren, and rendered the family ſo much the more formidable by their adhering cloſely to each other (5). The princes of the blood were all of the houſe of *Bourbon*. The head of it, *Anthony*, king of *Navarre*, was a mild good-natured honeſt man, indolent, given to women, and

(1) *Buchan.* (2) *P. Pufficer, Introduction a l'Hiſtoire des Maiſons Souveraines, tom. i. p.* 309. (3) *P. Daniel.* (4) *J. de Serres.* (5) *Brantome.*

leſs

thought they had a right, from cuſtom and the conſtitution, to be conſulted in the conduct of affairs, were excluded thro' jealouſy of their great power, as if they were like to be leſs dangerous when offended, than when employed. The conſtable, his children, and nephews, who, from their credit in the laſt reign, were of themſelves a party, met with the ſame treatment, the king declaring that he meant to confide the management of his affairs to the *Guiſes*, the duke having the direction of whatever regarded military affairs, and his brother

leſs eſteemed than he would have been from his loving his country ſincerely, and having an inclination, if it had been poſſible, to live in quiet (6). His brother *Lewis*, prince of *Condé*, did not reſemble him in the leaſt, except in his paſſion for women. He was a little man, and had nothing ſtriking, either in his perſon or manners: his fortune was very narrow, not above ſix thouſand livres a year; but he was brave, active, enterprizing, eloquent when he took the pains to ſpeak, and equally firm in council and in action (7). The duke of *Montpenſier* was a gallant man, but a zealous papiſt, and ſtrongly attached to the court. His brother, the prince of *Roche Guion*, followed his example, and never changed ſides (8). The conſtable *Anne de Montmorency*, was very juſtly reputed the wiſeſt man in *France*. He remained firm in the old religion, through the perſuaſions of his wife, who continually put him in mind that he was the firſt Chriſtian baron (9). He had five ſons, of whom *Francis* the eldeſt was marſhal of *France*; *Henry*, who took the name of *Damville*, was marſhal likewiſe, and afterwards conſtable. His other ſons were likewiſe powerful. *Gaſpar de Coligni*, admiral of *France*, was nephew to the conſtable, and the great rival of the duke of *Guiſe*. He was a zealous proteſtant, and regulated his life by the principles of his religion; one of the ableſt ſtateſmen and greateſt captains of his time; and, though very unfortunate, yet this was ſo far from tarniſhing, that it added luſtre to his reputation (10). His ſecond brother *Dandelot*, colonel general of the infantry of *France*, was a man of a warmer temper, but not at all leſs ſteady. He was impriſoned and diſgraced in the reign of *Henry* the ſecond for his religion, which he never diſſembled, and which he bravely defended (11). The third brother *Odet*, cardinal *de Chatillon*, and biſhop of *Beauvais*, received the hat at ſeventeen, which did not hinder his becoming a zealous proteſtant. He married towards the end of his life, and took the title of count *de Beauvais*. He was naturally indolent; but, being once embarked in buſineſs, became an able negotiator (12).

(6) *Thuan. Davila.* (7) *Thom. Comer.* (8) *Caſtelnau.* (9) *Scip. Dupleix.* (10) *Vie de Coligni.* (11) *Thuan. Hiſt.* *Popeliniere.* (12) *Brantome.*

the

the cardinal of *Lorrain* having the management of the finances, and the domeſtic œconomy. Though this agreed with, it was not ſo much the effects of the king's choice, as of the two queens. The dowager was perſuaded, if the princes were admitted into a ſhare, they would ſoon poſſeſs themſelves of the whole adminiſtration; and, looking upon it as their right, pay her nothing more than exterior reſpect; and as for the conſtable, ſhe hated him and his whole family. On the other hand, the *Guiſes* ſought her friendſhip, and being the uncles of the young queen, could not be eaſily diſgraced. Beſides, ſhe wanted ſupport, and therefore ſhe inſiſted only on one condition, which was, their abandoning the duchess of *Valentinois* to her reſentment, which, without regard either to gratitude or their alliance, the duke of *Aumale*, having married her daughter, they did [t]. The marſhal *St. André* adhered to the *Guiſes*; he was a voluptuous man, and immerſed in debt, able to give a fair appearance to whatever meaſures he purſued, and who purſued this, becauſe, neither in point of inclination or eſtate, it was not at all convenient for him to quit the court.

Aſſembly of malecontents at Vendoſme *the coronation, and the retreat of the king of* Navarre.

When this ſtep was taken, it rendered many others neceſſary. The king was inſtructed to recommend repoſe and a retired life to the conſtable, who thereupon went to his noble ſeat at *Chantilly*: his office of maſter of the houſhold was taken from him, and given to the duke of *Guiſe*; but, to make him ſome ſmall amends, his eldeſt ſon was declared marſhal of *France*. The prince of *Condé* was ſent into *Flanders*, with a ratification of the late peace, and the collar of the king's order to the king of *Spain* [u]. In his abſence the government of *Picardy*, which had been intended for him by the late king, was beſtowed on the marſhal *Briſac*, who, chagrined at the ill uſage of his old friend, was amazed, but at the ſame time obliged by this act of juſtice, in thoſe whom he had never conſidered in that light. The ſeals being taken from *Bertrandi*, now become a cardinal, were reſtored to the chancellor *Olivier*, which raiſed the reputation of the new miniſtry; and ſome other promotions were made with the like view [w]. The conſtable, as ſoon as the late king was wounded, had written to *Anthony*, king of *Navarre*, firſt prince of the blood, to preſs his coming to court. In purſuance of this advice, he was come as far as *Vendoſme*, where he was met by the admiral *Coligni*, his two brothers *Dandelot* and the cardinal *de Chatillon*, with ſeveral other perſons of great diſtinction, and at length joined by the prince of *Condé*, on his

[t] Jacob. Thuan. P. Dan. [u] Memoires de Michel de Caſtelnau. [w] Duplaix.

return

return from *Flanders*. There they deliberated on the ſtate of affairs, and the ill uſage they had met with; the prince *Dandelot* and ſome others were for having recourſe to arms, under pretence that the king was in the hands of ſtrangers; but his brother the king of *Navarre*, and the majority of that aſſembly, were for milder meaſures [x]. Upon this the king was ſent to court, where he was cajoled by the queen-mother, and but indifferently treated by the miniſters, who ſhewed ſo little reſpect to his dignity, as a king and firſt prince of the blood, that, when he came to *St. Germain en Laye*, he might have lain in the ſtreets, if the marſhal *de St. André*, out of pure politeneſs, had not offered him his apartments in the caſtle [y]. However, he and the prince of *Condé* both aſſiſted at the king's coronation on the 18th of *September*, at *Rheims*, which was performed by the cardinal of *Lorrain*, archbiſhop of that ſee [z]. After this, the king of *Navarre* was invited to council, where a letter was read from the king of *Spain*, importing, that he had intelligence of ſome diſcontents in the kingdom, and offering whatever aſſiſtance could be deſired for the ſupport of the young king's authority. The queen-mother, perceiving that this wrought, as it was expected it would, upon the king of *Navarre*, deſired that he would conduct her daughter the princeſs *Elizabeth* to the frontiers of *Spain*, which would afford him an opportunity of entering into a negotiation for the recovery of his dominions, in which ſhe promiſed him all the aſſiſtance that was in her power [a]. *Anthony* accepted this commiſſion; and meeting with the duke of *Alva* on the frontiers, he ſo charmed him with fair words and deluſive promiſes, that he retired into *Bearn*, and quitted the party of the male-contents.

Popular edicts about erecting of the Chambres Ardentes; *the execution of the count* de Bourg.

THE court ſeemed now ſo well ſettled, that they had nothing to fear, which, however, did not hinder them from concerting and carrying into execution every meaſure poſſible for their ſecurity; but, tho' this was the real view, they took care to conceal it, and to frame the edicts publiſhed in the king's name in ſuch a manner, that they appeared to be calculated ſolely for the public good. They forbad the carrying of fire arms, or wearing ſuch dreſſes as might conceal them, to prevent miſchief and murder in the ſtreets. They reſumed lands alienated from the royal domain; they obliged all who had two or more places, to make choice of one, and to quit the reſt. By theſe methods they provided for their own ſecurity, and for their own creatures. They likewiſe made a promotion of eighteen knights of the order at once, which, tho' it grati-

[x] Memoires de Boivin. MEZ. [y] SERRES. DUBLEIX.
[z] BELCAR. [a] DAVILA.

fied

fied many, expoſed that honour, to which the firſt ſubjects had hitherto eagerly aſpired, to a degree of contempt, from which it never recovered [b]. But when, by theſe other arts, they had thoroughly eſtabliſhed themſelves, and procured a general ſubmiſſion, they began to diſcover another kind of ſpirit, which at once augmented the number of their enemies, and furniſhed with matter of complaint multitudes, eſpecially of military perſons out of employment, moſt of which repaired to court, ſome to ſolicit their arrears, and others to obtain relief. The cardinal of *Lorrain*, vexed with their applications, and not knowing how to content them, publiſhed an edict, by which they were commanded to retire in a very ſhort ſpace, on pain of being
A. D. 1559. hanged without proceſs. The king going for his health to *Blois*, they perſuaded him, that, to tread in the ſame path, and fulfill the will of his deceaſed father, he ſhould, by an edict, add a chamber to each of the parliaments in the kingdom for the proſecution of heretics; and from the fury with which they proceeded, and the puniſhment to which they condemned thoſe who were convicted before them, they were ſtiled *Chambres Ardentes*, i. e. *Burning Chambers* [c]. At *Paris*, the preſident *Minard*, who was remarkably violent, being killed in the ſtreets, this was revenged upon *Anne du Bourg*, nephew to the chancellor of the ſame name, counſellor of the parliament of *Paris*, a man of invincible firmneſs and incorruptible probity, who had been condemned in the late reign for his religion, and was now hanged and burnt on the nineteenth of *December*, at the common place of execution, where he behaved with an intrepidity [d] worthy of his own reputation, and of the cauſe of truth in which he ſuffered.

The aſſemblies of the proteſtants. In conſequence of theſe acts of violence a new ſpirit began to manifeſt itſelf throughout the kingdom; thoſe who had embraced the reformed religion, and were very numerous, ſaw that it was abſolutely impoſſible for them to ſerve God in the way which they thought was moſt acceptable to him, without expoſing themſelves to impriſonment, tortures, and death. The more conſiderate catholics, amongſt whom were ſome prelates and many of the clergy, diſapproved this furious conduct, and teſtified an inclination to conciliate mens minds by a juſt and reaſonable reformation, under legal authority; the ſcandalous ignorance, and more ſcandalous vices of moſt of thoſe eccleſiaſtics who drove on theſe furious meaſures, diſcrediting their cauſe, much more than the authority of the court could advance it. The admiral and his brothers were avowed proteſtants; the king of *Navarre*, and his brother

[b] Memoires de Caſtelnau. Mez. [c] Jacob. Thuan.
[d] P. Daniel.

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the prince of *Condé*, were inclined to the reformed religion; and, therefore, in the firſt general aſſembly held at *Nantes*, at which were preſent one hundred and fifty deputies from the reformed in all the different provinces, it was reſolved to take the only meaſure left for their own defence, that of putting themſelves in arms, with which view the prince of *Condé* was choſen *Chef muet*, i. e. *the ſilent or concealed chief*, and *John du Barri*, Seigneur *de la Renaudie*, *Chef viſible*, or the acting and avowed head of the proteſtants [e]. This gentleman is on all hands allowed to have been a perſon of great parts and moſt determined reſolution; but is reported to have been guilty of ſome irregularities in his youth, which might have been fatal to him, but for the favour of the duke of *Guiſe*. Subordinate chiefs were likewiſe choſen to direct the intended armament in different provinces; and *Renaudie* was ſent over to *England* to ſollicit the countenance and pecuniary aſſiſtance of queen *Elizabeth*, in which his views were furthered by the imprudent conduct, or rather by the exorbitant ambition of the houſe of *Guiſe*, who, not content with the abſolute direction of the two kingdoms of *France* and *Scotland*, aſpiring to the like dominion over *England*, kept up the claim of their niece to that crown, and endeavoured to ſuppreſs the reformed in *Scotland*, which conſtrained *Elizabeth*, for her own ſecurity, to aſſiſt both the *Scotch* and the *French* malecontents [f]. The reformed in this kingdom, being once apprized of her ſentiments, and thoſe of the *German* princes in another aſſembly, reſolved to ſurprize the court at *Blois*, to ſecure the perſons of the king and of the *Guiſes*, or rather to rid themſelves of the latter, to oblige the king to declare the prince of *Condé* lieutenant general of the realm, and, in ſhort, to change the whole face of affairs [g]. They fixed the 15th of *March* for this enterprize, for the execution of which, their forces were to defile, with all poſſible ſecrecy, in ſmall numbers, under chiefs already appointed from every quarter. This was conducted with ſuch profound ſecrecy, that the court had not the leaſt intelligence of it, till *Renaudie*, having communicated the whole of it to *Peter Annelles*, an advocate of *Paris*, with whom he lodged, this man, either thro' fear or from ſome other motive, gave intelligence of it to the court [h], where at firſt the thing appeared ſo amazing, that it was ſcarce credited; but upon cloſer enquiry it was thought requiſite to loſe no time in providing for the king's ſecurity and their own; in order to which the duke of *Guiſe* was confirmed in his poſt of

[e] Annales de France. Belcar. P. Dan. [f] Camden's Annales of Queen Elizabeth. [g] Belcarius. Dupleix. [h] Mezeray.

lieutenant

lieutenant general of the kingdom, and the court removed from the castle of *Amboise*, of which those embarked in this hazardous undertaking were apprized [i]; but, finding themselves so far advanced, resolved to proceed, more especially as the prince of *Condé* was actually with the king, and there were also many other persons about the court, of whose good intentions towards them they had, or persuaded themselves they had, reason to be assured. Thus both sides seemed to agree to put the king to a trial, in a manner that must of necessity throw the whole realm into convulsions.

Conspiracy of Amboise *defeated; cruelties thereupon, and narrow escape of the prince of* Condé.

IT was foreseen by the duke of *Guise*, that respect to the king's name and the influence of his own authority, would enable him to assemble troops enough to disappoint those who were embarked in this attack; and, by his great resolution, joined to his indefatigable diligence, and his superior skill in military affairs, it ended as he imagined it would. The count *de Sancerre* defeated the troops from *Bearn*, the duke *de Nemours* surprized the baron *de Castelneau*, and made him prisoner, with the greatest part of his officers; *Pardaillan* fell upon *Renaudie* in a wood, defeated the troops that still remained with him, and, in a personal engagement, ran him twice thro' the body; his page also shot him through with a harquebuss, notwithstanding which that desperate man killed the page. His body was exposed upon a gibbet, and afterwards quartered; three of the chiefs who surrendered were tortured and put to death in the presence of the queen-dowager and of all the ladies of her court. One of them, whose name was *Villemonge*, having first washed his hands in the blood of one of his companions, held them up to Heaven, and cried out, "Lord, revenge our cause." Upwards of twelve hundred were beheaded, hanged, or drowned in the river; the streets of *Amboise* literally swam with blood. The good old chancellor *Olivier*, after having laboured all he could to recommend milder measures, died of regret and horror, at the sight of cruelties, which it was not in his power to prevent [k]. *La Bigne*, secretary to *la Renaudie*, was grievously tortured, in order to oblige him to accuse the prince of *Condé*, who was confined; but all that could be drawn from him was, that he had heard him reported to favour them. The prince being admitted to speak for himself before the council, made his defence with great intrepidity and eloquence, closing his speech with observing, that, as there were only suspicions and insinuations against him, he could only offer to maintain his innocence with his sword, against any who should question it.

[i] Serres. Le Gendre.

[k] L'Histoire du Tumulte d'Amboise.

The duke of *Guiſe*, obſerving the impreſſion which his diſcourſe had made on all the aſſembly, roſe up, and profeſſing a belief of what the prince had ſaid, offered to be his ſecond [l]. This was only the effects of a reſolution taken to diſſemble what they knew, in order to prevent the prince from putting himſelf immediately and openly at the head of the proteſtants, in caſe they ſpared his life, or of provoking the king of *Navarre*, with the conſtable, the admiral, and his brethren, to take the like ſtep, if they put the prince of *Condé* to death. He very well underſtood this; ſo that, notwithſtanding the feigned reconciliation which followed upon the compliment paid him by the duke of *Guiſe*, he was no ſooner at liberty than he retired into *Bearn* to his brother [m].

Methods taken to conciliate all parties.

It required no great penetration to foreſee that what had paſſed might, inſtead of appeaſing, excite freſh trouble; and therefore art was to atchieve what had been begun by force: a relation of what had paſſed at *Amboiſe* was tranſmitted to the conſtable, with the king's expreſs orders to communicate it to the parliament of *Paris*, which he did, with great compliments to the duke of *Guiſe*; but he took the liberty of dropping the moſt material part of the relation, which was, that the conſpiracy reached the king's perſon, becauſe he knew it was not true. The parliament complimented the court, and particularly the duke of *Guiſe*, to whom they gave the ſounding title of *Preſerver of his Country* [n]. Pieces of the ſame kind were tranſmitted to all parts of the kingdom, and the king wrote particularly to the two princes in *Navarre*, and to admiral *Coligni* in *Normandy*, to diſpel any inſurrections, and to keep things quiet. The queen-mother wrote to the latter, preſſing him exceedingly to perform what the king expected, and to give her his advice on the preſent ſtate of affairs, which he performed with great freedom. He told her, that, to reſtore the public tranquillity, two things were neceſſary; to remove the houſe of *Guiſe*, and to grant them liberty of conſcience; after which, if ſhe aſſumed the government entirely into her own hands, her prudence would teach her to preſerve the peace which ſhe had reſtored [o]. *Katherine* ſaw it was impoſſible to take this advice, as things then ſtood; but, however, ſhe did not diſlike it. *Michael de l'Hoſpital*, the ſon of the conſtable *de Bourbon*'s phyſician, was raiſed by her favour to the high poſt of chancellor of *France*; he put the ſeal to the famous edict of *Romertin*, by which the deciſion and declaration of hereſy was left to the biſhops, and power

[l] Annales de France. Serres. Dupleix. [m] Belcar. Jacob. Thuan. [n] P. Daniel. [o] Memoires de Caſtelnau. Belcarius.

given to the ſubaltern judges to puniſh without appeal; which, it is ſaid, he would not have done, if it had not been to avoid introducing the inquiſition [p]. It was chiefly by his advice the reſolution was taken to aſſemble the princes, the great lords, prelates, and miniſters, which is, what the *French* call, *Aſſemblée des Notables*, in the month of *Auguſt*, at *Fontainbleau* [q]; and in the mean time a treaty was made with queen *Elizabeth*, by which their majeſties quitted all pretenſions to *England*, and abandoned their attempt to ſuppreſs the reformed religion in *Scotland*, where the death of the queen-mother had fallen out very unſeaſonably for their ſchemes; for ſhe was a princeſs of great modeſty and moderation, and, tho' ſtrongly attached to the old religion, was very willing to take any meaſures, or to make any conceſſions that were requiſite to preſerve her daughter's authority [r].

Aſſemblée des Notables held without effect; an aſſembly of the ſtates ſummoned.

UPON the departure of the court for *Fontainbleau*, the *Guiſes*, under colour of providing for the king's ſafety, but in which at the ſame time they had their own ſecurity chiefly in view, aſſigned him a new guard of two hundred muſquetaires, commanded by *Anthony du Pleſſis Richlieu*, who had many bad, and but few good qualities, excluſive of determined courage. The aſſembly was opened on the 21ſt, when the conſtable with his ſons, and the admiral with his brethren, appeared. The king was ſeated on his throne, with the two queens, and the princes, his brothers, by him, and the buſineſs of the aſſembly was opened by the duke of *Guiſe* and the cardinal of *Lorrain* [s]. At the ſecond ſeſſions, the admiral preſented the king a petition in favour of the Proteſtants, who about this time began to be ſtiled Hugonots. This was warmly oppoſed by the duke and the cardinal, but it was boldly ſeconded by *Montluc*, biſhop of *Valens*, and *Charles de Marillet*, archbiſhop of *Vienne*, who inveighed bitterly againſt the general want of learning and of morals amongſt the clergy; preſſed a national council for regulating the diſputes in religion; alleging, that ſince the flame appeared in all parts of the kingdom, it would be weakneſs to ſend for water from the *Tiber* to put it out, when the *Seine* was ſo near at hand. At length it was agreed that a general aſſembly of the ſtates ſhould be called in the beginning of the year, and that the proſecution of the Proteſtants ſhould be ſtayed in the mean time [t]. The reaſon why the court yielded to an aſſembly of the ſtates, was, in hopes of drawing all the chiefs of the malecontents into the ſame place, and conſequently of ſurprizing them at

[p] JACOB. THUAN. P. DAN. [q] DAVILA. Memoires de Caſtelnau. [r] DUPLEIX. [s] BELGAR. [t] J. DE SERRES. MEZ.

once.

once. It was with this view that they laboured aſſiduouſly, tho' with all poſſible ſecrecy, to ſtrengthen their own hands, and inſtead of *Meaux*, which had been the place firſt named, declared, in the king's name, that the ſtates ſhould be held at *Orleans*. Some attempts were in this ſpace likewiſe made by the adherents of the prince of *Condé*, to ſurprize *Lyons*, in which they were diſappointed, by the king of *Navarre*'s ſending a countermand as ſoon as he was acquainted with it, for which the *French* blame his irreſolution; whereas the truth ſeems to be, that he had no intent to rebel. Such was the diſmal ſtate of things in this nation!

The prince of Condé *is condemned, and the king of* Navarre *is very near ſuffering death.*

WHILE the nation was in this ſuſpence, and thoſe, who had the welfare of *France* at heart, conceived great hopes that meaſures would be effectually taken in the ſtates for procuring ſuch a reform of abuſes of all kinds, as might qualify that violent fermentation, which religious and factious diſputes had occaſioned, the *Guiſes* purſued inflexibly their own plan; and having diſpoſed every thing in the beſt manner poſſible to keep the provinces in ſome degree of order, brought the young king to *Orleans*, with his new guards, and drew gradually, under a variety of pretences, conſiderable forces into the neighbourhood, and by degrees into the city. In the beginning of *October*, the king wrote to the king of *Navarre*, in very preciſe terms, to repair to the aſſembly, and to bring with him his brother the prince of *Condé*, to which, however, neither of them were much inclined [t]. The marſhal *de St. André* was thereupon ſent to invite them, charged to give them the ſtrongeſt aſſurances, and to pledge the king's royal word for their ſafety. The cardinal *de Bourbon*, an honeſt innocent man, was alſo prevailed upon to join his intreaties, and, as the memoirs of thoſe times ſay, the miſtreſſes of the king and prince were engaged by preſents to join their endeavours, which at length had their effect, notwithſtanding all poſſible pains were taken, by the true friends of the houſe of *Navarre*, to ſhew the king the danger into which he was on the point of plunging himſelf and his brother in their paſſage [w]. They were met by the princeſs of *Conde*, who laboured to diſſuade her huſband from going farther; and the principal lords and gentlemen of the Hugonot party uſed their laſt efforts to engage the king of *Navarre* to put himſelf at their head, offering to furniſh him in a ſhort time with twenty thouſand men. The princes nevertheleſs proceeded, but were ſcarce within the walls of *Orleans*, before they found juſt reaſon to repent truſting to the promiſes that had been made them [x]. The

[t] POPELINIERE. Memoires de Caſtelnau. [w] DUPLEIX.
[x] JACOB. THUAN. SERRES.

prince of *Condé*, after having been very rudely uſed by the king, was ſent to priſon, and guards were ſet upon the king of *Navarre*[y]. Commiſſioners were named without delay for the trial of the prince; theſe were, the preſident *Chriſtopher de Thou*, *Bartholomew Fayes*, and *James Viole*, counſellors of parliament. *Gilbert Bourdin*, and the attorney general, and *John du Tillet*, ſecretary to the parliament, aſſiſted in their reſpective offices. The prince appealed to the king in his parliament of *Paris*, aſſiſted by the peers, as his proper judges; the council declared this appeal void; the commiſſioners proceeded, and ſentenced the prince of *Condé* to ſuffer death[z]. Mr. *de Thou* tells us, this ſentence was not ſigned; but other writers aſſure us that it was, by all the privy council and knights of orders; only the chancellor and one of the counſellors of parliament deſired time, and the count *de Sancerre*, when it was propoſed to him, anſwered roundly, *I ſhall not ſign at all*[a]. The next point was to involve the king of *Navarre*; and, as they had no evidence, the great hiſtorian beforementioned reports, that a ſcheme was laid by marſhal *St. André*, that the king ſhould ſend for him, reproach him roughly with being a traitor, and, upon his anſwering with any vehemence, as it was likely he would, ſome poſted near him for that purpoſe, on a ſign given, were to plunge their daggers in his breaſt[b]. He was accordingly invited to this fatal interview, in which, tho' he anſwered with great ſpirit, yet it was with ſo much decency, and with ſuch ſtrong demonſtrations of innocence, that, without making the appointed ſign, he was diſmiſſed, at which *Guiſe* was ſo provoked, that he was heard to ſay, in the corner of the room, *what a weak and cowardly prince*[c]. The hiſtorian does not affirm this, but ſays, he had it from good hands, and from thoſe who committed it to writing at the time; ſo that there is a very high probability of its being true, more eſpecially if we conſider, that it is on all hands agreed that the *Guiſes*, foreſeeing the danger of ſetting him at liberty, after putting his brother to death, earneſtly preſſed the queen-mother to behead him likewiſe, without any proceſs at all, alleging, that to free religion and government from danger, by taking off two heads, would be ſecuring the public ſafety at a very eaſy price. Such was the ſpirit of theſe princes, and the politics of thoſe times!

They are both de-

In this critical ſituation of things, when the continuance of the prince's life hung but by a thread, and that too as it were

[y] Memoires de Caſtelnau. [z] Popelinière. Mez. P. Dan. [a] Memoires de Caſtelnau. [b] Jacob. Thuan. [c] Chalons.

between

between the ſheers, the young king having rejected rudely enough the princeſs's application for mercy, providence interpoſed. The king, riſing early one morning to hunt, that he might avoid the ſight of an execution, a diverſity of which were the ſole diſtinctions of his unhappy reign, fainted while they were combing his hair; and when he came to himſelf, complained of an intolerable pain of the head. He had a fiſtula in one of his ears, which his phyſicians had conſidered as the ſymptom of an abſceſs; and, therefore, they quickly pronounced him in the utmoſt danger, which gave a new turn to affairs [d]. The duke of *Guiſe*, and the cardinal of *Lorrain*, very earneſtly preſſed the queen-mother to put the king of *Navarre*, as well as the prince of *Condé*, to death; to which ſhe anſwered irreſolutely, and with tears. At length, being importuned for a poſitive anſwer, ſhe demanded a few hours to conſider of it, in which ſpace ſhe conſulted her oracle the chancellor, who, laying hold of this opportunity, ſet the thing in a true light. He told her, that tho' ſhe was a queen and the mother of kings, ſhe was at the ſame time a woman and a ſtranger; that to put the king of *Navarre* to death without a trial, would be to render herſelf the execration of *France*, and at the ſame time make ſuch a precedent, as, from the moment it was made, ſhe would have the greateſt reaſon to fear. Yet, that this was not more dangerous than to behead the prince of *Condé*, and leave the king of *Navarre* alive, who, the moment the king expired, muſt be ſet at liberty, and who would then have, not only the *Calviniſts*, but all the nobility of *France*, ready to eſpouſe his intereſt and his reſentment. But, if ſhe took the contrary courſe, the *Guiſes*, having no ſupport but her favour, muſt receive her commands with ſubmiſſion, at the ſame time that the princes would adhere to her from gratitude: that the ſafety of the monarchy depended on a reconciliation of theſe jarring intereſts, and, that gaining this abſolute aſcendancy, would put that reconciliation in her power [e]. The queen, who ſaw the rectitude of this advice, purſued it with ſteadineſs and dignity. She ſent for the king of *Navarre*, and after affirming that ſhe had his life, as much as his brother's, in her power, ſhe preſcribed the terms, upon which they might both be ſaved, which conſiſted in his reſignation of the regency in her favour, upon the enſuing minority, and a reconciliation with the *Guiſes*. The king came readily enough into the firſt, but ſhewed great reluctance as to the ſecond; but at length was forced to comply. This reconciliation was made in the chamber of the dying

livered by the ſudden and unexpected death of the king.

A. D. 1560.

[d] Davila. Memoires de Caſtelnau. Serres. Jacob. Thuan. P. Dan. [e] Jacob. Thuan. P. Dan.

king, who, to facilitate it, took all upon himſelf, profeſſing, that whatever had been done was by his orders, and without any inſtigation of the *Guiſes*, who, he affirmed, were conſtantly interceding for the princes [f]. This was the laſt action of this unhappy monarch, who expired on the 5th of *December*, when he wanted ſomewhat leſs than two months of eighteen years, after a reign of a year and five months [g]. He was ſtiled the king without vice, which, as *Mezeray* well obſerves, would have been a high character, if it had proceeded leſs from a want of capacity, than from a want of inclination [h]. At the death of the king his father, the care of his body and his funeral was left to the conſtable, the queen-mother and the *Guiſes* having other things to mind; but the body of this poor prince was ſo totally abandoned, that if his governors, the Sieurs *de la Broſſe* and *de Sanſac*, had not interpoſed, there had been no care taken of it at all. This extreme ingratitude in the *Guiſes* provoked ſomebody to throw a note upon his coffin, in which were theſe words, *Where then is Tannegui du Chaſtel? But he was a Frenchman!* alluding to that brave man, who, at the hazard of his life and the expence of his fortune, cauſed the corpſe of *Charles* the eighth to be magnificently interred, tho' he knew it would be conſidered as a crime by *Lewis* the eleventh [i]. The Hugonots conſidered his death as a deliverance, and the manner of it as a judgment.

Acceſſion of Charles IX. *the conſtable recalled, who joins with the* Guiſes *and the marſhal* de St. André.

CHARLES, duke of *Orleans*, who, at his baptiſm received the name of *Maximilian*, ſucceeded to the throne by the death of his brother, being between ten and eleven years of age [k]. The conſtable who, on hearing of the king's illneſs, ſet out from *Chantilly*, was by this time in the neighbourhood of *Orleans*, to whom the queen-mother wrote in the moſt obliging terms, intreating him to make haſte to reſume the functions of his office, and to reſt aſſured that ſhe would do nothing but by his advice. The conſtable, whatever ſhe might do, took her advice literally; and, as ſoon as he entered *Orleans*, ſent for the officers of the new guards, told them they were in arms againſt their country, and that the perſon of the king was always ſafe when ſurrounded by his people, upon which they immediately diſperſed. The queen-mother had the chief authority, and the power of regent, but without aſſuming the title, tho' given her by moſt hiſtorians. The king of *Navarre* had the title of the king's

[f] DUPLEIX. MEZ. CHALONS. [g] JACOB. THUAN. SERRES. [h] Abrege Chronologique de l'Hiſtoire de France, tom. v. p. 33. [i] P. DANIEL. [k] Mez. LE GENDRE.

lieutenant

lieutenant general, and the prince of *Condé* was removed to *La Fere*, under a guard, 'till he ſhould be declared innocent [l]. On the 13th of *December*, the ſtates were opened [m]. The ſpeakers of the nobility and the commons inveighed bitterly againſt the negligence, luxury, and avarice of the clergy; the orator of the clergy, on the other hand, talked very high, demanded the abolition of the concordat, and the re-eſtabliſhment of the pragmatic ſanction. Some diſcourſe there was of an enquiry into the ſtate of the finances; king *Francis* the firſt having left near two millions in his coffers, and the crown being at this time near 42 millions in debt. But there were ſo many of the great that would have been intereſted in the event of this enquiry, and the *Guiſes* were ſo like to be little affected by it, that it was quickly ſtopped. Some good laws in reſpect to the adminiſtration of juſtice, a ſuſpenſion of all religious perſecution, the reſtitution of the old cuſtom of electing biſhops, and a general amneſty for what was paſſed, being enacted, the ſtates were prorogued to *May*. The conſtable, duke of *Guiſe*, and the marſhal *de St. André*, entered into a cloſe alliance, and were ſtiled the TRIUMVIRATE: the queen-mother, upon this, leaned to the ſide of the king of *Navarre* and the princes. In the month of *March* the prince of *Condé* was declared innocent by the council, and that declaration was confirmed by the parliament [n]. On *Eaſter-Day* the triumvirate communicated together, as a mark of the ſincerity of their reconciliation; and on the 15th of *May* the king was crowned at *Rheims* by the cardinal of *Lorrain* [o]. The admiral, who was a ſincere proteſtant, perceiving how well the king of *Navarre* ſtood with the queen, and being perſuaded they had nothing to fear from the chancellor, preſented a new petition in favour of the Hugonots, which was referred to the conſideration of the parliament, where the king, the queen, and moſt of the princes of the blood were perſonally preſent [p]; and after warm debates, it was decided by the plurality of voices, that all offences in reſpect to religion ſhould be referred to the eccleſiaſtical tribunals; all aſſemblies of the proteſtants, tho' without arms, were forbidden upon pain of death, and all preaching or celebration of the ſacraments, contrary to the uſage of the church of *Rome*. Some ſaid that *John du Tillet* was guilty of a fraud, in declaring the number of voices, and this edict was ſo little reliſhed in the provinces, that the queen-mother, who ſeemed now wholly inclined to the reformed, ſoftened it by

[l] JACOB. THUAN.
[m] Annales de France. P. DAN.
[n] Memoires de Caſtelnau.
[o] GODEFROI dans le Ceremonial de France.
[p] DUPLEIX.

A. D. 1561. another edict, dated from *St. Germain en Laye* [q]. The queen dowager returned to *Scotland* in the month of *Auguſt*, ſoon after which the aſſembly of the ſtates met again at *Pontoiſe*, where the clergy, to avert the ſtorm that was riſing againſt them, taxed themſelves in a large ſum to the king [r]. In the month of *September* was held the famous colloquy, or conference, at *Poiſſi*, between the prelates and the miniſters, in which the cardinal of *Lorrain* and *Theodore Beza* diſplayed their eloquence, notwithſtanding which there was little or nothing done, except that the king of *Navarre*, under pretence that the miniſters did not agree well amongſt themſelves, left the reformed, and joined himſelf to the triumvirate [s].

The duke of Guiſe *occaſions the firſt civil war.*

THIS threw the queen on the prince of *Condé* and the admiral, tho' ſhe laboured all ſhe could to recover the king of *Navarre*; but the court of *Spain*, ſometimes flattering him with the reſtitution of his dominions, ſometimes offering the iſland of *Sardinia* as an equivalent, and the *Guiſes*, as a mark of their cordiality and reſpect, offering their niece, the queen of *Scots*, provided he would obtain a divorce from the court of *Rome*, againſt the queen of *Navarre*, as an obſtinate heretic, he, who had never ſhewed much conſtancy before, remained firm where he was [t]. The queen, to ſatisfy the admiral and the prince of *Condé*, called a new aſſembly of the ſtates at *St. Germain* [u], where an edict was made that gave liberty of conſcience to the Hugonots, 'till the points in diſpute were ſettled by a general council; this, however, rather increaſed than abated the troubles, both parties making preparations for a war, and reciprocally conſenting to quit the court, as if it had been with a view to make the adminiſtration leſs difficult to the queen, tho' at the bottom they had the ſame deſign. The prince of *Condé* had treated with the duke of *Wirtembergh* for ſuccours, in ſupport of the proteſtant cauſe; the duke of *Guiſe* having an interview with that prince at *Saverne*, perſuaded him that himſelf, his brother, and the moderate Catholics, were not averſe to the *Lutheran* religion, but that the Hugonots in *France* were obſtinate *Calviniſts*, and equally enemies to both, by which he drew him into a treaty of neutrality [w]. In his return to *Paris*, paſſing thro' the little town of *Paſſi*, his followers inſulted the Hugonots,

[q] Memoires de Caſtelnau. P. DAN. [r] SERRES. MEZ. [s] Diſcours des Actes de Poiſſy contenant le Commencement de l'aſſemble l'entree & iſſue du Colloque des Prelats de France & Miniſtres de l'Avangile l'ordre y gardé enſemble la Harangue du Roy Charles IX. DUPLEIX. [t] CAMDEN. [u] JACOB. THUAN. [w] POPELINIERE.

who were at their devotions in a barn, proceeding by degrees from words to blows, tho' it is ſaid that the duke laboured all he could to put an end to the fray, in which he was himſelf wounded in the face by a ſtone; there were about ſixty of the Hugonots killed, and this gave a beginning to the civil war[x]. The triumvirate, in conjunction with the king of *Navarre*, prevented the prince of *Condé* and the admiral in ſurprizing the queen-mother and the king, whom they conducted from *Fontainbleau* to *Paris*[y]. The Hugonots ſurprized *Orleans*, *Bourges*, *Lyons*, *Poictiers*, *Tours*, *Aungiers*, *Angouleſme*, *Rouen*, *Dieppe*, *Havre de Grace*, and other places; and having concluded a treaty with queen *Elizabeth*, put the laſt-mentioned place into her hands, by way of depoſit, in conſideration of a ſuccour in men and money[z].

The battle of Dreux, in which the conſtable and the prince of Condé are both made priſoners.

On the other hand the marſhal *de St. André* marched into *Poitou* with an army, and recovered *Poictiers*; and the king of *Navarre*, with the title of lieutenant-general of the realm, and having under him the conſtable and the duke of *Guiſe*, having firſt recovered *Bourges*, towards the cloſe of the month of *September*, he beſieged *Rouen*. On the 15th of *October* the king of *Navarre* received a wound in the trenches, of which he died that day month; but this did not hinder the place from being taken by ſtorm and plundered, or his making his entry into it through the breach in a litter[a]. The loſs of *Rouen* obliged the prince of *Condé* to direct his march towards *Normandy*, where, on the 19th of *December*, the two armies engaged near *Dreux*. That of the prince of *Condé* conſiſted of four thouſand horſe, and eight thouſand foot, the admiral commanded the van, the prince was in the centre, and *Dandelot* in the rear. The forces of the triumvirs conſiſted of three thouſand gens d'arms, and thirteen thouſand foot, the marſhal *St. André* commanded the firſt line, the conſtable the ſecond, and the duke of *Guiſe* and his friends, with the flower of the army, formed the third. The conſtable was ſo deſirous of acquiring the ſole honour of the victory, that he charged precipitately, and not being ſupported in time, either by the firſt or third line, was defeated, wounded, and taken priſoner. The Hugonots beginning to plunder, the duke of *Guiſe* having rallied the broken troops, charged them with ſuch fury, that they were quickly broken, and the prince of *Condé* wounded and taken; the marſhal *de St. André*, purſuing too far, was ſurrounded and killed by the ſon of one *Bobigni*[b], whoſe confiſcation he had begged. The admiral retired with the cavalry,

A. D. 1562.

[x] Memoires de Brant. [y] Serres. [z] P. Dan. [a] Memoires de Caſtelnau. [b] Popelinierr. Jacob. Thuan.

and

and the remains of the prince of *Condé*'s army, in a manner that did him great honour. The triumvirs kept the field, but their loſs was by much the greateſt.

Siege of Orleans, *death of the duke of* Guiſe, *and the firſt peace with the reformed.*

THE duke of *Guiſe* was now in poſſeſſion of as great authority as ever he had enjoyed in the former reign; for the queen-mother, who had ſhewn herſelf partial in favour of the Hugonots, had loſt much of her credit and authority, and but for the mildneſs of the king of *Navarre*'s temper, might have loſt her life, having herſelf overheard the marſhal *de St. André* affirm, in one of their conſultations, that things would never go well till ſhe was thrown into the river. But while this ſtruggle for power, which in truth was the great object of the war, continued in *France*, the concerns of the monarchy ſuffered not a little. The duke of *Savoy* recovered almoſt all the places that the *French* ſtill held in *Piedmont*; and the emperor demanded and might have regained *Metz*, *Toul*, and *Verdun*, if he had not ſuffered himſelf to be amuſed by a treaty of marriage. The duke of *Guiſe* ſaw this with chagrin, and therefore reſolved to put as ſpeedy an end to the war as poſſible, and with this view he beſieged *Orleans*, where, on the 9th of *February*, he was ſhot in the back [c] by *Poltrot de Meré*, who being taken and put to the torture, charged the admiral, the prince of *Condé*, *Dandelot*, *Soubiſe*, and *Theodore Beza*, with having excited him to this action; but he afterwards acquitted the prince, *Soubiſe*, and *Dandelot*. He was carried to *Paris* and drawn to-pieces by wild horſes. The queen ſent for the marſhal *Briſac* to continue the ſiege, but at the ſame time laboured aſſiduouſly to conclude a peace, in order to which ſhe directed a conference to be held between the prince of *Condé* and the conſtable, and they not agreeing, ſhe herſelf preſcribed the terms. The proteſtants were to lay down their arms, reſtore the places which were in their poſſeſſion, and to renounce their treaty with *England*: in return, they had a general pardon and liberty of conſcience [d]. As the great point aimed at was the recovery of *Havre de Grace*, war was declared againſt *England*; and the prince of *Condé*, whom the queen had gained by promiſing to make him lieutenant-general of the kingdom, diſtinguiſhed himſelf in this ſiege againſt his old allies. The place was ſurrendered on the 28th of *July*, by means of a forged letter ſent to the earl of *Warwick* [e]. The king was declared major at thirteen years and a day old, by the parliament of *Rouen*, notwithſtanding the oppoſition given by that of *Paris*, which was at length forced to

[c] Memoires de Caſtelnau. [d] SERRES. DU TILLET.
[e] POPELINIERE. Le Laboureur Additions aux Memoires de Caſtelnau.

comply.

comply. The prince of *Condé* preſſing the queen-mother for the performance of her promiſe, and the Proteſtants taking great liberties with her character, which was none of the moſt regular, ſhe became, out of ſpite, a moſt zealous Catholic, who, but a year before, had ſhewn her approbation of the Proteſtant doctrine, in a letter to pope *Pius* the fourth [f]. The widow and children of the duke of *Guiſe* demanded juſtice againſt the admiral, contrary to the dying commands of the duke, who forgave all who had any concern in his death, and earneſtly recommended the extinction of all animoſities amongſt the great men of the kingdom. The admiral proteſted his innocence, and the king took the cauſe into his own hands. On the laſt day of the year died the marſhal *de Briſac*, one of the braveſt men, and one of the beſt officers in *France* [g]. A. D. 1563.

THE queen-mother had now none to oppoſe or controul her; but the ſituation of public affairs was ſuch, that it required a vaſt capacity to comprehend and to conduct them. The pope, the king of *Spain*, and the duke of *Savoy*, ſent their ambaſſadors into *France*, to ſollicit certain points which they had much at heart. The former was deſirous of having the decrees of the council of *Trent* admitted and recognized, and for this he depended much upon the cardinal of *Lorrain:* but, upon the review of them by the parliament, it was reſolved, that, in reſpect to doctrine and point of faith, the council ſhould be received, but not with reſpect to matters of diſcipline, becauſe theſe were equally inconſiſtent with the rights of the *Gallican* church and the late edict of pacification. The latter, who in this alſo had the aſſiſtance of the former, laboured to engage the crown of *France* in a league for the utter extirpation of Proteſtants; but the queen, clearly perceiving that this was deſigned to revive the troubles in *France*, in which both his Catholic majeſty and the duke of *Savoy* had their ſeparate intereſts at heart, ſhe, in appearance at leaſt, declined it. The negotiation with *England* ſtill ſubſiſted, which had been begun ſoon after the reduction of *Havre de Grace*, and at length a peace was concluded, which was equally neceſſary to both kingdoms [h]. The queen, under pretence of viſiting his dominions, carried the king from place to place, and at length into *Lorrain*, where ſhe propoſed to have had an interview with the emperor, which was diſappointed chiefly by the intrigues of king *Philip*. Thence the court went into *Burgun-*

The queen-mother at the head of affairs, and embarked in the moſt dangerous projects.

[f] JACOB. THUAN. Memoires de Caſtelnau. DUPL. MEZ. [g] Memoires de BRANT. P. DAN. [h] Memoires de Caſtelnau. Recueil de Traites, par LEONARD. CAMDEN's Annals of Elizabeth.

dy, and afterwards to *Lyons*, where a citadel was directed to be built. The Catholics were reſtleſs, and deſirous of having recourſe again to arms, through the inſtigations of the emiſſaries of *Spain* and the houſe of *Guiſe*; but the queen affected, for in truth it was but affectation, a ſpirit of equity and moderation. However, being arrived at *Rouſſillon*, a palace belonging to the counts of *Tournon*, in *Dauphiné*, ſhe there publiſhed an edict in the king's name, reſtraining the Proteſtants from the exerciſe of their religion, within ten leagues of the court [i]. About this time likewiſe the date of the year was fixed at the firſt of *January*, inſtead of *Eaſter*; and ſome other things were done, in appearance, for the public good, but which, at the bottom, tended to facilitate the queen's deſign, which was to conduct the ruin of the Proteſtants in ſuch a manner, as not to endanger her own authority. She likewiſe found means to renew the alliance between the crown of *France* and the *Swiſs* cantons, notwithſtanding all the endeavours of *Philip* the ſecond to prevent it. In appearance alſo, ſhe entered into a cloſer correſpondence with *England*.

A. D. 1564.

Conference at Bayonne, in which the ruin of the Proteſtants is reſolved.

THE king ſpent the winter in *Provence* and *Languedoc*, having with him the young duke of *Guiſe*, and moſt of the chiefs of the Catholics, who were apparently in high favour. In the mean time an accident happened at *Paris*, which was very near reviving the war. The cardinal of *Lorrain* advanced into the neighbourhood of that city, attended by a conſiderable body of horſe, well armed; the marſhal *de Montmorency*, who was governor of the *Iſle of France*, ſent to him to diſarm his attendants, of which he took no notice, but entered *Paris* with this martial equipage, but was met by the marſhal with a body of troops, who diſarmed his attendants, and killed in his preſence one of his pages, who made ſome reſiſtance. Both ſides complained to the court, and, at the ſame time, made preparations of a warlike nature; but, finding that the king would not decide in favour of either party, they were afraid to proceed farther [k]. The court, after having viſited *Bourdeaux*, went to *Bayonne*, where the queen and her ſon had an interview with her daughter the queen of *Spain* and the duke of *Alva* [l]. All poſſible precautions were taken to diſguiſe and keep ſecret what paſſed in theſe conferences; but even theſe precautions, and this air of myſtery, made it evident, that the queen-mother was not ſincere in her profeſſions,

[i] Memoires de l'Etat de la France ſous Charles IX. P. LA PLACE. D'AVILA. DUPL. [k] POPELINIERE. Memoires de Caſtelnau. P. DAN. [l] J. DE SERRES. DUPLEIX. MEZERAY.

but

but had ſtill an inclination to enter into the league for the deſtruction of the Proteſtants, and the event fully juſtified theſe conjectures. Immediately after this interview the king went into *Bearn*, where the queen of *Navarre* was obliged to reſtore to the Catholics their churches, and to admit of a mixed magiſtracy of both communions, though the bulk of her ſubjects were Proteſtants; and the ſame method was purſued in other provinces, as the king returned towards *Paris*[m]. A. D. 1565.

Her intrigues with the court of Spain and a new civil war.

In the beginning of the enſuing year, the court ſummoned to *Moulins*, in the *Bourbonnois*, the deputies from the ſeveral parliaments and other ſovereign courts throughout the kingdom, in order to take effectual meaſures for the re-eſtabliſhment of juſtice; and accordingly the famous ordinance, bearing date from thence, was publiſhed, conſiſting of fourſcore and ſix articles[n]. This was the effect of the chancellor's policy, who, finding his councils leſs regarded in matters of ſtate, applied himſelf aſſiduouſly to thoſe of his own profeſſion, and, bending his whole endeavours to the public good, procured, in theſe times of confuſion, more ſalutary laws to be made than in any other reign; and as he ſhewed the uprightneſs of his heart in contriving, ſo his comprehenſive capacity, and at the ſame time his exquiſite learning and eloquence, are rendered conſpicuous to poſterity, by the elegant manner in which they are penned. The reconciliation which was attempted here between the *Montmorencis* and the cardinal of *Lorrain*, and between the admiral and the houſe of *Guiſe*, had a happy iſſue in ſhew, without producing any good effect; for, notwithſtanding the outward ceremonies of agreement and forgiveneſs, all parties retained their ſecret animoſities, and a full reſolution of gratifying them the firſt fair occaſion that offered[o]. This ſpirit of diſſimulation went ſtill higher; the king of *Spain* laboured to poſſeſs the court of *France* with an opinion that the great object of his policy was to extinguiſh hereſy, and that in this his aim was to act in concert with the crown of *France*, tho', at the ſame time, he laboured in *Germany*, in *Italy*, and in *Switzerland*, to leſſen the influence and credit of this crown, and to prevent the ſucceſs of thoſe negotiations which the queen was carrying on. On the other hand the queen-mother, who was not altogether ignorant of this, pretended to have a high jealouſy of king *Philip*'s proceedings, and ſpoke her ſentiments of them, as it were in confidence, to the prince of *Condé* and the admiral; but, at the ſame time, ſhe had quite other things in her mind:

[m] P. LA PLACE. JACOB. THUAN. P. DAN. JACOB. THUAN. D'AVILA. J. DE SERRES. [n] JACOB. THUAN. [o] DUPL. MEZ.

and

and believing herſelf able to deal with the king of *Spain* in his own way, reſolved to take in his aſſiſtance for the deſtruction of the Proteſtants. But as, in all great undertakings, money is the material article, ſhe made a vaſt reform in the finances; and, contrary to the advice of the moſt zealous Catholics, diſbanded a great part of the troops that had been kept on foot ſince the late troubles, not more with a view of retrenching expence, than to deceive the prince of *Condé* and the Hugonots [p]. To purſue theſe dark politics more effectually, ſhe ſent an eccleſiaſtic to the court of *Spain*, to let king *Philip* into her plan, that he might not take umbrage at the advices he received from his ambaſſador in *France*, who could not but be alarmed at the countenance given by the queen to the prince of *Condé*, notwithſtanding his open declarations that the meaſures taken by the *Spaniards* in *Italy* were to be ſuſpected; and that an army ought to be raiſed to watch the motions of the duke of *Alva*. The conſtable having laboured ineffectually to reſign his charge to his ſon the marſhal *de Montmorenci*, gave way to a propoſition made by the prince of *Condé*, to reſign in his favour, which did not a little embarraſs the court. However, the queen ſoon found an expedient to prevent this ſcheme from taking effect, which was by prompting her ſon *Henry* duke of *Anjou* to declare himſelf the prince of *Condé*'s competitor, which he did with ſuch airs of grandeur and ſuperiority, that the prince was not a little mortified [q]. The admiral, and his brother *Dandelot*, by degrees, penetrated thro' all theſe myſteries; and gave the prince to underſtand, that, if he was upon ill terms with the king and his brother, he was upon much worſe with the queen-mother; who, while ſhe pretended to liſten to his apprehenſions of the Catholic king's deſigns, and in conſequence of them, as he imagined, had given orders for the levying of ſix thouſand *Swiſs*, ſhe was in reality preparing to ſecond that monarch's ſcheme, and would employ thoſe troops in concert
A. D. with him againſt the Proteſtants. The prince of *Orange* gave
1566. him the like intimations; and the king having diſcovered his reſentment that the princes of *Germany* ſhould interpoſe in favour of his Proteſtant ſubjects, and that their miniſters had conferred with the prince, he was at length convinced that he had been all along the dupe of the queen, and that himſelf and thoſe of his religion had no other way to ſecure their ſafety than by putting themſelves, without loſs of time, in a poſture of defence [r].

[p] Memoires de Caſtelnau. J. Thuan. P. Dan. [q] Memoires de Brant. Dupl. [r] D'Avila. Popeliniere. P. de la Place.

The

THE march of the duke of *Alva* into the *Low Countries* seemed to alarm the court extremely, and occaſioned the forming of a flying camp in *Burgundy*, though in truth the queen-mother was preparing to act in concert with him, and the Hugonots were every day more and more curtailed in their privileges, as if it had been deſigned to provoke them to take arms, and thereby afford the court an opportunity of treating them with the ſame ſeverity ſhewn by the duke of *Alva* to their brethren in the *Low Countries*. Indeed there want not ſome who ſay, that as the duke put to death the counts of *Egmont* and *Horn*, for no other crime than their inviolable attachment to the liberties of their country, ſo the queen-mother was firmly reſolved to lay hold of the firſt opportunity of ſeizing the prince of *Condé* and the admiral, confining the former as long as he lived, and bringing the latter to a ſcaffold. It is at leaſt certain that the prince and admiral believed themſelves in the utmoſt danger, and thereupon formed the bold deſign of ſurprizing the whole royal family at *Monceaux in Brie*; and, with this view, orders were given privately to the chiefs of the party to aſſemble as many determined men as they could do with privacy, and to march them with all poſſible ſecrecy, at a certain day, to the little town of *Roſoy*, which was but a ſmall diſtance from *Monceaux*, where the court had ſcarce any troops about them, though the ſix thouſand *Swiſs*, under the command of colonel *Pfiffer*, were at no great diſtance [s]. This deſign was conducted with ſo much addreſs, that, but for an unforeſeen accident, it had certainly ſucceeded. The count of *Caſtelneau* had been ſent into *Flanders* to compliment the duke of *Alva* on the part of the king, and perhaps to concert ſome meaſures with him againſt the Proteſtants; the count was going to court to report the ſucceſs of his commiſſion, and, in his paſſage, fell in upon the road with ſome of the Hugonots, who were going to their rendezvouz, and out of whom he picked their deſign [t]. When he came to relate this at court, the conſtable treated it as a dream; but the queen-mother, more eaſily alarmed, cauſed ſuch enquiry to be made, as put the fact beyond doubt. The court, upon this hurried away to *Meaux*, and the *Swiſs* troops having orders to march thither, performed it in the night. On *Michaelmas*-day the prince of *Condé*, the admiral, and their aſſociates, aſſembled their forces, and found themſelves in a condition of beſieging *Meaux*, to which, if they had marched directly, and had not ſuffered themſelves to be amuſed by a negotiation, they had done their buſineſs; and, as it was, the

A deſign formed by the prince of Condé and the admiral to ſurprize the court at Meaux.

[s] D'AVILA. Memoires de Caſtelnau. SERRES. [t] DUPLEIX. MEZ.

court

court was equally afraid of being inveſted in *Meaux*, or of marching from thence to *Paris* without cavalry [u]. The latter was at laſt reſolved, on the faith of colonel *Pfiffer*, who undertook and performed this retreat of ten leagues, through an open country, continually expoſed to the enemy's horſe, by whom they were harraſſed all the way, the queen-mother, with the king and the reſt of her children, being in the center of the battalion, and exceedingly expoſed. The *Swiſs* had a month's pay given them for this ſervice, as if they had gained a battle [w].

Battle of St. Denis, *in which the conſtable* Montmorency *is mortally wounded.*

THUS the ſecond civil war was begun; and the prince of *Condé*, far from being diſconcerted by this diſappointment, ſurprized the town of *St. Denys*, and ſet fire to twenty-four windmills that were juſt without the ſuburbs of *Paris* [x]. The thing is in itſelf ſo ſtrange, or rather incredible, that, if we had not the concurrent teſtimony of all the writers of thoſe times, it could never gain belief, that, with ſcarce three thouſand men, the prince kept this capital blocked up for near ſix weeks, and the people of *Paris* were at length ſo much diſtreſſed, that, by their clamours and reproaches, they wore out the patience of the conſtable; ſo that, on the tenth of *November*, he marched to attack them in the plain of *St. Denys*. His army conſiſted of three thouſand men at arms and ſixteen thouſand foot, the prince of *Condé* had not above twelve hundred foot and fifteen hundred horſe; yet he was ſo far from flying, that he began the action, which laſted about three hours, with the loſs of ſome hundreds on each ſide, the Catholics keeping the field of battle, and the Hugonots, though they had the greateſt loſs, had all the honour of the day [y]. The conſtable, being abandoned by thoſe about him, was mortally wounded by *Robert Stuart*; and, notwithſtanding he was ſeventy-four years of age, he ſtarted from the ground, and, with the pomel of his ſword, ſtruck *Stuart* in the face, beat out three of his teeth, broke his jaw, and brought him to the ground [z]. His ſon *Danville*, and the duke of *Aumale*, delivered the conſtable, and carried him to *Paris*, where he died two days after: the queen cauſed him to be buried with royal honours; but it was a point much diſputed, whether ſhe was better ſatisfied with the victory ſhe had gained than with the death of this great man [a]. On the 15th of *November* the prince of *Condé* and the admiral, with the remains of their

[u] J. THUAN. POPELINIERE. P. DAN. CHALONS. LE GEND. Memoires de BRANT. DUPLEIX. [w] D'AVILA. [x] SERRES. [y] Memoires de Caſtelnau. J. THUAN. Memoires de Tavannes. [z] Memoires de BRANT. [a] DUPLEZ.

forces, marched into *Lorrain*, to meet the ſuccours that were coming to them out of *Germany*, commanded by prince *Caſimir* the ſon of the elector *Palatine*, conſiſting of four thouſand foot and ſix thouſand horſe: the queen-mother cauſed her ſon the duke of *Anjou* to be declared the king's lieutenant-general, to avoid naming a conſtable, and ſent him with all the forces that could be aſſembled, to harraſs the prince's rear [b]. In the mean time the flame of war ſpread itſelf thro' all the provinces, the reformed ſtanding every-where upon their defence, and making themſelves maſters of all the places they were able; while the Papiſts, having the royal authority on their ſide, had recourſe both to arms and to juſtice, deſtroying indiſcriminately, by the forms of juſtice or by the ſword, as many as they were able, to the great ſatisfaction of the *Spaniards*, who enjoyed this madneſs of their neighbour, as appeared clearly by the conduct of the duke of *Alva*, who, if he had ſent, as the conſtable required, a little before the battle of *St. Denys*, a body of four or five thouſand men, at the back of the Hugonot army, they muſt have been ſurrounded, and an end put to the war at once [c].

The queen conſents to a truce, in order to enſnare the heads of the Proteſtants.

IT is commonly believed that, if it had not been for ſome ill conduct of the duke of *Anjou*, or rather of thoſe who commanded the army at the head of which he was, the forces of the prince of *Condé* and the admiral might have been diſperſed, whereas they had the good fortune to join the ſuccours that came to them out of *Germany*, under the command of prince *Caſimir*, at *Pont a Mouſſon*. There happened, upon this occaſion, a very ſingular event; the prince had promiſed his *German* ſuccours a hundred thouſand crowns as ſoon as they joined him, and they inſiſted upon the money, though there could not be any thing more miſerable than the prince's army, who, for the moſt part, were without arms, without clothes, and without ſhoes; however, ſome little money they had amongſt them, and they collected the whole, and gave it to theſe ſtrangers [d]. With theſe forces the prince traverſed a great part of the kingdom, and at length beſieged *Chartres*, in the beginning of *February*, which was very gallantly defended by Monſ. *Lignieres*, knight of the order; but if the prince had turned the courſe of the river at laſt as he did at firſt, the place muſt have ſurrendered. While the prince was employed in this ſiege [e], the negotiations were renewed, and, when the place was on the point of ſurrendering, the peace

[b] D'AVILA. P. DE LA PLACE. Memoires de Caſtelnau. [c] DUPL. JACOB. THUAN. P. DAN. [d] Memoires de BRANT. [e] POPELINIERE. Memoires de Caſtelnau. DUPLEIX.

was concluded by the prince of *Condé*, againſt the advice of
A. D. the admiral [f]. The conditions were, That the edict of paci-
1568. fication ſhould be renewed, free from all limitations of time, place, or perſon; that the king ſhould take upon him the payment of prince *Caſimir* and his *Germans*; and that all places ſhould be reſtored. Both ſides exclaimed againſt this peace, which neither intended to keep, and which was therefore ſtiled the feigned or the ſhort peace; and yet they could not avoid making it; for, upon the ſurrender of *Chartres*, the king muſt have quitted *Paris*, and the queen-mother knew not what the conſequences might have been of ſuch a ſtep. On the other hand, the prince ſaw troops marching in ſupport of the Catholic cauſe from *Germany* and *Italy*, the Proteſtants, for the preſent, undone in the *Low Countries*, and himſelf in danger hourly of being abandoned or betrayed by the *Germans*, whom it was not in his power to pay, and who, for that reaſon, were very deſirous of peace, that they might become the creditors of thoſe in better circumſtances; and the court were ſo much aware of this, that they borrowed 100,000 crowns from the republic of *Venice*, and 80,000 more of the dukes of *Florence*, *Sancerre*, and *Montauban*; ſeveral places of *Querci*, *Vivarez*, *Dauphine*, and *Languedoc*, refuſed to return to their obedience; *Rochelle* ſhut their gates againſt the king's garriſon, and became from that time the bulwark of the reformed.

An attempt to ſeize the P. of Condé and the admiral cauſes the third civil war.

THE queen-mother began now to form a kind of ſelect council, who were firſt ſtiled the cabinet; theſe were the duke of *Anjou*, who, from his childhood, ſhe bred up in arts and intrigues, the chancellor *Lewis la Lanſac*, *John de Marvilliers*, biſhop of *Orleans*, *Sebaſtian de l'Aubeſpine*, biſhop of *Limoges*, *Henry de Meſme*, the preſident *Birague*, and the ſecretary *de Villeroy*. Amongſt theſe, however, there were ſtill ſome who ſtood in higher confidence, and whoſe ſentiments ſhe retailed to the reſt as her own [g]. The cabinet adviſed her to cauſe the forces to be ſo poſted throughout the kingdom, as to keep ſuch places as had not ſubmitted in a manner blocked up, and to have ſuch an eye on the chiefs of the Hugonots, as that they ſhould not be able to break out again, or to ſurprize any great towns on the ſudden; which advice the queen cauſed to be punctually carried into execution. But the counſel by which ſhe was chiefly guided, came from the cardinal of *Lorrain*, and the preſident *Birague*, and it conſiſted in deſtroying privately, and under a variety of pre-

[f] Edit du Roy, du 25 Mars, 1568. J. DE SERRES. DU TILLET. LE GENDRE. [g] D'AVILA. DUPLEIX. P. DANIEL.

tences,

tences, as many of the Hugonots as poſſible, and more eſpecially ſuch as had been moſt active; and in laying ſchemes for ſurprizing the prince and the admiral, whenever they happened to be in the ſame place. This fell out at *Nojars* in *Burgundy*, where the admiral came to pay the prince a viſit, upon which the marſhal *de Tavannes* received orders to block up the place, and to make them both priſoners; but the troops could not be ſo ſuddenly put in motion as to prevent their having intelligence, and they immediately retired, or rather fled with the utmoſt expedition [h], to *Rochelle*, leaving an officer and a few horſe to cover their rear, who, being beaten, was made priſoner, and ſent up to court: an indiſputable proof that the prince and admiral had not fled without cauſe, as the court would have had it believed. The queen was ſo incenſed at this miſcarriage, that, perceiving the chancellor leſs affected than ſhe would have had him, ſhe threw the blame upon him, and, having deprived him of the ſeals, gave them to the biſhop of *Orleans*, though it afterwards appeared it was the marſhal *Tavannes* himſelf who cauſed the prince to be advertiſed of his danger, as being unwilling to do what he thought would reflect upon his honour [i]. The prince of *Condé* was no ſooner at *Rochelle* than the whole force of the Proteſtants reſorted thither; the queen of *Navarre* particularly, with her ſon the prince of *Bearn*, afterwards *Henry* the fourth, with all the forces of *Guienne*; thoſe beyond the *Loire* were aſſembled and conducted by *Dandelot*, in ſpite of the king's troops, which were much ſuperior to them in all reſpects; and queen *Elizabeth*, forgetting the ill uſage ſhe had met with from that prince, and reſpecting only her own intereſt, and the protection of the Proteſtant cauſe, ſent him a hundred thouſand crowns, a train of artillery, and a great quantity of ammunition, which enabled him to march with his army to *Soiſſons*; and thus the third civil war broke out, within ſix months after the laſt peace [k].

THE queen-mother ſuſpended the progreſs of his arms by a negotiation, and promiſed, in order to make him eaſy under the delay, to give him wherewithal to pay his troops; but as that would have been advantageous to him, and prejudicial to her own affairs, ſhe avoided it, by the uſual expedient of breaking her word. The rigour of the winter being over, the duke of *Anjou* was in the field with a numerous army, whom

P. of Coné *ſlain in the battle of* Jarnac.

[h] Memoires de Caſtelnau. Memoires de Tavannes. Memoires de BRANT. [i] JACOB. THUAN. D'AVILA. DUPLEIX. Memoires de BRANT. [k] POPELINIERE. Memoires de Caſtelnau. CAMDEN's Annals of Queen Elizabeth. P. DANIEL.

the queen employed, though a child, that ſhe might direct the troops as abſolutely as ſhe did the counſels of her ſon. This young general had about his perſon the marſhal *Tavannes*, who had merited the bâton by fifty years ſervice, was equally prudent and brave, and withal of ſo bold a ſpirit, that he offered queen *Catherine de Medicis*, in her huſband's time, to cut off the noſe of *Diana de Poitiers*. He was the determined enemy of the Proteſtants, becauſe, having once had a difference with the admiral, he gave him ſome hard language [l]. This marſhal had the queen's ſecret, and, in effect, commanded her ſon. Next to him was the marſhal *de Coſſe*, the younger brother of the famous marſhal *de Briſac*, a gallant man, a good officer, but given to his bottle and his pleaſures. There was alſo Monſ. *de Biran*, who became afterwards a marſhal of *France*, of whom it is unneceſſary to ſay any more, than that, though a thorough good Proteſtant by inclination, he was a very good Catholic for the ſake of preferment. By their advice the duke of *Anjou* laboured to engage the prince of *Condé*, before he was joined by a great corps of *German* ſuccours that were marching to his relief, under the command of the duke of *Deux Ponts*. This he effected on the 13th of *March*, at the little village of *Jarnac*, in the province of *Angouleſme*. This action was neither long nor bloody, there not being above fourteen hundred killed of the Hugonots, who were beat, and not more than two hundred of the victors [m]. The prince of *Condé*, who had the misfortune to have his leg broke a little before the action began, endeavoured, for that reaſon, to decline it; but, being once engaged, behaved, notwithſtanding his wound, like a hero, till having received ſeveral more, he was taken; but ſo weak, through loſs of blood, that two gentlemen took him in their arms from his horſe, and carried him to a buſh, at ſome diſtance, where they ſat him down; and ſoon after the baron *de Monteſquieu*, captain of the guards to the duke of *Anjou*, riding up to the place where he was, came behind and ſhot him through the head [n]. This deteſtable action, though not avowed, yet not being puniſhed, by the duke, was generally aſcribed to him (K). The prince's body, being laid upon an

[l] Memoires de Tavannes. Dupl. Mez. [m] Popelin. Memoires de Caſtelnau. D'Avila. Serres. Dupl. Mez. [n] Memoires de Brant.

(K) This great prince *Lewis* of *Bourbon*, who firſt bore the title of *Condé*, was the ſeventh ſon of *Charles* duke of *Vendoſme*, and the youngeſt brother of *Francis* count *d'Enghien*, who was

an aſs, was carried to *Jarnac*, and ſome time after reſtored to his friends, and buried with the reſt of his family at *Vendoſme*.

was ſuſpected to have been murdered with the privity of *Catherine de Medicis*, when ſhe was only Dauphineſs (1). We have before deſcribed his perſon, than which nothing could be conceived more remote from his mind, if the character given of him by a great hiſtorian be true, that there were few who equalled him in ſtrength, in conſtancy, in wit, in addreſs, in experience, in courteſy, in eloquence, or in liberality, for he had all theſe virtues together; and even his enemies allowed, that, taking the whole of his character into view, he was not excelled by any of the great men of that age (2). But he had alſo (and who has them not?) his follies and his faults. He was thought not very ſincere in his religion; he was ambitious; he was too haſty in embracing, and had too great a facility in finding excuſes for quitting his party, as appeared from his concluding a treaty with queen *Elizabeth*, and within leſs than a year drawing his ſword againſt that general and thoſe troops, who, at his own requeſt, were ſent to aſſiſt him (3). But his great foible was women. The queen-mother had about her abundance of pretty women, who were ſtiled her ſyrens, and, with their help, ſhe extracted the ſecrets, and frequently influenced the conduct of thoſe who were moſt averſe to her. Mrs. *Limaiel* was the ſyren who charmed the prince of *Conde*; who, proving with child by him, the queen publicly reprimanded her, and turned her out of the court. But the unfortunate lady, deriving courage from her deſpair, told her, that however wicked and infamous her behaviour might be, it was the fruits of her advice, the effects of her command, and the tranſcript of her example (4). The notoriety of this amour broke the heart of his firſt conſort, *Eleonora de Roy*, eldeſt daughter of the count *de Rouci*, one of the worthieſt women in *France*. After her demiſe there were many ladies who aſpired to the honour of ſharing his bed; and amongſt the reſt *Margaret de Luſtrac*, the widow of the marſhal *de St. André*, who made him a preſent of the fine caſtle and eſtate of *Valery*, which is ſtill in the family (5). But, notwithſtanding this, he married *Frances* the daughter of the marquis *de Rothelin* (6). By his firſt conſort he had *Henry* prince of *Conde*; *Francis*, who was the firſt ſtiled prince of *Conti*, and who was always deaf and dumb; *Charles* cardinal *de Bourbon*; and ſeveral other children, who died young: by his ſecond he had three ſons, of whom none ſurvived but *Charles*, who became

(1) *Thom. Corn. Hiſt. Memoires de Rabutin. Popeliniere.* (2) *Jacob. Thuani Hiſt. ſui Temporis, lib.* xiv. (3) *Camdeni Annales, p.* 301, 102. *Jacob. Thuani Hiſt. ſui Temporis, lib.* xxxv. *Brantome, Vies des Grands Capitaines Francois, Diſcours*, lxxx. *Art.* i. (4) *Memoires de l'Eſtat de France, ſous Charles* IX. (5) *Popeliniere. Brantome. Le Gend.* (6) *Thuani, Popeliniere. Brantome. Le Gend.*

dosme[o]. The admiral, whose courage was superior to all difficulties, and whose presence of mind arose in proportion to the danger, made an excellent retreat; and, having put good garrisons, commanded by brave officers, into the places that were most exposed, retired into *Poitou*. *Jane* queen of *Navarre*, the honour of her sex and family, brought her son *Henry* prince of *Bearn*, and *Henry* prince of *Condé*, to the army, where they were acknowleged for generals, and a new oath taken to support them, till the affairs of the kingdom should be settled by a stable and solid peace[p].

The admiral defeats Moncontour, *and the Protestant cause reduced to the last gasp.*

In the month of *May* the duke of *Deux Ponts*, with his *Germans*, took *la Charite* by storm, and passed the *Loire*: he died soon after, and his forces joined the admiral, who, having now a formidable army, unluckily undertook the siege of *Poitiers*[q]. *Henry* duke of *Guise* threw himself into the place, with two thousand brave men, and gained as much reputation by defending it, as his father did by defending *Metz*. The duke of *Anjou*, in the beginning of *September*, besieged *Chatelleraud*, upon which the admiral raised the siege of *Poitiers*, burnt part of his baggage, having lost four thousand men, and much diminished his reputation. The parliament, to increase his embarrassment, declared him a rebel, and set a price of fifty thousand crowns on his head, and they did the like with respect to the vidame of *Chartres*, and the count *de Montgomery*[r]. At the close of the month the duke of *Anjou* gained some advantage at *St. Cler*, on which the admiral decamped without sound of trumpet. The *Germans* mutinied a few days after, and compelled him to fight on the 3d of *October*, at *Moncontour*[s]. The action began about eight in the morning and was over by ten. The *French* infantry in the Hugo-

[o] Jacob. Thuan. P. Dan. [p] D'Avila. Memoires de Tavannes. Dupl. [q] Memoires de Castelnau. Popelinière. [r] Memoires de Castelnau. Dupl. [s] Mez. P. Dan.

afterwards count *de Soissons* (7). We have mentioned in the text the high dispute that arose between *Henry* duke of *Anjou*, the king's brother, and this young prince, from whence the antipathy of the former is thought to have arisen, which occasioned that base assassination that deprived the latter of life, at the age of thirty-nine (8). Some pretend that he caused medals of gold to be struck, in which he assumed the title of *Lewis* XIII. (9).

(7) *P. Buffiere Hist. des Maisons Souveraines de l'Europe, p.* 262. *Le Gend.*
(8) *Thuani Hist. lib.* xiv. *c.* 3. (9) *Le Blanc, Traite Historique des Monnoies de France, p.* 335. *Brantome, ubi sup.*

not

not army behaved ill, and the *German* horſe, being put in ſome diſorder, retired. The admiral loſt half his army, moſt of his baggage, and all his artillery, which was aſcribed to the ſkilful diſpoſition made by *Tavannes*. The whole force of the Proteſtants ſeemed now to be broken, but the ſpirit of the admiral remained entire. Wounded and defeated, he drew together the remains of his army, retired in good order, and neglected nothing that was practicable to recruit his troops [t]. The victorious army, inſtead of puſhing him, beſieged *St. John de Angeli*, in which *Piles*, an officer of the houſe of *Clermont*, commanded a garriſon of two thouſand men: the place was far from being ſtrong, and very indifferently fortified; but *Piles*, comprehending clearly that the preſervation of the Proteſtants in *France* depended on the length of the ſiege, rejected all propoſitions, and defended it beyond conception. The king and queen-mother came thither about the middle of *October*, that they might have the ſatisfaction of ſeeing the place taken by ſtorm, and were afterwards content to hope it would be reduced by famine. The commander made no ſcruple of declaring that he could not truſt to any capitulation, and at length, having nothing to eat, took the deſperate reſolution of forcing a paſſage, which was prevented by the interpoſition of Monſ. *de Biron*, on whoſe word he accepted honourable terms, on the 2d of *December*, and then marched out with one hundred horſe and eight hundred foot [u]. *Rochelle* was, all this time, blocked up by ſea and land, and, at the cloſe of the year, the Proteſtant cauſe in *France* ſeemed at the point of being overwhelmed, their forces being, in a manner, quite exhauſted, at the ſame time that they were without any viſible reſource. A. D. 1569.

By an extraordinary turn of affairs they obtain a very advantageous peace.

In this perplexed and ruinous ſituation of their affairs, the ſole circumſtance in favour of the Proteſtants, if it deſerves attention, was their having a few honeſt and able perſons at the head of their councils, who had nothing in view but the public good, and, if that proſpered, had all the ſatisfaction they deſired. The queen of *Navarre*, inſtead of liſtening to the advantageous propoſals, which, even now, were made her on the part of queen *Catherine de Medicis*, gave general anſwers, to keep the negotiations alive; and, in the mean time, neglected nothing that might repair the loſſes, or bring new ſtrength to the cauſe. *Sore*, a pirate of *Dieppe*, for the Proteſtants were obliged to have recourſe to that way of living at the expence of their enemies, forced the blockade

[t] D'Avila. Memoires de Caſtelnau. Serres. Dupleix.
[u] Memoires de la Reine Marguerite. Memoires de Brantome. J. Thuan. Mez.

by ſea, and once more opened the port of *Rochelle*. Monſ. *la Noue*, one of the braveſt and one of the wiſeſt men amongſt the Hugonots, undertook to extend their quarters; and after having taken ſeveral places, gained a conſiderable advantage near *Lucon*, which left his party more at their eaſe, and facilitated their receiving recruits. The two young princes of *Bearn* and *Condé* undertook a perilous march, with all the horſe and foot they could aſſemble, in order to join the count *de Montgomery*, who commanded in the territories of the queen of *Navarre*, which they performed; and, by plundering the country about *Thouloufe*, quieted the *German* cavalry, who were become importunate for money[w]. They had done a great deal more, and would, in all probability, have become maſters of *Bourdeaux*, if the famous *Montluc* had not found means, by cutting down a mill, to break the bridge, which, with infinite difficulty, they had thrown over the *Gironne*, which conſtrained them to make a retreat that was no leſs difficult than their march, and which they likewiſe executed with equal ardour and addreſs[x]. But, after all, it became abſolutely neceſſary to have recourſe once more to the *German* princes, and to traverſe all *France* with their ſmall remaining force, in order to join theſe ſuccours. The admiral undertook this, one of the moſt difficult enterprizes he had ever attempted, and which he performed with equal abilities and ſucceſs. The marſhal *de Coſſe*, during the indiſpoſition of the duke of *Anjou*, commanded the king's army, and with it ſtopped the admiral at *Arnai-le-Duc* in *Burgundy*. In the courſe of theſe expeditions, the Hugonot army had marched twelve hundred miles, pillaged above fifty, and ranſomed a hundred places, traverſed ſeven or eight provinces, paſſed a multitude of rivers, penetrated foreſts, and took their route through moraſſes that were thought impracticable; and now with four thouſand men, of whom there were not above twelve hundred foot, were, in the midſt of an enemy's country, to fight an army of ten thouſand regular troops, well provided, and who had a good train of artillery, though the Proteſtants had not a ſingle piece of cannon. The marſhal *de Coſſe* is blamed for his behaviour, but it may be without cauſe. The admiral choſe a field of battle upon a hill, on the ſides of which there were ſeveral deep roads that covered his foot from cannon ſhot, and his horſe, compoſed of gentlemen, and commanded by princes, beat thoſe of the marſhal, but without purſuing them, that they might not loſe the advan-

[w] D'Avila. Pierre de la Place. P. Dan. [x] Memoires de Montluc. Jacobi Thuani. Popeliniere. Dupleix.

tage of ground, the only advantage they had [y]. At length they ſlipped him; and, being unincumbered with baggage or artillery, made ſome equivocal motions, that looked as if they intended to block up *Paris*; this conſtrained the marſhal to diſpoſe his forces in ſuch a manner, as to cover that great city, and ſo alarmed the queen, who had all this time kept up a negotiation, in which the Proteſtants, for the credit of their cauſe, which, at this juncture, ſubſiſted entirely upon credit, made very high demands, directed her plenipotentiaries to ſign, as they did, the third peace, at *St. Germain en Laye*, on the 8th of *Auguſt* [z].

Charles IX. *by the ſuggeſtion of the queen-mother, affects to give a new turn to his conduct.*

THIS peace conſiſted of forty-ſix articles, and was as favourable to the Proteſtants as if they had been victorious, in all the battles in which they had been defeated. The edicts in their favour were confirmed, thoſe againſt them recalled; they were reſtored to all their charges, employments, and dignities, and had the following ſtrong places acceded to them for two years; *viz. Rochelle*, *la Charite*, *Montauban*, and *Coignac*; the firſt kept the ſea open for receiving ſuccours from *England*, in caſe of a new war; the ſecond preſerved the paſſage of the *Loire*; the third was on the frontiers of *Languedoc* and *Querci*; and the fourth opened a paſſage into *Angoumois*, where they had a greater ſtrength than in any other province. The peace was hardly ſigned before both ſides manifeſted a diſcontent, the Papiſts with great reaſon, the Proteſtants becauſe they could not believe it ſincere. The king appeared in another point of light than he had hitherto done. He certainly wanted not talents either for peace or war, tho' his education, or rather his want of education, had been ſuch as did not qualify him for either. He affected very much to be a king; he was now about twenty; and, tho' paſſionate, in which he ſwore execrably, was commonly eſteemed good-natured. He took the peace upon himſelf, and gave broad hints that he had made it in ſpite of the queen-mother, the *Spaniards*, and the *Guiſes*: he ſent the marſhal *de Coſſe* to *Rochelle*, to ſettle every thing that was to be done in conſequence of the peace; and his inſtructions were ſo clear, and his behaviour ſo honourable in the conduct of this commiſſion, that the admiral, who had no opportunity of knowing him ſince a child, flattered himſelf that things had taken a new turn, ſince the king undertook to govern himſelf; and, in all applications made to the court, the deciſions were ſuch as ſeemed to confirm theſe favourable opinions [a]. The ne-

[y] Memoires de BRANT. D'AVILA. SERRES. CHALONS.
[z] J. THUAN. DUPL. MEZ. [a] Memoires de BRANT. DU TILL. P. DAN.

gotiation

gotiation that had been depending nine years for the king's marriage, was at length terminated; and, on the 6th of *November*, he eſpouſed at *Mezieres*, *Elizabeth* of *Auſtria*, daughter to the emperor *Maximilian*, a princeſs of incomparable virtues, who, in the bloom of youth, had the ſagacity of age, and maintained, in the midſt of a voluptuous court, a purity of manners that would have done honour to a convent, without any tincture of affectation or auſterity [b]. The *Spaniſh* faction and the *Guiſes* knew not what to think of this ſudden change of affairs, and were ſtill more alarmed by the unexpected turn given to an event of their own procuring. Don *Sebaſtian* king of *Portugal* had demanded in marriage the princeſs *Margaret*, the king's ſiſter, then about the age of ſeventeen; which marriage had been traverſed by the *Spaniſh* miniſter, in complaiſance, as that family underſtood it, to the houſe of *Guiſe*, but in reality for other reaſons. Upon this the king intimated his deſign of marrying his ſiſter to the prince of *Navarre*; and upon diſcovering an amour very far advanced between her and the duke of *Guiſe*, he ſent for his baſtard brother, *Henry d'Angouleſme*, into his bed-chamber, and, ſhewing him two ſwords, ſaid with many imprecations, "Here is one to kill "you, if you don't kill the duke of *Guiſe* with the other, be"fore I come from hunting." The duke of *Guiſe* being informed of the king's reſentment, and knowing the violence of his temper, retired from court, and not long after married a widow [c].

Seems to take the reins of government into his own hands, and to conſult his true intereſts.

It was apparent, from the new turn things took, in conſequence of this extraordinary change of meaſures, that the peace and power of *France* might have been effectually eſtabliſhed, if *Charles* the ninth had kept theſe royal and national points in view, and had honourably practiſed to that end thoſe meaſures which, for the vileſt of all purpoſes, he moſt baſely diſſembled. He likewiſe ſhewed abilities upon this occaſion that might have done him credit upon a better; and tho' it may be ſuſpected, and perhaps proved, that he was intirely directed by the queen-mother, who had now put the ſeals into the hands of her own creature *Birague*, and was ſurrounded by her *Italian* council, yet if he had done what he pretended he had a mind to do, that is, diſmiſſed all thoſe who had been deep in the late troubles, recalled the chancellor, the *Montmorencys*, and ſome of the princes of the blood who were Catholics, the peace of the nation had been ſecured, and the luſtre of the government reſtored. But this was far

[b] Jacob. Thuani. Mez. Memoires de Brant. [c] Hiſt. de Matthieu. Memoires de la Reine Marguerite. Dupl. P. Dan.

from

from being the caſe; he counterfeited good qualities which he never poſſeſſed; and, while he wore them, produced ſuch a tranſient ſcene of proſperity, as muſt have influenced him, if there had been a ſpark of goodneſs in his nature, to have changed his conduct, and to have become the man he ſeemed; which was ſo viſibly his intereſt, that even thoſe who had a glimpſe of his heart, and who were to be greater gainers thereby than himſelf, expected it [d]. The regard he ſhewed to juſtice in points that came before him in council, revived the reſpect due to it throughout the kingdom. His ſubjects admired, his neighbours courted and revered him: he renewed his treaties with *England*, with the princes of *Germany*, and the grand duke (for he began now to be ſo ſtiled) of *Tuſcany*. He avoided, with great dexterity, entering into the alliance againſt the *Turks*, becauſe it was ſtiled the holy league, and he thought it might revive the fears of the Proteſtants. On this occaſion he made one of thoſe double-faced compliments which were peculiar to him, to the pope's nuncio: "Aſſure "his holineſs, ſaid he, of my obedience; and ah! that it "were in my power to expreſs my ſentiments more clear-"ly." [e] He meditated his deſign continually, and, without diſcloſing it to any, threw out a multitude of expreſſions which were taken in one ſenſe at the time, and which, when it was too late, were diſcerned to be capable of quite another. This ſhewed he had digeſted the maxims of his mother's politics thoroughly, and was capable of ſetting a good grace upon the blackeſt and moſt barbarous intention that ever entered the human breaſt. But we muſt forbear reflections, and content ourſelves with relating events unparallelled in hiſtory, and of which, for the honour of humanity, we hope the like will never again diſgrace any age or country; we do not ſay this to injure the *French* nation, for even the *French* hiſtorians ſay the ſame.

He overreaches the admiral, who attaches himſelf to him, and goes to court.

He was informed that the admiral, who was equally ſincere in religion and patriotiſm, was detaching troops to the aſſiſtance of the Proteſtants in the *Low Countries*, for which he very honeſtly gave the true reaſons, that he was deſirous of aſſiſting his brethren to ſhake off the intolerable yoke they were under, and to employ thoſe buſy ſpirits againſt the *Spaniards*, that might otherwiſe have troubled the quiet of *France*. The king was not content to let him know that he approved and admired his conduct, but deſired that he would ſend count *Lodovic* of *Naſſau* to confer with him on certain points of importance, and, that this might be done with the

[d] Hiſtoire de MATTH. J. THUAN. P. DAN. [e] Memoires de BRANT.

more

more safety and secrecy, he should come *incognito* [f]. He caressed count *Lodovic* in such a manner, entertained him so freely on the project he pretended to have formed of attacking *Spain* and conquering the *Low Countries*, and gave him such a mark of his sincerity, in restoring the principality of *Orange* to his brother, that he entirely gained the count, and sent him back so well satisfied to the admiral, that he removed all his scruples, and made him not only willing, but desirous, of going to court. The king did not fail to invite him, but it was in so easy and natural a way, that he might have excused himself, if he had been disposed. He came, however, in the month of *September*, to *Blois*, attended by fifty gentlemen [g]. He was received with equal affection and respect; the king kissed him; called him father; and, when he embraced him, said, "We have you now fast; you must not think of getting "from us when you please [h]." He restored him, unasked, the pensions that had been granted in the former reigns; and made him a present besides of one hundred thousand livres. However, when he asked his majesty's leave to go to his house at *Chatillon*, he very readily granted it; adding, when he mentioned some improvements that were making there; "We know very well how fond you are of gardening," which alluded to the person's finding him in his vineyard, with a pruning knife in his hand, immediately before the expedition of *Meaux*, when the king was obliged to fly before him to *Paris*. After a month or five weeks stay, he sent for him back, under pretence that he wanted to consult him about his negotiations with *England*, and other affairs of importance [i]. It was at this time that he talked so frankly and sensibly on the possibility of his subjects of the two communions living in charity to each other, and in duty to their prince, and the right he had, as sovereign of *Flanders*, to take the people under his protection, and of the deceitful usage he had met with from the *Spaniards*, that the admiral was perfectly charmed. He was infinitely more caressed than he had been before; and tho' he received the news of his brother the
A. D. cardinal's being poisoned in *England*, yet the concern the
1571. king expressed, and the grant he made him of the revenues of his brother's benefices for a year, effaced the suspicions [k]. Indeed the king dissembled so effectually, that the *Guises* and

[f] Histoire de Matth. Dupl. Mez. [g] Memoires de Brant. P. Dan. [h] Memoires de Brant. D'Avila. Histoire de Matth. [i] Vie de Gaspar de Coligni. Thuan. Dupl. [k] Memoires de la Reine Marguerite. Camden's Annals of Queen Elizabeth.

the

the furious eccleſiaſtics looked upon one another with amazement; the latter made no ſcruple of affirming, that the king was in the highway of becoming a heretic, and the former were not a little afraid, that a monarch, who was ſo complete a maſter of fraud and treachery, when he ſaw how much he had got by them, might turn theſe arts upon thoſe who taught them [l].

THE treaty with *England* went on, to the great ſatisfaction of the Hugonots; and was at length, after much deliberation, concluded. The queen of *Navarre* came to the court at *Blois*, was met by the queen-mother and by the king, who careſſed her exceſſively, called her his great aunt, and profeſſed himſelf charmed with her politeneſs and wiſdom. At night he aſked his mother if he had not acted his part well; to which ſhe returned, "That it was a good thing to ſet out "right; but that things were brought about by patience and "perſeverance:" to which the king anſwered, "Let me "alone; I'll bring them all into the net [m]." Count *Lodowic of Naſſau*, was, by this time, returned to court, in order to obtain the performance of the king's promiſes, who not only made them good, but exceeded them, intimating, that he wanted nothing but the admiral's advice to enter into action againſt the *Spaniards*; and it was this that brought him the third time to court [n]. In the beginning of the month of *June* the queen of *Navarre* was taken ill, and died on the 10th [o]. It was the current opinion of thoſe times, and many hiſtorians ſpeak of it as a thing certain, that ſhe was poiſoned by one *Rene*, an *Italian* glover, by ſome perfumed goods which he ſold her, by order of the queen-mother. It is, however, moſt likely, that this ſuſpicion had no foundation. Her body was opened, in which an abſceſs was formed that muſt have been mortal; and probably it was from their perſuaſion of this, that the admiral, the prince of *Conde*, and the other great lords of the Hugonot party, not only remained at court, but were alſo leſs inclined to liſten to the intelligence ſent them from all quarters of *France*, that the court meditated their deſtruction; which, as it was true, ſo a little reflection will ſuffice to ſhew, that the poiſoning the queen of *Navarre* at this juncture was inconſiſtent with their general ſcheme [p]. *Teligny*, who was one of the fineſt young gentlemen in *France*,

Death of the queen of Navarre, which retards without preventing her ſon's marriage.

[l] J. DE SERRES. DUPL. DU TILL. CAMDEN's Annals of Q. Elizabeth. [m] Hiſtoire de MATTH. D'AVILA. Memoires de BRANT. Vie de Gaſper de Coligni. [n] Memoires de Sulli. Vie de Gaſper de Coligni. Hiſtoire de MATTHIEU. [o] D'AVILA. J. THUANI. DUP. Memoires de BRANTOME. [p] P. DAN.

and

and whoſe merit alone had recommended him to the marriage of the admiral's daughter, was become a kind of declared favourite with the king, who had moſt effectually deceived him, and made uſe of him to detain the admiral, who had a great opinion of his ſagacity and penetration. A little before the marriage, *Langoiran*, who had ſerved under him in the war, came to take his leave of the admiral, who aſked him why he could leave *Paris* at that juncture; "Sir," ſaid he, "theſe people are too fond of us, and I had much rather "ſave myſelf with the fools, than ſtay here and have my "throat cut with thoſe who are wiſer[q]." The death of the queen of *Navarre* cauſed the marriage of her ſon to be put off, who, notwithſtanding, came to *Paris* at the time appointed, and was exceſſively careſſed. On the 17th of *Auguſt* he was affianced to the princeſs *Margeret* by the cardinal of *Bourbon*, againſt the will of the princeſs, who refuſed to ſign the contract, and who, the next day, would not ſpeak when the marriage was celebrated: but the king her brother, ſtanding behind, forced her to nod her head, which was taken for her conſent[r]. This was on the *Monday*, which, with the *Tueſday* and *Wedneſday*, was ſpent in feaſting, muſic, and dancing. On *Friday* the 22d of *Auguſt*, as the admiral was walking from the court to his lodgings, about eleven in the morning, he received a ſhot from a window in the ſtreet, which carried away the ſecond finger of his right hand, and wounded him grievouſly in the left arm. He ſaid immediately "This is the fruits of my reconciliation with the duke of "*Guiſe*[s]." After dinner, the king went to make the admiral a viſit, and, amongſt others, made him this compliment, "You have received the wound, but it is I that ſuffer;" deſiring, at the ſame time, that he would order his friends to quarter about his houſe, and promiſing to prohibit the Catholics from entering that quarter after it was night[t]. This ſatisfied the admiral of the king's ſincerity, and hindered him from complying with the deſires of his friends, who would have carried him away, and who were ſtrong enough to have forced a paſſage out of *Paris* if they had attempted it.

The maſſacre of the Proteſtants reſolved, and the executed.

IN the evening the queen-mother held a cabinet council, to fix the execution of that plot which ſhe had meditated for ſo many years. The perſons were *Henry* duke of *Anjou*, afterwards king of *Poland* and of *France*, *Gonzagua* duke of *Nevers*, *Henry* of *Angouleſme*, grand prior of *France*, and

[q] D'AVILA. Memoires de BRANT. [r] Memoires de la Reine Marguerite. THUAN. P. DAN. [s] Hiſtoire de MATTH. Vie de Gaſper de Colignì. Memoires de BRANT. [t] Memoires de la Reine Marguerite.

baſtard

baſtard brother to the king, the marſhal *de Tavannes*, and *Albert de Gondi*, count *de Rhetz*: there it was determined to maſſacre the Proteſtants in general; and it was with ſome difficulty that the duke *de Nevers* and marſhal *Tavannes* got the king of *Navarre* and the prince of *Conde* excepted, together[u] with the marſhals *Montmorenci* and *Damville*, who were at firſt doomed to ſlaughter with the reſt. The direction of the whole deſign, when the time of execution arrived, was confided to the duke of *Guiſe*, who took with him his uncle the duke of *Aumale*, and the grand prior *Henry d'Angouleſme*. The guards were appointed to be in arms, and the city officers were to diſpoſe the militia to execute the king's orders, of which the ſignal was the ringing of a bell near the *Louvre*[w]. Some ſay that, when the hour approached, which was that of midnight, the king grew indetermined; that he expreſſed his horror at the thought of ſhedding ſo much blood, that of his ſubjects, of men who came at his command, upon their confidence in his word, and particularly the admiral, whom he had detained ſo lately by his careſſes; but that the queen-mother reproached him with his cowardice, made a frightful picture of his danger, flattered him with the hopes of ruling without controul, and, having once wrung from him an order to give the ſignal, haſtened it, for fear he ſhould alter his mind, which it is alſo reported he did, when it was too late. Theſe circumſtances are not to be depended upon, becauſe many writers viſibly labour to excuſe the young monarch at the expence of his mother, while others make it ſingly his act, affirming that, when it was propoſed to take off a few of the heads, he cried out[x], "If any are to die, let there not be one "left to reproach me with breach of faith."

execution committed to the D. of Guiſe.

THE duke of *Guiſe* and the chevalier *d'Angouleſme*, accompanied by many perſons of quality, and a detachment of the *Swiſs* troops of the catholic religion, as ſoon as the ſignal was given, attacked the houſe of the admiral *Coligni*; who, as ſoon as he diſcerned from the noiſe what the matter was, roſe out of bed, and, while they were forcing the doors, addreſſed himſelf, in a ſhort pathetic prayer, to God, which was ſcarce finiſhed, before *Beſme*, the moſt forward of the aſſaſſins, entered the room, and aſked if he was *Coligni*? To which he anſwered he was; adding, "Young man, reſpect theſe grey hairs;" to which he anſwered by thruſting his ſword through

The cruel maſſacre of the admiral followed by that of all the Proteſtants.

[u] Hiſtoire de MATTH. Memoires de Tavannes. D'AVILA. P. P. DAN. [w] Vie de Gaſper de Coligni. Memoires de Tavannes. DUPLEIX. MEZ. [x] Memoires de BRANTOME. Memoires de la Reine Marguerite. P. DAN.

his body [y]. The duke of *Guiſe* and the chevalier, growing impatient below ſtairs, cried out to know if the buſineſs was done; and, being told it was, commanded that the body ſhould be thrown out of the window. As ſoon as it fell on the ground, the chevalier, or, as ſome ſay, the duke of *Guiſe*, wiping the blood off the face with his handkerchief, as ſoon as he knew the face, kicked it with his foot [z]. The body was then abandoned to the fury of the populace, who, after a ſeries of cruel and inſolent affronts, dragged it to the common gallows, to which it was chained by the feet, the head being cut off, and carried to the queen-mother, who, it is ſaid, cauſed it to be embalmed and ſent to *Rome* [a]. The king himſelf went to ſee it hang upon the gibbet, where, a fire being kindled under it, part was burnt, and the reſt ſcorched. However, the miſerable remains were, in the night, taken down, by the command of the marſhal duke *de Montmorenci*, who cauſed them to be honourably interred at *Chantilly* [b]. In the very *Louvre*, the gentlemen belonging to the king of *Navarre* and the prince of *Condé* were murdered under the king's eye; two of them, wounded and purſued by the aſſaſſins, fled into the bed-chamber of the queen of *Navarre*, and jumped upon her bed, beſeeching her to ſave their lives; and as ſhe went to aſk this favour of the queen-mother, two more, under the like circumſtances, ruſhed into the room, and threw themſelves at her feet. The queen-mother came to the windows to enjoy theſe dreadful ſcenes; and the king, ſeeing the Hugonots, who were lodged on the other ſide of the river, flying, called for his long gun, and fired upon them [c].

Conſequences of this barbarous action avowed and boaſted of by the king.

It is not within our province (and we conſider it as a felicity) to purſue the ſtory of this tragical event, through all its circumſtances, which would require a work of conſiderable length; we ſhall only obſerve that, within the ſpace of three or four days, ſeveral thouſands were deſtroyed, by all the variety of cruel deaths that the moſt unbounded malice could invent. *Peter Ramus*, profeſſor of philoſophy and the mathematics, after being robbed of all he poſſeſſed, his belly being firſt ripped open, was thrown out of a window, the news of which ſo affrighted *Denis Lambin*, the king's profeſſor, that, tho' a zealous Catholic, he died of terror [d]. The firſt two

[y] D'Avila. Dupleix. Mez. [z] Thuan. Memoires de l'Amiral de Coligni. [a] Matth. Hiſtoire de France. Serres. Le Gend. [b] Memoires de l'Amiral de Coligni. Memoires de la Reine Marguerite. [c] Memoires de Tavannes. Memoires de Brant. [d] J. de Serres.

days

days the king denied it was done by his orders, and threw the whole blame upon the house of *Guise*; but, on the 28th of *August*, he went to the parliament, avowed it, was complimented upon it, and directed a process against the admiral, by which his memory was stigmatized as a traitor, and, which was much worse, two honest and innocent gentlemen, of respectable characters, were executed as accomplices in a conspiracy against the life of the king, the princes his brothers, the queen-mother, and the king of *Navarre*, in order to set the crown on the head of the young prince of *Condé*, which never existed, but by owning of which they might have saved their lives; a proposition they rejected with contempt. They were executed by torch-light, and the king, the queen-mother (with the king of *Navarre* and the prince of *Condé* by force), were spectators of this horrid act; and they also assisted at the jubilee proclaimed to thank God for the success of a design that reflects dishonour on the Christian religion [e], and indelible infamy on all who contrived, executed, or approved it.

Example of Paris followed in other cities.

On the eve of *St. Bartholomew*, orders had been sent to the governors of provinces to fall themselves, and to let loose the people, upon the Protestants; and though an edict was published before the end of the week, assuring them of the king's protection, and that he by no means meant to exterminate them because of their religion, yet private orders were sent, of a nature directly contrary; in consequence of which the massacre, or as, in allusion to the *Sicilian* vespers, it was now stiled, the matins of *Paris*, were repeated in *Meaux*, *Orleans*, *Troyes*, *Angiers*, *Toulouse*, *Rouen*, and *Lyons*, so that, in the space of two months, thirty thousand Protestants were butchered in cold blood, if that expression may be used, in speaking of people influenced by the most detestable passions [f]. *La Charite* on the *Loire*, one of the cautionary towns given to the Protestants, was surprized, and the inhabitants abandoned to the rage of their enemies. The other three were more upon their guard, and became thereby sanctuaries to such of their religion as took shelter in them. In some of the provinces, however, the governors gave but little countenance to the barbarities that were exercised; and in others they absolutely refused to execute them at all; alleging, that their swords were at the king's command against his enemies, but not against his subjects [g]. The king of *Navarre* was easily prevailed upon to abjure the Protestant religion, and to send an

[e] Jacob. Thuan. D'Avila. Le Gend. de l'Amiral de Coligni. Dupl. P. Dan. Mez.

[f] Memoires

[g] Serres

edict into his own dominions, forbidding the exercise of it; which, however, was not obeyed. The court had more trouble with the prince of *Condé*, who shewed great firmness in his religion, though the king, who undertook his conversion, proposed the strongest argument in three words, *Mass, Death* or the *Bastile* [h]. At length they brought his chaplain to abjure, and he persuaded his master to follow his example, as the prince of *Conti* and the count *de Soissons* did also. The people of *Rochelle* began to provide for their own defence; and the count *de Montgomery*, who made his escape out of *Paris* on the day of the massacre, went into *England* to solicit succours. The court sent the famous *la Houe*, one of the best officers in *France*, and a zealous Protestant, to persuade the people of *Rochelle* to submit; but it was by his advice that they disposed every thing in such a manner as enabled them to make a great and glorious resistance; yet he did not betray his trust, but, at the same time that he fortified *Rochelle*, he advised the people to submit to their sovereign, provided they had a reasonable security given them for the peaceable enjoyment of their properties and their religion [i].

A. D. 1572.

Rochelle besieged.

When it appeared that artifice would do nothing, and that the bloody matins of *St. Bartholomew* had actually cured the Protestants of their credulity, the court had recourse to force. *Biron* had orders to invest *Rochelle* by land, while *Strozzi* with a fleet, and the baron *de la Garde* with a squadron of gallies, blocked it up by sea [k]. In the mean time, other places having revolted, three armies were set on foot, the first, under the command of the marshal *Damville*, was employed to reduce *Sommiers*; which, after an obstinate resistance of two months, was effected; but it ruined the army, so that it was out of his power to take *Nismes*. Monsieur *Le Chastre*, with the second, besieged *Sancerre*, which, though neither strong nor well fortified, held out eight months; during which time there perished two thousand people in the town through famine; and a father is said to have lived a week upon the body of his deceased daughter. At length the place submitted, but upon tolerable terms [l]. The third, commanded by the marquis *de Villars*, now made admiral, was sent into *Guienne*, and reduced the greatest part of that country. But the whole force of *France* was, in a manner, assembled before *Rochelle*, the siege of which was commanded by the duke of *Anjou*, accompanied by his brother the

[h] D'Avila. Memoires de Brant. P. Dan. [i] Matthieu Histoire de France. Jacob. Thuan. [k] Popelinière. D'Avila, P. Dan. [l] Jacob. Thuan. J. de Serres.

duke

duke of *Alenſon*, the king of *Navarre*, the prince of *Condé*, the duke of *Montpenſier*, all the princes of the houſe of *Guiſe*, the duke of *Nevers*, the marſhal *de Coſſe*, and the flower of the *French* nobility. It laſted eight months, during which the beſieged ſuſtained nine general and twenty particular aſſaults, in one of which the duke *d'Aumale* was ſlain [m]. The count *de Montgomery*, with a fleet from *England*, attempted to ſuccour them, but in vain [n]; notwithſtanding which diſappointment, and Monſ. *La Noue*'s quitting them, they ſtill defended themſelves with the ſame firmneſs; diſpoſing all things with ſuch prudence, that they enjoyed a good ſtate of health, and a tolerable ſubſiſtence; while the army without was equally expoſed to famine and diſeaſes. The duke of *Anjou* himſelf had been killed by a muſquet ball, if a gentleman, whoſe name was *de Vigne*, had not ſeen the man taking aim, and, puſhing the duke aſide, received it into his own body [o]. The news arriving that the duke of *Anjou* was elected king of *Poland*, notwithſtanding he had three formidable rivals, a general attack was made, and this failing, the duke, who had already loſt four-and-twenty thouſand men, reſolved to make an end of the affair by a peace. The meaſures for this being concerted, the people of *Rochelle* ſurrendered, and intreated his highneſs to enter their town; which, as it had been agreed before-hand, he refuſed; the edicts of pacification were renewed, and the inhabitants of *Rochelle* promiſed to be good ſubjects for the future [p]. Thus ended the fourth civil war, by a peace which the court did not intend to keep, and to which the Proteſtants never truſted.

THE miſeries of *France* were daily augmented by new diſturbances; the king was grown exceſſively jealous of his brother the duke of *Anjou*, who had been always his mother's favourite, and who, by being continually at the head of the army, had at leaſt as much authority as his brother. The king was therefore extremely well pleaſed at his election, and deſired nothing ſo much as to ſee him fairly out of *France*. On the other hand, the duke of *Anjou*, who was made a king in a manner againſt his will, who loved an indolent and luxurious life, the converſation of ſeveral young men, whom he ſtiled his friends, and the reſt of the world his flatterers, till, in proceſs of time, they fell upon a worſe appellation, and who was alſo vehemently enamoured of the princeſs of *Condé*, could not bear the thoughts of parting, notwithſtanding the ambaſſadors from *Poland* preſſed him every day; and the king

Henry *D.* of Anjou *elected K.* of Poland.

[m] MATTH. Hiſtoire de France. POPELINIERE. MEZERAY.
[n] CAMDEN's Annals of Queen Elizabeth. [o] JACOB. THUANI. DUPL. P. DAN. [p] SERRES. MEZ.

told their mother, that the kingdom was not big enough to hold them both [q]. The duke of *Guiſe* adhered to the duke of *Anjou*, and offered to ſupport him if he had been inclined to ſtay, whether his brother would or not. But, beſides this, there was another formidable and dangerous faction, called *La Politiques*; theſe were indifferently of both religions, chiefly the more moderate Catholics, ſuch as the *Montmorencis*, the marſhal *de Coſſe*, and Monſieur *de Biron*. At the head of theſe was the duke of *Alenſon*, who had a mind to ſet aſide one brother, and perhaps both. The king of *Navarre* and the prince of *Conde* had entered a little into his ſchemes, which went no farther in appearance than redreſſing the numberleſs diſorders in the ſtate, and excluding foreigners from the council. The Proteſtants, encouraged by this party, and knowing how little they had to expect either from the king or the duke of *Anjou*, began to form new demands, and ſuch as they thought might afford them a real ſecurity; to procure which, they ſet on foot a general confederacy, that they might the better know, and the more eaſily exert the force of their whole party; and the government was fallen ſo low, that, in little more than a twelvemonth, it was deliberated whether, yielding to neceſſity, they ſhould not grant their own terms to thoſe whom they had threatened to exterminate from the face of the earth. The king accompanied his brother towards the frontiers, not out of affection, but for fear he ſhould fix himſelf, and raiſe a party in ſome of the diſtant provinces [r]. In this journey, however, he was ſeized with a kind of ſlow malignant fever, which, from the beginning, had a very dangerous appearance: and with regard to which the queen-mother expreſſed herſelf ſtrangely, when ſhe took leave of the king of *Poland* in *Lorrain*, "Go," ſaid ſhe, "my "ſon, enter into poſſeſſion of your kingdom; but be aſſured "that your ſtay there ſhall not be long [s]." The government was now intirely in her hands, her creature *Birague* being chancellor, and ſcarce any but her *Italians* being intruſted with the ſecrets of the ſtate; and theſe in effect were endeavouring to contrive means to pillage the people, and, inſtead of a regular and legal government, to eſtabliſh an abſolute tyranny, under the direction of an ambitious woman, and her inſolent favourites.

New troubles in the court of

THE courts of *France* and *England* continued ſtill to diſſemble with each other; in truth, becauſe it was their intereſt. The queen-mother was afraid that *Elizabeth* would

[q] Hiſtoire de MATTH. Memoires de BRANT. JACOBI THUANI. [r] SERRES. DUPL. MEZ. P. DAN. [s] Hiſt. de MATTH.

aſſiſt

aſſiſt the Hugonots, and *Elizabeth* was ſtill apprehenſive of the *Spaniards* and the queen of *Scots*. In the mean time, the Hugonots perceiving, that, though the court had refuſed to grant their demands, yet they had not courage enough to arreſt their deputies, reſolved to proceed in their ſcheme of putting themſelves, once for all, in a poſture of defence, ſo as to treat for the future in the quality of a body politic, and not as ſubjects in arms againſt their prince. It was with this view that they formed a confederacy, into which, by the advice of Monſ. *La Noue*, the people of *Rochelle* entered [t]. On this they began to ſtir in other parts of *France*, and more eſpecially in *Normandy*. The court directed three armies to be raiſed for carrying on this fifth civil war, and, in the mean time, the queen-mother earneſtly preſſed the treaty of marriage with queen *Elizabeth*, in favour of her third ſon the duke of *Alenſon*, which, for the reaſons before expreſſed, *Elizabeth* ſeemed to encourage, and even granted that young prince, who affected to be thought no enemy to the Proteſtants, a ſafe-conduct to come and viſit her in her own dominions; which, though he ſolicited with warmth, yet, when he had got it, he did not uſe, being engaged at home in ſome intrigues of a very extraordinary nature. His friends openly ſolicited for him the poſt of lieutenant-general, as his brother had enjoyed it. The king was averſe to this demand, and the queen-mother much more ſo; but it could not well be refuſed [u]. But, while this was in agitation, the Hugonots in arms in *Normandy* advanced a ſmall corps of cavalry very near *St. Germains*, where the court then reſided. The deſign of this was to have carried off the duke of *Alenſon*, who had conſented to it, but they came ten days too ſoon, ſo that he was not ready [w]. It occaſioned, however, a dreadful conſternation; and the Catholics, affecting to believe that there was a deſign of returning the compliment of *St. Bartholomew*, retired in precipitation out of *Paris*; the queen-mother and her ladies amongſt the reſt; and the next day the king himſelf went to the caſtle of *Bois de Vincennes*, cauſing the duke of *Alenſon* and the king of *Navarre* to be put under a guard, and treating this as a new conſpiracy againſt his perſon [x]. The marſhals *Montmorency* and *Coſſe*, repairing to court to juſtify themſelves, were arreſted and ſent to the *Baſtile*; the prince of *Condé*, and the other brothers of the marſhal *Montmorency* had ſhared the ſame fate, if the prince, who was

France, and a third party headed by the D. of Alenſon.

[t] Jacobi Thuani. P. Dan. [u] Serres. Dupl. Mez. Camden's Annals of Queen Elizabeth. [w] Jacobi Thuani. Dupl. [x] Matth. Hiſtoire de France. Memoires de la Reine Marguerite.

then in his government of *Picardy*, had not very wiſely retired to *Straſburgh*, where following once more the example of his chaplain, he declared his reconciliation to the church of *Rome* to have been forced and inſincere, and, at his earneſt requeſt, was again admitted into communion with the Proteſtants at *Straſburgh*[y]. At court, *La Moule*, who had betrayed his maſter the duke of *Alenſon*, and who was a ſtrange compound of ſuperſtition and debauchery, loſt his head upon a ſcaffold, as did alſo the count *de Coconas*, a *Piedmonteſe*, who pretended not to any religion, but had been very active in the buſineſs of *St. Bartholomew*. *Tourtai*, a man of leſs conſequence, was broke alive upon the wheel[z]. The duke of *Alenſon* made a mean confeſſion, but the king of *Navarre* behaved with great ſpirit and reſolution, and treated the queen-mother with a degree of freedom that put her very much out of countenance[a]. He aſcribed all the troubles of *France* to her arts, and affirmed ſhe excited them to make herſelf neceſſary.

Miſerable death of Charles IX.

In the mean time the queen-mother, who neglected nothing that might facilitate her views in favour of the duke of *Anjou*, procured her ſon-in-law the duke of *Lorrain* to be inveſted with the title of the king's lieutenant-general; and having, under colour of this new conſpiracy, brought moſt of thoſe who were inclined, or at leaſt who had it moſt in their power, to oppoſe her, into danger, began to act more openly and boldly, and as if the ſovereign power had been ſolely in her hands. The poor king *Charles* was gradually approaching death, under the moſt terrible agonies and tortures. He was little maſter of his own actions; and, though abſolute power had been his aim, he was by this time very ſenſible that he had, in effect, no power at all. To recover it he projected ſchemes of reformation; declared frequently and openly that he deſired no more than legal authority; that affairs of order and juſtice ſhould be left intirely to the parliaments; the direction of military affairs to the marſhals; and that he would reſerve to himſelf the care only of reforming his court, and relieving his people. Some add, that he expreſſed a reſolution of removing from about him ſuch as had adviſed the maſſacre. But it is very difficult to judge of the authorities on which theſe reports are founded; and beſides he was ſo infamous for his diſſimulation, that we know not what to think of theſe declarations, even ſuppoſing them to have been made: this is very certain, that his mother made him act a part to the very laſt. She had procured from him, ſome time, letters for

[y] Serres. Dupl. Mez. [z] Jacob. Thuan. P. Dan.
[a] Le Laboureur, dans la Continuation des Memoires de Caſtelnau. Le Gend.

the governors of provinces, and other officers civil and military, to obey her commands; but, not ſatisfied with this, a little before he died ſhe engaged him to give his orders to the chancellor *Birague*, her creature, to draw and ſeal a commiſſion to her to be regent of the kingdom [b]. The very morning that he died he ſent for the duke of *Alenſon*, the king of *Navarre*, the cardinal *de Bourbon*, the chancellor, the ſecretary of ſtate, and ſeveral other great perſons, to whom he declared his brother the king of *Poland* his heir, and the queen-mother regent till his arrival, and ſent his teſtament to the parliament to the like effect [c]. After having thus performed all that the queen-mother had for him to do, he breathed his laſt on the 30th of *May*, which was *Whitſunday*, in the middle of the fourteenth year of his reign, and towards the cloſe of the twenty-fourth year of his life [d]. As a general rumour had prevailed, from expreſſions that fell from himſelf, that his was not a natural diſeaſe, his corpſe was opened after his demiſe, and, upon inſpection, it is ſaid, there appeared no marks of poiſon, which refuted the ſuſpicion that had fallen upon the duke of *Alenſon*. Others allege that he was taken off by one who underſtood the myſteries of that deteſtable art ſo well, as to remove enemies, without leaving grounds of diſcovery [e]. But the common opinion of thoſe times was, that his end was indeed out of the courſe of nature, but in conſequence of the expreſs judgment of God, for the cruelties he had exerciſed on his ſubjects, and blaſphemouſly imputing this to a motive of religion (L).

THE

[b] JACOBI THUANI. PAPIRIUS MASSO, in vit. Caroli IX. P. DAN. [c] SERRES. DUPLEIX. Memoires de BRANT. [d] MEZ. CHALONS. [e] JACOBI THUANI. Memoires de BRANT.

(L) There are few princes whoſe memory have been more freely dealt with than that of *Charles* the ninth. We have been obliged in the text to mention ſome of his perſonal qualities; we ſhall avoid, as much as poſſible, any repetitions here. In his perſon he was tall, well made, robuſt, but ſtooped a little in his ſhoulders. He had a pale, or rather livid complexion, a ſharp noſe, and quick, or rather haggard eyes. He derived from nature great and good qualities, which were improved by his governor Monſ. *Ciperre*, or, as *Brantome* calls him, *Sipierre*, and his preceptor Monſ. *Amiot*, ſo long and ſo far as they were allowed to manage him. He had an extenſive capacity, a very retentive memory, much ſagacity, a wonderful penetration, and great ſolidity in judgment. He ſpoke eaſily, pertinently, and with dignity. He loved learning and learned men, more eſpe-

An interregnum, during which the queen-mother is regent of the kingdom.

THE ſituation of the kingdom on the demiſe of *Charles* the ninth was equally new and ſtrange; the queen-mother was in actual poſſeſſion of the government, and, at the ſame, univerſally hated, except by her own creatures, whom ſhe had raiſed from nothing, and whom ſhe ſupported againſt all the world. She ſhewed vaſt abilities upon this occaſion; for, though the ſlighteſt accident muſt have thrown all things into confuſion, yet ſhe acted with ſuch dignity, ſo much order, and ſo

cially poets, and was the patron of the great *Ronſard*. There is a ſaying of his, with reſpect to them, which has been deſervedly remembered. "Princes," ſaid he, "ought to deal with poets, "as jockeys with their horſes, "keep them ſleek, and in good "caſe, but not let them grow "fat." He had a very fine voice, ſung well, and wrote verſes himſelf. He alſo wrote a treatiſe upon hunting, which has been ſince publiſhed. He had great perſonal courage, was very ſober, for, having once drank a little too much wine, and being guilty of ſome extravagancies, he never taſted it after. He was alſo naturally modeſt, and not much inclined to women (1). Let us now ſee how a prince with ſo many good qualities came to make ſo bad a figure. He had two ill qualities that are ſeldom found united, he was a deep diſſembler, and yet paſſionate to a degree of madneſs. He loved hunting immoderately; and from delighting in the blood of beaſts, came to ſpill that of men without concern. He ſeldom ſpoke without ſwearing, a vice which he caught from the count de *Rhetz*, his mother's inſtrument in corrupting his manners. He ſtudied mankind early, and knew them well. He was as eaſily provoked as he was hard to be appeaſed. He had a violence in his temper which at once ſhewed itſelf, and was heightened by his diverſions; for, beſides his paſſion for hunting, he was a great lover of tennis, and would alſo work frequently at the forge, being an excellent gunſmith. His impetuoſity appeared even in his dancing, with which he fatigued himſelf and his whole court. He had one amuſement ſingular, and which ſpoke his character; he coined falſe money with his own hands, and was never ſo well pleaſed as when he cheated people (2). The debauchery of his, or rather of his mother's court, ruined his morals and his temper. The neceſſity he was under of managing oppoſite factions taught him to diſguiſe his ſentiments, and his frequent diſappointments inſpired him with deep reſentments. Hence it is ſaid, and ſaid with truth, that, at the age of twenty, he excelled *Tiberius* in addreſs, and was not leſs cruel than *Nero* (3). After the maſſacre on the eve of *St. Bartholomew*, he had a fierceneſs in his

(1) *Maff. in vit. Carol.* IX. *Thuan. P. Daniel Hiſtoire de France. Brantome.* (2) *Le Gendre, Hiſtoire de France, tom. iv. p. 466.* (3) *Brantome Grand Capitaines Francois, Diſcours* lxxviii.

look

ſo great preſence of mind, that every thing went on contrary to all probability [f]. The chancellor engaged the parliament to

[f] Dupleix. Mez. Le Grand.

look, and a colour in his cheeks, which he never had before. He ſlept little, and never ſound. He waked frequently in agonies, and had ſoft muſic, with the voices of his pages, to compoſe him again to reſt. He diſſembled in his laſt moments, expreſſing great kindneſs towards his brother, whom he hated, and much reſpect to the queen-mother, whom he intended to have ſent into *Poland*, to make a viſit to her beloved ſon: but this was in ſome meaſure excuſable, ſince it aroſe from his tenderneſs for his conſort and daughter, who were to be left in their hands. He eſpouſed *Elizabeth* of *Auſtria*, daughter to the emperor *Maximilian* the ſecond, whoſe excellent character has been before mentioned. She paſſed the latter part of her life at *Vienna*; but ſhe would never ſuffer any impoſts to be laid on the inhabitants of the places ſettled upon her in jointure, or any judicial office to be ſold (4). She refuſed *Philip* the ſecond, who was very deſirous of marrying her, and died *January* 22, 1592, in the thirty-eighth year of her age. By her he had a daughter *Mary Elizabeth*, to whom the queen of *England* was god-mother. This young princeſs died before ſhe was ſix years old, but had ſo much of her father's ſpirit, that ſhe took it very ill that her uncle king *Henry* did not viſit her more frequently. The king had alſo a ſon by *Mary Touchet*, who was not the daughter, as many writers report, of an apothecary, but of a gentleman of family, who had a conſiderable office at *Orleans*. His ſon by her was ſtiled *Charles de Valois*, ſucceſſively grand prior of *France*, count of *Auvergne*, and duke of *Angouleſme*. We ſhall have occaſion to mention this lady and her ſon more than once hereafter. Beſides *Mary Touchet*, the king had at leaſt two other miſtreſſes that are known. One of them was a young lady of admirable beauty and heroic virtue, who never liſtened to the king's ſollicitations, who, notwithſtanding, was ſo far from taking this amiſs, that he viſited her from eſteem, and ſhewed her the higheſt marks of reſpect as long as he lived. Another miſtreſs of his was the wife of *Charles de Gondi*, Seigneur *de la Tour*, maſter of his wardrobe, brother to the count *de Rhetz*, and to the biſhop of *Paris*. The ſcandal of that time was, that the queen-mother told this man in confidence, the king had a mind to ſend him on a journey into the other world, that he might the more freely enjoy his wife; by which *la Tour* was induced to adminiſter a doſe to the king, and followed him in a few weeks after, by the like conveyance (5). Monſieur

(4) *Jacob Thuan. Popelinier. J. de Serres.* (5) *Brantome, his Diſcourſe on this good queen was prepoſterouſly printed amongſt his Dames Galantes, in the late editions it is the firſt article of the eighth Diſcourſe of his Dames Illuſtre. St. Martha.*

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to ſend their compliments of condolance, and, at the ſame time, to deſire that ſhe would take the regency into her hands. She conſtrained the two princes who were priſoners to write, in conjunction with her, to the provinces, as if they acted intirely in concert. She removed from the *Bois de Vincennes* to the *Louvre*, cauſed all the paſſages, except the great gate, to be walled up, and kept her ſon and her ſon-in-law not only under a guard, but in an apartment ſecured with ſtrong grates [z]. The two marſhals were ſtill in the *Baſtile*, and the people of *Paris*, having ſhewn a malignant joy at their impriſonment,

[z] Journal des Choſes memorables advenues durant tout le Regne de Henry III. Jacobi Thuani. P. Dan.

de Thou ſays nothing of this ſtory; but he admits that, notwithſtanding their public report to the contrary, the phyſicians who opened his body were convinced, from the mortifications in his ſtomach and inteſtines, that he died of a recent poiſon, having, by the vigour of his youth, and the natural ſtrength of his conſtitution, got the better of his firſt diſeaſe. In his laſt agonies, his blood, being diſſolved, exſuded thro' all his pores. The chancellor *Hoſpital* framed a device for this monarch, which was a ſhield charged with the arms of *France*, ſurrounded with the collar of *St. Michael*, ſurmounted by a cloſe crown, and placed between two columns, with this motto, *Pietate & Juſtitia*, i. e. "By Piety and Juſ-"tice." It is ſtrange that the king ſhould cauſe a medal to be ſtruck on the maſſacre of the Proteſtants, with his arms as before mentioned on one ſide, with the date 24 *Auguſti*, 1572, and this inſcription, *Pietas excitavit Juſtitiam*, that is, "His Piety "excited his Juſtice." On the other he is ſeated on his throne, with a ſword in his right hand, the hand of juſtice in his left, with a group of heads under his feet, ſurrounded by theſe words, *Virtus in Rebelles*, i. e. "Cou-"rage in ſuppreſſing Rebels. It may not be amiſs to remark, that a new ſtar being ſeen ſoon after that bloody action, occaſioned, according to the humour of that time, a great variety of conjectures. But that of *Beza*, who boldly ventured to foretell that the death of the bloody *Herod*, by whoſe order it was committed, was at no great diſtance, met with much cenſure at firſt; but, when it ſeemed to be verified by the king's fate, it was reverenced as prophetic (6). At the public dinner after his funeral, the parliament of *Paris* commanded *Amiet*, great almoner of *France*, to ſay grace to them, as repreſenting the monarchy; but he retired and hid himſelf, to avoid it. Something of the ſame kind happened at the funeral of *Lewis* the fourteenth (7).

(6) *Memoires pour ſervir a l'Hiſt. de France, tom.* i. *p.* 26. *Abrege de l'Hiſtoire de France, tom.* i. *p.* 381.

(7) *Pr. Beaault.*

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ſhe truſted that fortreſs to the guard of the townſmen, and thereby ſecured both it and them. She ſent an *Italian* eccleſiaſtic to *Rochelle*, to negotiate, or rather to purchaſe, a truce, while, in the mean time, ſhe hired *Swiſs* and *German* troops. The Proteſtants, by her permiſſion, held an aſſembly at *Milhaud*, in *Rouvergne*, where they received letters from marſhal *Damville* and the prince of *Condé*, in conſequence of which they made a league with the former, in quality of governor of *Languedoc*, and declared the latter their chief protector and captain-general, but, at the ſame time, limited his authority, by aſſigning him a council [h]. The queen-mother was ſufficiently diſpleaſed with their proceedings, though ſhe diſſembled it, and, on the 26th of *June*, under pretence of revenging the death of the king her huſband, but in reality to ſtrike a terror into her enemies of every party, ſhe cauſed the unfortunate count of *Montgomery* to be publickly beheaded, after being cruelly tortured, though his life had been promiſed him when he ſurrendered [i]. She received letters patent from her ſon in *Poland*, which gave her a legal title to the regency; and, having ſent the marſhal *de Rhetz* to the frontiers of *Champagne*, to receive the foreign troops ſhe had cauſed to be raiſed, ſhe ſet out for *Lyons*, carrying the duke of *Alenſon* and the king of *Navarre* with her, but leaving the two marſhals cloſe confined [k].

HENRY the third, at the time of his acceſſion, was in the twenty-third year of his age. He received the news of it at *Cracow* in a fortnight, and, from that moment, reſolved to make his eſcape, which, however, he diſſembled with great addreſs, and prevented the *Poles* from taking thoſe violent meaſures which they firſt intended, of ſeizing all the *French*, and putting them to death without mercy, in caſe the king left them [l]. He quitted the court, however, in the night, within a week after he had the news, and followed by *Bellievre*, the *French* miniſter, ſo briſkly, that he joined him in the emperor's territories, where he was overtaken by the lord high chamberlain, to whom he made his excuſes, preſented him a diamond ring of great value, and intreated him to be kind to the *French* he had left behind in *Poland* [m]. He was extremely well received by the emperor *Maximilian* the ſecond, with whom he ſtaid a week at *Vienna*, and his imperial majeſty behaved towards him in a manner not very common

Henry III. *makes his eſcape from Poland, and returns through Germany and Italy into France.*

[h] J. DE SERRES. DUPLEIX. MEZ. [i] Journal des Choſes memorables advenues durant tout le Regne Henry III. DUPLEIX. P. DAN. LE GEND. [k] JACOBI THUANI. MEZ. [l] DUPL. P. DAN. [m] JACOBI THUAN. P. DAN.

amongſt

amongſt princes; he pointed out to him the errors committed in the reigns of his father and brothers, adviſed him to regain the confidence of his ſubjects, to grant the Proteſtants reaſonable terms, and to obſerve them punctually. He gave him a good eſcorte, and cauſed him to be accompanied by his two ſons into the territories of the republic of *Venice* [n]. He was received there with all poſſible marks of reſpect; the republic gave him the ſame advice, and he was ſo exceedingly pleaſed with his entertainment, that he called the time he ſpent there the nine inchanted days ever after [o]. He proceeded from thence to *Turin*, where he was exceedingly careſſed by the duke and ducheſs of *Savoy*; but he paid a little too dear for this entertainment, ſince he was perſuaded to part with *Pignerol*, and two or three other places which he held in *Piedmont*. There he conferred with marſhal *Damville*, who ſeemed to ſtand high in his favour; but, upon the coming of ſome of the emiſſaries of the queen-mother, he intended to have ſeized him, if the duke of *Savoy*, upon whoſe faith he came, had not ſent him away with a ſtrong eſcorte. The marſhal, however, was ſo much frightened, that, as he returned into *Languedoc*, he made a vow that he would never ſee the king more, except in a picture. About the latter end of *Auguſt* he ſet out for *Lyons*, accompanied, as he had been from *Venice*, by the duke of *Savoy*, and eſcorted by a ſmall army, compoſed of his troops, a circumſtance of a very new and extraordinary nature, that a *French* monarch ſhould ſtand in need of the protection of the duke of *Savoy*, in order to paſs with ſafety through part of his own kingdom; and yet, in ſpite of this precaution, the Proteſtants, who were in arms, carried off a part of his baggage, which alarmed and incenſed him exceedingly. On the ſixth of *September* he arrived ſafely in the laſt-mentioned city, having been met at a conſiderable diſtance by the duke of *Alenſon* and the king of *Navarre*, and, when he drew near the place, by the queen-mother [o].

Affects the character of a wiſe and great prince.

HENRY, at his firſt return to *France*, ſeemed inclined to mind his own affairs, and to live and reign like a king. He received the duke of *Alenſon* and the king of *Navarre* but very coldly, yet heard their excuſes and apologies civilly, and at length gave them their liberty. He gave the bâton to the famous *Montluc*, for the ſervice he had rendered his predeceſſors, for his age and infirmities diſabled him from doing much more [q]. The king made a regular partition of his time, and took every method to make the world believe, that he in-

[n] DUPL. MEZERAY. [o] JACOBI THUANI. P. DAN. P. Journal du Regne du Roy Henry III. DUPLEIX. P. DANIEL. [q] MATTHIEU Hiſtoire de France. Commentaries de Montluc.

princeſs

tended to be a man of buſineſs. He was ſtill amorous of the princeſs of *Condé*, and ſpoke to the queen-mother of the means of obtaining a divorce; but, while he flattered himſelf with theſe notions, the princeſs died ſuddenly at *Paris*, as the ducheſs of *Savoy* had done a little before at *Turin* [r]. In ſpite of all the good advice he had received at *Vienna* and *Venice*, the king poſitively determined to continue the war againſt the Hugonots, and to continue it with vigour. Marſhal *Damville*, upon this, threw off the maſk, aſſembled the ſtates of *Languedoc*, and informed the world that he had put himſelf at the head of a confederacy, for reſtoring vigour to the laws, tranquility to the ſtate, and driving foreigners out of the court and the kingdom [s]: the king went from *Lyons* to *Avignon*, where he firſt gave a ſpecimen of that ſtrange temper which rendered him contemptible and ridiculous; for, not content with aſſiſting at the ſolemn proceſſions, he put himſelf at the head of a band of penitents, and the complaiſance of the cardinal of *Lorrain*, who made one of the number, coſt him his life; ſome ſay by the cold he got by marching at midnight with his legs half bare, though others affirm that he was poiſoned: he was certainly a very great man, admired and idolized by the Catholics, abhorred and dreaded by the Hugonots. The queen-mother, according to her cuſtom, ſpoke of him ſometimes as if he had united the two different characters of ſaint and ſtateſman; at others as the curſe of *France*, and the real author of ſo many years troubles [t]; in which, without doubt, ſhe had as large a ſhare as the cardinal. A. D. 1574.

A conſpiracy againſt the life of the king, which he narrowly eſcapes.

In a very ſhort time, the king broke through all his good reſolutions that he ever made. He ſpent the greateſt part of his time with his young favourites, to whom his ſubjects gave the ignominious name of his minions; and with the ladies, by whoſe charms and addreſs the queen-mother thought to govern him, as ſhe had others, who managed the duke of *Alenſon* and the king of *Navarre* in the ſame manner [u]. The time for his coronation being fixed, he was ſurprized on the road with a diſcovery which he little expected. *Forvagues*, one of his brother's favourites, was introduced to him in the night, in the diſguiſe of a peaſant, and throwing himſelf at his feet, declared there was a conſpiracy againſt his life. *Henry* was amazed, but his mother made light of it. However, he ſent one of his pages, whoſe name was *Barat*, properly inſtructed, to the place of rendezvous of the conſpirators, who, at his return, reported that no leſs than two hundred determined men

[r] Jacob. Thuan. Dupl. Memoires pour l'Hiſtoire de France, tom. i. p. 44. [s] Serres. Mez. [t] Thuan. Journal du Regne du Roy Henry III. [u] Le Laboureur dans la Continuation des Memoires de Caſtelnau.

were

were embarked in this cruel deſign [w]. The king ſent for the duke of *Alenſon*, and threatened him, but on his falling upon his knees, and confeſſing all, he was pardoned; thoſe who embarked in this bloody attempt quitted the kingdom in a body [x]. On the 13th of *February* the king was crowned at *Rheims*, by the cardinal of *Guiſe*, but in ſuch confuſion, that the *Te Deum* was forgot. He complained, when the crown was ſet upon his head, that it hurt him, and it had like to have fallen. The next day he eſpouſed *Louiſa*, daughter to the count *de Vaudemont*, of the houſe of *Lorrain* [y]. The war with the Proteſtants went on with indifferent ſucceſs; but *Montbron*, who had ſurprized the king's baggage, being made priſoner in an action, loſt his head by the ſentence of the parliament of *Grenoble*. His party replaced him by the famous Monſieur *de Leſdiguieres* [z]. In conſequence of a negotiation that had been ſet on foot, the confederates, by their deputies, preſented a remonſtrance, conſiſting of ninety-two articles, in which they demanded an aſſembly of the ſtates, a reduction of the taxes to what they were in the reign of *Lewis* the twelfth, the puniſhment of atheiſts, blaſphemers, and magicians, and the total ſuppreſſion of thoſe infamous debauches, which could not fail to bring the heavy judgments of God upon the nation. The king was exceedingly provoked, and diſmiſſed the deputies with a rough anſwer [a]. The new method was practiſed to quiet marſhal *Damville*, that is, he was poiſoned, but had the good fortune to recover. However, on the rumour of his death, the queen-mother extorted an order for *Souvrai*, one of the king's favourites, to diſpatch the marſhals *Montmorency* and *Coſſe*. *Souvrai* was the only man of probity the king had about him. He made no ſcruple of accepting the order, that he might delay the execution. As ſoon as it was known that *Damville* was alive, the queen-mother cauſed it to be ſuperſeded; and *Souvrai* perſuaded the king that the only way to make the marſhals forget what was paſt, was to ſet them at liberty, which was accordingly done [b]. In the month of *Auguſt*, the king was ſeized with a dreadful pain in the head, which produced an ulcer in his ear; he made no doubt but that he was poiſoned, and it was upon this occaſion that he ſent for the king of *Navarre* into his bed-chamber, conjured him to diſpatch that villain, meaning his brother, and thereby ſecure the crown to himſelf. *Henry* of *Navarre* conſoled him

[w] Jacob. Thuani. Dupleix. [x] Serres. Mez. P. Dan. [y] Journal du Regne du Roy Henry III. Matth. Hiſtoire de France. [z] Dupleix. Memoires de Brant. [a] Popeliniere. Dupleix. P. Daniel. [b] Jacob. Thuan.

in

in the moſt tender manner, but at the ſame time told him, he would not purchaſe all the crowns upon earth by ſo deteſtable an action [c]. The king recovered not long after; but the duke of *Alenſon* found his ſituation ſo uneaſy, that, upon the 15th of *September*, deceiving thoſe who were appointed to keep their eyes on him, he retired to *Dreux*, where he was preſently ſurrounded by many of the nobility. A body of *Germans* entered the kingdom ſoon after, who were attacked and defeated by the duke of *Guiſe*, who in this battle received a wound in the face, from whence he had the ſurname of *Balafre* [d]. The queen-mother, notwithſtanding this ſucceſs, was very deſirous of bringing about a peace, in which ſhe had the aſſiſtance of marſhal *Montmorenci*; but the Proteſtants were ſo ſuſpicious of her, and even of the duke of *Alenſon*, that all ſhe could obtain was a truce for ſix months; and even this upon hard terms, the king agreeing to pay a freſh body of *German* troops, whom the prince of *Condé* had hired, allowing the duke of *Alenſon* guards, and promiſing to diſband his own troops; and the following ſix places were given as cautionary towns to the Proteſtants, *Angouleſme*, *Niort*, *Saumur*, *Bourges*, *La Charite*, and *Meſieres*; but becauſe the governors of *Angouleſme* and *Bourges* abſolutely refuſed to evacuate thoſe places, the confederates were content with *St. John de Angeli* and *Coignac*. This truce, negotiated by the queen-mother in perſon, was proclaimed on the 23d of *December* [e]. A. D. 1575.

FROM the time the duke of *Alenſon* had quitted the court, the king, and even the queen-mother, was firmly perſuaded that the king of *Navarre* had no connections with him, and were only in pain about the prince of *Condé*, who refuſed to accept the truce. In the beginning of the month of *February* they had the mortification to find themſelves miſtaken; the king of *Navarre*, under the pretence of hunting, withdrew, and took his precautions ſo well, that he arrived ſafely in his government of *Guienne*, where he preſently declared that he had been forced to abjure his religion, and that, in his heart, he never had any other than the reformed, in which he was brought up [f]. This alarmed the court exceedingly; more eſpecially when they underſtood that the prince of *Condé* had joined the *Germans*, and that the duke of *Alenſon*, having put himſelf at the head of that army, found it conſiſt of thirty-five thouſand men. The duke of *Mayenne*, in the room of his brother the duke of *Guiſe*, who was not yet recovered, com- *The war ended by a peace with the Proteſtants.*

[c] MATT. Hiſtoire de France. P. DAN. [d] Memoires pour l'Hiſtoire de France. JACOBI THUANI. [e] J. DE SERRES. DUPL. [f] MATTH. Hiſtoire de France. JACOBI THUANI.

manded

manded that of the crown, which conſiſted but of eighteen thouſand men. The queen-mother, according to her old ſyſtem, negotiated on all ſides, and at length, with the help of the marſhal *de Montmorenci*, concluded a peace about the middle of *May*, the terms of which were digeſted into the famous edict of pacification, which conſiſted of no leſs than ſixty-three articles [g]. By theſe liberty of conſcience, and the public exerciſe of their religion, were granted to the reformed, without any other reſtriction than that they ſhould not preach within two leagues of *Paris*, or any other place where the court was: party-chambers were erected in every parliament, to conſiſt of equal numbers of Catholics and Proteſtants, before whom all ſuits were to be tried; the judgments againſt the admiral, and in general all who had fallen by the ſword of war or of juſtice, were reverſed; eight cautionary places were given to the Proteſtants; and as in general, ſo in particular, every body was contented to the full of his demands, except the king of *Navarre*. This edict, that ſeemed to promiſe, at leaſt, a temporary calm, produced greater miſchiefs than hitherto had fallen upon *France*.

Beginning of the league by the Guiſian *faction.*

THE *Guiſes* took this opportunity to introduce a meaſure that had been long before concerted in favour of his father by his uncle the cardinal of *Lorrain*, and this was the famous Catholic league, which was firſt ſigned by *James d'Humieres*, in *Picardy*, ſoon after by the count *de Lude*, governor of *Poitou*, and, in a very ſhort ſpace of time, by all the angry Catholics in the kingdom [h]. The king was mentioned in it with reſpect, but he could not help ſeeing that it ſtruck at the very root of his authority; for as his Proteſtant ſubjects had already their chiefs, ſo the Catholics were, for the future, to depend upon the chief of the league; and were, by the very words of it, to execute whatever he commanded, for the good of the cauſe, againſt any, without exception of perſons. The king, to avoid the effects of this, by the advice of his council, declared himſelf head of the league, notwithſtanding it derogated from what he had done, and was directly calculated to annul the edict of pacification [i]. Beſides, the pope and the king of *Spain* were its protectors, ſo that nothing could be more unworthy of him, as a monarch, than the part he was obliged to take. To ſpeak the truth, he was already

[g] Memoires du Duc de Nevers. D'AVILA. D'AUBIGNE. Memoires de la Reine Marguerite. DUPL. [h] LE LABOUREUZ dans la Continuation des Memoires de Caſtelnau. JAC. THUAN. MEZ. P. DAN. [i] MATTH. Journal de Bodin. Memoires de la Reine Marguerite. LE GEND.

but

but one king amongſt many, and ſome of them pretty conſiderable; his brother had the countries of *Anjou*, *Tourain*, and *Berri*, with an additional penſion of one hundred thouſand crowns. The prince of *Condé* was to have his government of *Picardy*, and the ſtrong fortreſs of *Peronne*; till he was put in poſſeſſion of this he ſeized *Brouage*, and remained in arms. The king of *Navarre* kept his own territories in *Guienne*. Marſhal *Damville* acted as ſovereign in *Languedoc*: and what grated the *French* moſt of all, prince *Caſimir* was to have *Chateau Thierri* erected into a principality, a company of one hundred men at arms, a numerous body of *German* cavalry, which he was to furniſh, a penſion of twelve thouſand crowns, beſides ſeven hundred thouſand in ready money; and, till all this could be given him, he lived at free quarters in the biſhoprick of *Langres*, where he deſtroyed the country without mercy [k]. In the beginning of *November* the ſtates met at *Blois*, where the king made them a very good ſpeech, in which lay his talent, and his chancellor *Birague* a very bad one. Before the cloſe of the year they cancelled the edict of pacification, and ſent their deputies to the king of *Navarre*, the prince of *Condé*, and marſhal *Damville*, to invite them to the aſſembly, but without effect; as for the duke of *Anjou*, he was reconciled to the court already, and it was ſtrongly ſuſpected did nothing but by his mother's advice, all the time he ſeemed to be againſt it [l]. A. D. 1576.

THE year opened with the ſtates abſolute declaration againſt any toleration or indulgence to the Proteſtants, the king's avowing himſelf the head of the holy league, as they affected to call it, ſending it into the provinces with his recommendation to be ſubſcribed, and, at the ſame time, renewing the war againſt the Hugonots, and all with a view of procuring money, which, at their cloſe, the ſtates poſitively refuſed. The duke of *Anjou* at the head of the army, having under him the duke of *Guiſe* and the duke of *Aumale*, took ſome places, and particularly *La Charite*, and, upon the whole, the Catholics had the advantage in moſt parts of the kingdom. This was chiefly owing to the miſunderſtanding that ſubſiſted amongſt their chiefs. The people of *Rochelle* were jealous of the prince of *Condé*, the king of *Navarre* did not act with vigour, marſhal *Damville* laboured to keep his own principality, and was even ſuſpected of ſome underſtanding with the court, which put the Proteſtants upon ſeizing *Montpellier* and ſome other places in his government. Very happily for them, the like feuds ran as high, or higher, at court, where the king

The king, by an odd ſtrain of policy, declares for the league, and begins a new war.

[k] JACOB. THUAN. MATTH. P. DAN. [l] Journal de BODIN.

was exceſſively jealous of the duke of *Anjou*, and at the ſame time more afraid of the duke of *Guiſe* [m]. The duke of *Montpenſier*, more than half a malecontent, took this opportunity to propoſe a peace, which was preceded by a truce, in the month of *September*. At length it was concluded in the ſucceeding month, and ſigned by the king at *Poictiers*, and by the king of *Navarre* at *Bergerac* [n]. By this treaty the edict of pacification was again revived, with ſome reſtrictions, at which the warmer Hugonots were highly provoked; but the prince of *Condé*, who underſtood their affairs and his own ſituation better, was ſo extremely pleaſed with it, that he cauſed it to be proclaimed by torch-light at *St. John de Angeli*, for fear of any accident that might happen by deferring it till next morning [o]. All this time the luxury of the court continued, and, if poſſible, increaſed; of which it may not be amiſs to give two inſtances: the firſt was that of the *Italian* comedians [p], who, till then, had never been in *France*. Their buffooneries were mixed with ſuch idecencies, that, notwithſtanding they produced the king's letters patent, the parliament forbad them to exhibit their performances under ſevere penalties; but the king, though otherwiſe a very mutable prince, was ſo delighted with them, that he, by repeated letters of juſſion, forced the parliament to give way. The other, the behaviour of Monſ. *Villequiere*, one of *Henry*'s favourites, who finding, by a letter of his wife's, that ſhe was with child by another man, who had poiſoned his wife, and ſollicited her to poiſon him, ſtabbed her and her maid at her toilet, in the king's palace, and in a room not far from his, notwithſtanding which he had his pardon as ſoon as he aſked it; which occaſioned a report that, though free enough of her favours to others, ſhe had refuſed them to the king [q].

A. D. 1577.

The queen-mother negotiates with her ſon and ſon-in-law in order to prevent a new war.

ANIMOSITY ſtill ſubſiſted between the Papiſts and the Proteſtants, and frequent enterprizes were made by each party, notwithſtanding the peace. The diſturbances at court roſe higher than ever; the bravoes of the duke of *Guiſe* were continually quarrelling with, and ſometimes killing, the king's minions, to whom, as he was prodigal while living, he cauſed them, when dead, to be interred with all the pomp of princes, but he durſt not revenge them [r]. The duke of *Anjou* had his favourites likewiſe, in whoſe diſputes with the minions he took ſuch a ſhare, that at length he retired again

[m] POPELINIERE. DUPLEIX. MEZ. [n] JACOBI THUANI. [o] MATTH. DUPLEIX. [p] Journal du Regne du Roy Henry III. p. 24. [q] JACOB. THUAN. Journal du Regne du Roy Henry III. p. 24, 25. [r] MEZERAY. P. DAN.

from

from court, which raiſed an apprehenſion of freſh diſturbances. The queen-mother interpoſed; and, to ſave *France*, ſhe directed her views to *England* and *Flanders*, though he did not behave to her either with the tenderneſs of a ſon, or the reſpect due to her as a queen [s]. She made afterwards a tour to *Nerac*, where the king of *Navarre* kept his court, under colour of carrying her daughter back to her huſband, but, in reality, with an intention to gain that prince if poſſible, or at leaſt to adjuſt diſputes, ſo as to prevent a new war [t]. In order to which ſhe carried with her ſome of her ſyrens, and continued there many months; but it is reported that the queen of *Navarre* made ſuch an impreſſion on the heart of a grave magiſtrate, who had the ear of her mother, that turned the ſtream of advantage in favour of the king her huſband. The marſhal *de Bellegarde*, who, at his return from *Poland*, ſtood high in the king's favour, yet held it but for a little time, had ſeized the marquiſate of *Saluces*, and held it in ſpite of the court, being ſupported by the duke of *Savoy* [u] and the king of *Spain*; and the queen-mother knew no better way to gain him, than by confirming him in the government which he had uſurped. In the abſence of his mother the king continued his indolent luxurious courſe of life; and, ſtudying nothing ſo much as how to pillage his people, he ſent at once twenty-two edicts *burſaux*, that is, according to our manner of ſpeaking, money bills, to his ſenate, of which the parliament thought fit to regiſter only two; but the king forced them afterwards to give their ſanction to ſome of the reſt that were the leaſt oppreſſive. The chancellor *Birague* being honoured with a cap from *Rome*, the king gave the ſeals to *Chiverny*, who was the creature of his predeceſſor. As miſerable as *France* was at this time, the *Low Countries* were ſtill more ſo, having no leſs than four or five princes who aſpired to the government, each at the head of armies; and, to increaſe thoſe miſeries, the Catholics called in the duke of *Anjou*, who, as it might be expected from his turbulent temper, accepted their invitation, and thereby augmented that confuſion he came to ſuppreſs [w]. A. D. 1578.

ON the firſt day of the new year the king executed a deſign which he had long had in his mind, and which was the moſt worthy of his whole reign. The order of *St. Michael* had been long declining in credit (as all orders do on being beſtowed on very unworthy perſons) was at length fallen ſo low, *The court again reſolves on war.*

[s] THUAN. DUPL. [t] Memoires de la Reine Marguerite. D'AUBIGNY. [u] GUICHENON Hiſt. de la Maiſon de Savoye. Memoires de BRANT. [w] Journal du Regne du Roy Henry III. STRADA de Bello Belgico.

that the enſigns of it were called, in deriſion, collars for all beaſts. Without ſuppreſſing this the king erected that of the *Holy Ghoſt* [x], limiting the number to one hundred, and uniting the maſterſhip in perpetuity to the crown of *France*. His view in this, for the ſtatutes of the order were drawn with great ſkill and care, was to attach a conſiderable number of the nobility cloſely to his perſon, to detach ſome of thoſe who had entered into the league, it being provided, by the inſtitution of the order, that no knight ſhould accept ſalary, penſion, or honour, from any other prince than the king; and, laſtly, to draw back ſome of the Hugonot nobility to the old religion, none but Catholics being capable of this new order. In the mean time, through the addreſs, as we obſerved, of the queen of *Navarre*, not out of love either to her huſband or his religion, but out of hatred to the king her brother, the conferences at *Nerac* ended intirely to the advantage of the Proteſtants, towards the cloſe of the month of *February*, three new places being granted them in *Guienne*, which they were to hold till the month of *Auguſt*, and eleven in *Languedoc*, which they were to retain till the month of *October* [y]. The queen-mother continued her tour into the remoter provinces, having a particular deſire to confer with marſhal *Bellegarde*, who was cloſely united with *Leſdiguieres* and the duke of *Savoy*, and, as it was ſuſpected, to the king of *Spain*. The marſhal made ſome difficulty of paſſing the mountains; but the queen having prevailed upon the duke of *Savoy* to accompany him, he could not refuſe. She received his excuſes very graciouſly, promiſed him all that he could deſire, and ſent him away perfectly ſatisfied; but ſome thought the queen's earneſtneſs about this interview was ſufficiently explained by his death, which happened ſix days after his return into his government, which, however, was given to his ſon; and, becauſe he was a youth, *Negarette de la Valette*, afterwards duke of *Epernon*, was appointed to aſſiſt him. She likewiſe cajoled the marſhal *Damville*, known henceforward by the title of *Montmorenci*, his elder brother dying, not without ſuſpicion of poiſon, as in theſe times great men ſeldom died a natural death. At her return to the court, the queen found a new ſet of favourites, but the king in his old diſpoſition. The duke of *Anjou* paſſed the ſeas in *Auguſt*, to pay his addreſſes to queen *Elizabeth*, whom his miniſter Monſ. *Simier* had ſtrongly prepoſſeſſed in his favour, in which he ſtood very high himſelf,

[x] Jacob. Thuan. Le Laboureur, dans la Continuation des Memoires de Caſtelnau. Journal du Regne du Roy Henry III. P. Daniel.

[y] Memoires de la Reine Marguerite. Dupleix. Mez.

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by means of ſome bold truths he had told her of ſome of her miniſters [a]. The queen treated the duke in ſuch a manner, that ſhe ſent him away thoroughly perſuaded the poſſeſſion of the *Low-Countries* would procure him her perſon and her crown. After taking ſo much pains to make peace, the queen-mother, towards the cloſe of the year, relapſed into a deſire of making war; at leaſt ſo it ſeemed to all *France*, by marſhal *Montmorenci*'s demanding from the king of *Navarre* cautionary towns, which he did in a peremptory ſtrain, and which the king, with equal firmneſs, refuſed to deliver. He had already taken his meaſures with the prince of *Condé* and *Leſdiguieres*; the former, at the cloſe of *November*, ſurprized *La Fere* in *Picardy*, and immediately after went in perſon into *Germany*, to negotiate a ſupply of troops from the Proteſtant princes [b]. A. D. 1579.

The king of Navarre ſurprizes Cahors.

In the laſt war the Proteſtants thought the king of *Navarre* inactive; from the late treaty of *Nerac* they began to have a good opinion of his head; but having ſeen little or nothing of his conduct as a ſoldier, they concluded that he had been too haſty in having again recourſe to arms. They had ſome colour, though no reaſon, for this; for out of ſixty places, in which the king, the prince of *Condé*, and *Leſdiguieres*, had intelligence, they were not able to ſurprize above three, and the Hugonots, judging by the events, cenſured a conduct which they did not comprehend. The king of *Navarre* was extremely hurt by the manifeſt tokens of coldneſs he received, which bordered nearly upon contempt. He propoſed in his council of war the ſurprizing *Cahors*, the capital of *Querci*, a place ſtrongly ſituated, well fortified, with a numerous garriſon, commanded by *Verins*, eſteemed one of the ableſt as well as one of the braveſt officers in *France*. His council unanimouſly diſſuaded him from attempting a thing which, for the reaſons they aſſigned, ſeemed to be impoſſible. He anſwered calmly, that, ſupported by men ſo brave as he knew them to be, there was nothing impoſſible. It happened, the night he made his attack, there was a moſt dreadful ſtorm. He forced the gate of the bridge next the country by a petard, the firſt time that had been practiſed in *France*, and, having cut in pieces the guard on the bridge, forced the gate of the city in the ſame manner, the thunder hindering the inhabitants from diſtinguiſhing the report of the petard [c]. *Verins*, however, made an obſtinate defence, diſputing the ground inch by inch; ſo that it was five whole days before he was

[a] Jacob. Thuan. Dupl. Camden's Annals of Q. Elizabeth. [b] Serres. Dupl. P. Dan. [c] D'Aubigny, Mez.

beat out of the place, the king being at the head of the foot who forced the laſt and ſtrongeſt intrenchment in perſon [d]. This event had a great effect; it gained him a place of very great conſequence, and it eſtabliſhed his character with reſpect to firmneſs and conduct; but it was followed by a great diſappointment: he had quarrelled with the admiral *Villars*, who was the king's lieutenant in *Guienne*, and the queen-mother, at his own requeſt, had beſtowed that poſt on marſhal *Biron*, who was the king's friend; but he ſoon gave him to underſtand, that he had no notion of friendſhip when it came in competition with his duty; ſo that he was able to make no progreſs on that ſide [e].

The court and the Hugonots ſeem alike diſpoſed to peace.

In the mean time, the crown army, commanded by marſhal *Matignon*, laid ſiege to *La Fere*, where the army was, in every reſpect, ſo well accommodated, that it was ſtiled the velvet ſiege. It was gallantly defended for ſix weeks, and ſurrendered, at the end of *Auguſt*, upon honourable terms. Some other actions paſſed of little importance; but the deputies from the ſtates of the *Low Countries*, having made an offer of their government to the duke of *Anjou*, he offered the king his brother his mediation for terminating the civil war, which the king, who was now reconciled to him, readily accepted; and promiſed, in caſe he ſucceeded, to give him all the aſſiſtance poſſible, as well in regard to his marriage as his eſtabliſhment. The duke had a conference on this ſubject with the king of *Navarre*, at the caſtle of *Flex*, on the *Dordogne*, in *Perigord*; where, after conſulting the deputies of the Proteſtants, the terms propoſed by the king were eſteemed ſo moderate, that the treaty was very quickly concluded, by which the edict of *Poictiers*, as explained by the articles at *Nerac*, was confirmed, and the cautionary towns left in the hands of the Proteſtants for ſix years [f]. The prince of *Condé* vehemently oppoſed this peace, on account of a treaty which he had made with the elector *Palatine*, in order to have brought a new army of *Germans* into the kingdom, to whom he had promiſed cautionary towns, till they ſhould be paid the vaſt ſums that he had offered them. The Proteſtants could by no means digeſt the putting any of their ſtrong places into the hands of foreigners; on the other hand, the preventing this irruption was the chief motive that determined the king to peace: ſo that both parties having an equal diſlike to this meaſure, the king of *Navarre*, with the full conſent of the Hugonot deputies, ratified the peace towards the cloſe of

[d] Jacobi Thuani. Dupl. P. Dan. [e] D'Aubigny. Mez. Le Gend. [f] Jacobi Thuani. Strada. P. Daniel.

November,

November, as the king likewiſe did a month afterwards, and cauſed it to be alſo ratified by the parliament of *Paris* [g]. This placed the king of *Navarre* in a more conſpicuous light than ever; and at the ſame time his conſort merited no leſs, ſince it was by her ſkill and intrigues that her brother's affairs in the *Low Countries* had been brought into ſo good a condition, which however had, in all probability, never happened, if Don *John* of *Auſtria*'s death had not fallen out ſo opportunely for their deſigns, which death, tho' imputed by many to poiſon, was not laid to their charge. A. D. 1580.

The duke of Anjou, enters the Low Countries, and raiſes the ſiege of Cambray.

IMMEDIATELY after the concluſion of the peace, the monarch of *Navarre* acquainted the king, that tho' in appearance he was compelled by neceſſity to make it, yet, in reality, it was otherwiſe, ſince the king of *Spain* had offered him money and troops ſufficient to conquer *Guienne*, and importuned him to accept them ſtill. He alſo aſſured the court that he would take no ſhare in the raſh enterprize of the prince of *Condé*, who ſtill perſiſted in refuſing the peace; and he kept his promiſe ſo punctually, that the duke of *Mayenne* eaſily obliged *Leſdiguieres*, and the reſt of the malecontents, to accept the pacification [h]. This behaviour was equally pleaſing to the king and to the duke of *Anjou*, who now thought themſelves ſure of carrying their point in *England*, inſomuch that a moſt ſplendid embaſſy, at the head of which was the prince Dauphin of *Auvergne*, ſon to the duke of *Montpenſier*, was ſent into *England* to demand the queen in marriage for the duke of *Anjou* [i]. They had a public audience in *April*, with all poſſible marks of grace and favour. The two great points of the marriage and the league ſeemed to be abſolutely ſettled; in conſequence of which the warm Proteſtants in *England* declaimed moſt vehemently againſt this ſcheme for bringing back popery, while in *France* the friends of the league inſinuated, that both the treaty and the marriage were proofs that the king and his brother both had too great an inclination to hereſy, notwithſtanding the continual efforts made by the former of theſe princes, that he was not only a zealous Catholic, but a downright bigot [k]. The prince of *Parma*, who ſucceeded Don *John* of *Auſtria* in the government of the *Low Countries* for the crown of *Spain*, laid ſiege to *Cambray*, to the relief of which the duke of *Anjou* marched with a ſuperior army, and having diſengaged the place about the middle of *Auguſt*, removed the *Spaniſh* governor, who had ſacrificed every thing

[g] DUPLEIX. MEZ. [h] Avant propos de la Chronologie Novennaire de VICTOR CAYET. [i] Relation de l'Ambaſſade du Prince Dauphin dans les Memoires du Duc de Nevers, tom. i. [k] CAMDEN's Annals of Q. Elizabeth.

for his service, and gave the command to *John de Balagny*, the son of *Montluc* bishop of *Valence*, which occasioned much discontent [l]; so that, finding his enterprize become daily more and more difficult, he resolved to pass over into *England*, in order to remove, by his presence, the obstacles raised to the alliance between the two crowns against *Spain*, which the king, his brother, insisted should be preceded by the marriage; whereas queen *Elizabeth* alleged the necessity of the treaty's being signed to satisfy her people on the conclusion of the marriage.

His journey to England, and the mysterious conduct of queen Elizabeth, in the affair of her marriage.

In the month of *November* the duke arrived at the *English* court, where he was received with all imaginable testimonies of affection and esteem [m]. The *French* historians say, that the queen went so far as to sign a contract of marriage with him, and to receive his, at the same time that she presented him with a ring, assuring him, that from this time she should consider herself as espoused [n]. Our writers mention the ring [o], but are silent as to the contract; however, it is on all hands agreed, that she presently revoked all she had done, but without breaking off the treaty of marriage, which she pretended only to defer. It may, however, be very justly suspected, that the whole of this was a contrivance, to which very few, if any, were privy. Her affairs were then in a very critical situation; she knew very well the temper and genius of those with whom she treated; she knew it was her interest to over-reach them; and she believed that, all things considered, they would not be very willing, perhaps not very able, to resent it, when they found themselves over-reached. If the duke of *Anjou* was disappointed in this journey in the essential point, he found, at least, his account in it, from many collateral circumstances. The very reputation of it did him great credit. The queen gave it all the countenance in the *Low Countries* that he could desire; she furnished him with some troops; she supplied him at once with one hundred thousand crowns; she made a shew of detaining him at her court against his will, that his returning unmarried might be no prejudice to his affairs; she made him great presents, and she caused him to be honourably accompanied, and even by some of the first nobility of her kingdom [p]. Her conduct embarrassed all the politicians of her times, and has given at least as much trouble

[l] Mem. P. Daniel. [m] Memoires du Duc de Nevers. Camd. Annals of Q. Elizabeth. [n] This Contract, subscribed by the Bishop of Lincoln, the Earls of Sussex, Bedford, and Leicester, and also by Hatton and Walsingham, is now in the Library of Monsieur Foucault at Paris. [o] Strype's Annals. [p] Holinsh.

to

to the historians, who have attempted to explain it ever since. *Bodin*, chancellor to the duke, took the liberty of telling her one day, while his master remained at her court, that he was writing the characters of the most eminent persons of the age, and was desirous to know how he should do justice to her's; A. D. 1581. "In this particular, Mr. *Bodin*, replied she frankly, Do you know what the world will think of your memoirs, if you attempt to give any account of this business in them; trust me, they will be of opinion that the materials were communicated by a lyar, and that they were put together by a fool [q]." This is a very singular circumstance, and we leave the reader to make his own reflections. The most penetrating of the *French* historians suspect, that the queen had chiefly in view the preventing the duke of *Anjou* from espousing a daughter of *Spain*, which would have been by no means acceptable, either to her or to the prince of *Orange*, who still suspected the influence of *Spanish* counsels at the *French* court.

Affairs go but indifferently in the Low Countries.

At the return of the duke of *Anjou* into the *Low Countries*, the highest honours were paid him, as well out of respect to the queen of *England*, as of his own high birth, and the great service he had rendered the states [r]. To keep him steady in his enterprize, which was, in some measure, contrary to his temper, he was, in the month of *March*, solemnly installed at *Antwerp* marquis of the Holy *Roman* empire, and duke of *Brabant* [s]. Yet this solemnity, appointed to do him honour, occasioned his receiving an open affront. The prince of *Orange* being wounded in the face by *Jaureguay*, the servant of a broken banker, the populace, who strongly suspected the duke of *Anjou*, rose immediately in consequence of this accident, and disarmed all the *French* in their quarters. The prince took care, notwithstanding his wound, to restore the public tranquility in a few hours; but the duke could not so soon forget it. He went afterwards to *Ghent*, and was there saluted earl of *Flanders*; but, with abundance of fine titles, he had little authority, the states reserving that, as was very natural, since they were fighting for freedom, and not for a change of masters [t]. It was not easy, however, for their new duke to digest this; and besides, there were those about him who would not suffer him to remain quiet, even if he had been so inclined: they followed him with a design of making their fortunes; and it was necessary to this that he should have it in his power; for accomplishing of which they pointed out the means, and he was forward enough in undertaking

[q] Histoire de France, tom. ix. p. 141. [r] Strada. [s] Jacob. Thuan. P. Dan. [t] P. Matthieu. Du Pleix. Mez.

dertaking to carry them into execution. But while he was meditating great things, a plot, thro' the ſagacity and vigilance of the prince of *Orange*, was diſcovered againſt both their lives, and that of the king, the duke's brother. One *Salſedo*, the ſon of a *Spaniard*, who had raiſed a regiment at his own expence for the duke's ſervice, was at the head of this deſign, in which one *Francis Baſa*, an *Italian*, and a banker, were alſo embarked. *Baſa*, in hopes of mercy, made ſome important diſcoveries; but ſoon after diſpatched himſelf in a fit of deſpair [u]. *Salſedo* talked of ſtrange things, in hopes of being transferred to *Paris*, and having at leaſt a chance to be reſcued by the way. When he came there he made great diſcoveries, after being tortured, in the king's own hearing; but he denied them all before his death, being torn in pieces by four horſes [w]. All that was publiſhed, was, that he had laid a ſcheme for betraying *Calais* and *Dunkirk* into the hands of the duke of *Parma*, and for deſtroying the prince of *Orange* and the duke of *Anjou*; but it is generally believed that he laid open the conſpiracy of the *Guiſes*, which ſtruck the king and court with the greateſt terror [x]. This year *Strozzi*, whom the queen-mother had ſent with the fleet to the *Azores* iſlands, in ſupport of Don *Antonio*'s claim to the crown of *Portugal*, to which ſhe herſelf had formed ſome pretenſions, part of his ſquadron was taken, and thoſe on board it treated with great ſeverity by the *Spaniards*, under colour of their coming to aſſiſt the rebels [y]. As to the domeſtic affairs of *France*, the king ſeemed to be wholly occupied in aggrandizing his two great favourites, the dukes of *Joyeuſe* and *Epernon*. Towards the cloſe of the year the *Gregorian* calendar was introduced, by ſtriking out the days between the 15th and 25th of *December*. The alliance was alſo renewed between the crown and the cantons of *Switzerland*, which was indeed an affair of conſequence [z].

A. D. 1582.

He attempts to ſeize Antwerp and other places.

THE next year opened with a very ſtrange ſcene. Tho' the crown of *France* pretended to take no ſhare in the war in the *Low Countries*, yet it was a thing of notoriety that the king permitted his brother to levy troops in his territories, and that the queen-mother and the queen of *England* furniſhed him with money to pay them. If *Philip* diſſembled the knowlege of this, it was becauſe his affairs were not in ſuch a condition as would permit him to revenge them; but he had his intrigues, and it was not long before the effects of them made them clearly known. The duke of *Anjou*, after having ma-

[u] Memoires du Duc de Nevers. [w] Journal d'Henry, p. 57, 58. [x] JACOB. THUAN. Journal d'Henry III. P. DAN. [y] DUPLEIX. [z] MEZ.

turely

turely deliberated on the complaints made by his creatures, and the project propoſed by them for their relief, reſolved to make uſe of the *French* troops to ſurprize the towns where they were in garriſon, and to begin with *Antwerp* himſelf. This enterprize, formed in the month of *January*, proved abortive, thro' the ſkill and courage of the prince of *Orange*; ſo that, after loſing a great many brave men in the attack, and many more in a precipitate retreat, he was obliged to abandon the place he thought to ſurprize, and to retire to *Dunkirk* [a]. He entered next into a private negotiation with the *Spaniards*, in which he offered to deliver up to them all the places he held, in caſe they would furniſh him with money to pay his troops, and give him a ſmall equivalent in the neighbourhood of *Cambray*. The duke of *Parma*, however, being ſlow in his proceedings, and the prince of *Orange* gaining intelligence of them, he, with his uſual prudence, interpoſed, and, by accepting the king's mediation, diſappointed the *Spaniards*, and procured them upon eaſier terms for the ſtates [b]. The duke, finding that all his hopes in the *Low Countries* were loſt, and his character blaſted by the laſt ill-judged and ill-conducted event, retired full of chagrin into *France*, to the no ſmall ſatisfaction both of the *Spaniards* and the ſtates. Part of his forces, commanded by marſhal *Biron*, being beaten by the duke of *Parma*, the ſmall garriſon he had in *Dunkirk* were obliged to ſurrender that important place, which augmented the general diſtaſte, that was but already too great againſt that unhappy prince. His conduct, wild and extravagant as it was, altered the ſentiments of the king, who, no longer jealous of the duke of *Anjou*, treated him with contempt [c]. Yet his own behaviour was not a degree better; for if the duke had waſted his revenue, and involved himſelf in immenſe debts by theſe ſtrange expeditions, the king was preciſely in the ſame ſituation; and, after having exhauſted his own treaſures, and harraſſed his people to the laſt degree, he was ſcarce in a condition to defray the expences of his houſehold. He had married the duke *de Joyeuſe* to the ſiſter of his queen; and, ſome ſay, had taken a ſtrange reſolution of dividing his dominions between him and the duke of *Epernon* [d]. On ſome project of this kind, it is ſaid, he ſent the former of theſe dukes to *Rome*; and the queen of *Navarre* being ſuſpected of having a hand in the ſtripping a courier of his letters, with a view to diſcover this ſecret, he turned her out of his court, where ſhe came to make her mother a viſit, with all poſſible marks of ignominy, and ſent her under a guard to her

[a] P. Matth. Strada. [b] Jacob. Thuan. P. Dan.
[c] Mezeray. [d] P. Dan.

huſband,

husband, who, after such usage, refused to receive her, till
A. D. he was compelled to it by marshal *Matignon*, at the head of
1583. a considerable army [e]. The queen-mother had now lost her power, which was divided between the minions and the *Guises*, whom she hated alike, but caballed with them both; while the king of *Spain* laboured to excite a new civil war, sometimes by making vast offers to the king of *Navarre*, sometimes by proposals which he made with the marshal *de Montmorency*, with whom he actually concluded a treaty, by discovering which to the duke of *Guise*, he induced him to accept of his offers.

If we may credit some historians, there was a kind of policy even in *Henry*'s conduct, who, fearing the Protestants and hating the *Guises*, endeavoured, by elevating his minions, and bestowing no employments or favours but by their recommendation, to create a new power, or rather faction, in his dominions, entirely attached to himself. But assuredly, if this had been his real intention, he would have either saved himself, or have advised them to save; whereas, in feasts, masques, funerals, processions, and donations [f], he wasted more millions than his predecessors had done in their wars, and had raised them by more acts of violence and extortion. Whereas, if he had taken the advice of honest men, and there wanted not such even in his reign, moderated his own expences, and shewn a true regard for justice and the ease of his people, he might have established such a strength as would have effectually awed the Hugonots and the *Guises*, more especially if his coffers had been full. A monarch, who is not poor, and who studies the interest of his subjects, is always safe. But *Henry*, who believed himself, from the perusal of *Italian* authors, and listening to *Italian* counsels, the most refined politician of that age, while he affected the state of an eastern emperor, and affected to shew himself rarely to the people, was suspected of incapacity; shutting himself up with his young minions gave too much countenance to the most infamous suggestions, and his endeavours to stifle these, by extravagant acts of a counterfeit devotion, afforded his enemies an opportunity to represent him as an atheist, and a prince of no religion [g]. At all events his refined policy, instead of supporting, ruined him, by irritating both the factions that were already formed, but more especially that of the *Guises*, who finding that they were abhorred by the king, who laboured by every method possible to curtail their power, and lessen their

[e] Dupleix, Mez. [f] Jacob. Thuan. P. Daniel. Le Gendre. [g] Du Verdier Prosopographie, tom. iii.

influence,

influence, began to revive thoſe intrigues[h], for which their family had been ever decried from their very firſt entrance into *France*; and, with a view of aggrandizing themſelves, caballed with Monſieur the king's brother, and preſumptive heir, who, ſince the ruin which he had brought on his own affairs in the *Low Countries*, had removed from place to place, like one diſturbed and diſtracted in his mind, aſhamed of what he had already done, and not knowing what to do next. In this diſpoſition the *Guiſes* found him; and, raviſhed with the hopes of being again truſted and placed at the head of a puiſſant faction, he threw himſelf at once into their hands, and ſeemed for a little while to be the creature of their will. But, from the natural inconſtancy of his temper, or it may be from ſome better motive, he repaired, during the ſeaſon of *Lent*, to his brother's court, where he was little expected, and, falling upon his knees, told the king all that he knew, which procured him a very kind reception; and, in all appearance, the brothers were then cordially and entirely reconciled[i]. The duke, at his departure, returned to *Chateau-Thierri*, where he quickly fell into a very bad ſtate of health, and, growing daily worſe and worſe, the queen, his mother, went to viſit him, and finding him paſt hopes of recovery, carried away the moſt valuable of his effects[k]. He died on the 10th of *June*, of a ſlow conſumptive fever, attended with a cough, which occaſioned a violent ſtraining, ſo that by burſting a vein in his lungs, he was choaked with his own blood[l]. An opinion prevailed, however, in *France*, and elſewhere, that he was poiſoned; and the attempt made upon queen *Elizabeth* by Dr. *Parry*, and the barbarous aſſaſſination of the prince of *Orange* in the ſame year, gave more credit to this report than perhaps it deſerved[m].

Monſieur diſ at Chateau-Thierri.

The death of Monſieur, whatever his character or diſpoſition might be, was juſtly eſteemed a very great misfortune to the nation, and the ſource of thoſe troubles that followed, and of which he refuſed to be the author. It will be neceſſary to ſhew how this affair ſtood with reſpect to the houſe of *Guiſe*, what precautions were taken by the king againſt their deſigns, and how, notwithſtanding theſe, they found the means of raiſing a civil war, and being abetted therein by ſome of the greateſt families in *France*. We cannot propoſe to enter into an exact detail, ſince the nature of our work requires only a repreſentation, as ſuccinct and ſincere as poſſible. In the firſt

[h] Brief diſcours & veritable des principales conjurations de ceux de la Maiſon de Guiſe contre le Roy & ſon Royaume, les Princes de ſon ſang, & ſes Eſtats.
[i] Mez.
[k] Dupleix.
[l] P. Matth.
[m] Camden's Annals.

great

great aſſembly held not far from *Nancy*, in the houſe of the Sieur *de Baſſompiere*, were preſent, the duke of *Lorrain*, the dukes of *Guiſe*, *Mayenne*, the cardinal of *Guiſe*, ſeveral of their great confidents, and ſome agents from the court of *Spain*: they deliberated there on the means of engaging the people to take up arms; drew up a long ſtate, as they might eaſily do, of the errors in government, and grievances with which the nation was oppreſſed; charged theſe upon the minions and their creatures in the firſt place, and in the next on the king's incapacity, from whom there was never any thing better to be expected. There was nothing ſaid at this time of the fear of a heretic ſucceſſor, becauſe the duke of *Anjou* was living, and they were in hopes of having him for their head; they were alſo ſilent as to religion, that they might not compel the Proteſtants to attach themſelves unanimouſly to *Henry*, and that they might obtain the aſſiſtance of duke *Caſimir*, who having more than once before rifled *France*, had no diſlike to a new enterprize, provided it was not againſt the Proteſtants or the king of *Navarre*. The diſcovery firſt, and afterwards the death of the duke of *Anjou*, diſconcerted a little, but did not diſcourage or diſſipate the conſpirators, who thought their affairs mended, ſince they had now the popular pretence of ſtanding in fear of a heretic ſucceſſor. What gave them moſt trouble was, to find a prince whom they might ſet at their head. The queen-mother had certainly views of altering the ſucceſſion in favour of her grandſon, the prince of *Lorrain*, and the duke, his father, was for having him declared chief; but the duke of *Guiſe*, who intended to be the head, in effect, preferred his own intereſts to thoſe of his houſe; and therefore ſupported *Charles*, cardinal of *Bourbon*, an old weak man, who had for many years entertained a notion of his right to the crown, grounded on this pretence, that as it paſſed to the branch of *Bourbon* by deſcent, he was one degree nearer than his nephew; and, beſides, had ſhewn himſelf, perhaps from this motive, not only a warm and active, but a zealous, and even a furious Papiſt[n].

The Guiſe faction reſolve to ſupport Charles, cardinal of Bourbon, as preſumptive heir to the crown.

THE king was not uninformed of all theſe conſultations and contrivances, and it is even ſaid that he talked very roundly to the cardinal upon the ſubject. But he thought it neceſſary to go farther; he had married his favourite the duke *de Joyeuſe* into the houſe of *Lorrain*; and, therefore, he made choice of the duke of *Epernon* to execute a commiſſion of importance to the king of *Navarre*, which conſiſted in acquainting him with the deſigns of the *Guiſes*, to give him the ſtrongeſt aſſurances of his own kind intentions, and at the ſame time to exhort

[n] P. MATTH. Journal d'Henry III. P. DAN.

exhort him to return to the Catholic church, as the moſt effectual means of ſecuring his ſucceſſion. The duke diſcharged his truſt with great fidelity, and urged all the arguments that could be drawn from prudence and policy, but without ſucceſs. The king of *Navarre*, however, gave him a very gracious reception, teſtified a great ſenſe of the king's goodneſs and high confidence in his juſtice, but excuſed himſelf as to the point of religion, but with temper and moderation [o]. *Pleſſis-Mornay*, who ſtood very high in this prince's favour, thought to render him a great ſervice in making his ſentiments on this ſubject public, which he expreſſed in his own manner, aſcribing to his maſter great zeal for the Proteſtant religion, which cured indeed the Proteſtant miniſters of their apprehenſions of the duke of *Epernon*'s viſit, but at the ſame time afforded the *Guiſes* an opportunity of decrying both princes, *Henry* of *Navarre* as an obſtinate heretic, and *Henry* of *France* as a favourer of hereſy [p]. At his return the duke of *Epernon* formed a deſign of ſecuring the duke of *Guiſe*, who thereupon retired into *Champagne*, fully determined to have recourſe to arms, the rather, becauſe the king of *Navarre* had reconciled the marſhal *de Montmorency* to his maſter, at the very time he was on the point of attacking him in his government [q]. The king, as if he had reſumed his underſtanding, in the month of *November* publiſhed an edict, forbidding all leagues and aſſociations under pain of high treaſon, cancelled ſixty-ſix edicts that had been verified in parliament for impoſing taxes, reduced the tailles ſeven hundred thouſand livres, ſhewed himſelf in public, and did many things to render himſelf popular [r]. On the other hand, the *Guiſes* entered into a treaty with *Spain*, by which they undertook to acknowlege the cardinal of *Bourbon* for king, on the demiſe of *Henry* the third, to cauſe the council of *Trent* to be received, and to reſtore *Cambray* to his Catholic majeſty, upon condition that he furniſhed fifty thouſand crowns, or, as ſome ſay, piſtoles, a month, for carrying on the war againſt the Hugonots. This treaty, which was negotiated with great ſecrecy at *Joinville*, was concluded the very laſt day of this year [s].

The king takes divers popular ſteps, while the Guiſes engage in a treaty with the king of Spain.

A. D. 1584.

It was of great conſequence to the *Guiſes* and their faction to have the approbation of the pope, to whom they ſent father *Claude Mathieu* ſo often, that he acquired the name of the courier of *Rome*. The anſwers he brought were not ſo full

[o] Hiſtoire de la Vie du Duc d'Eſpernon, par Mr. Girard, tom. i. p. 72. P. Matthieu. [p] Memoires du Pleſſis Mornai. [q] Memoires du Duc d'Eſpernon. Jacob. Thuan. [r] Memoires du Duc de Nevers, tom. xi. [s] Dupl. P. Dan.

as they expected. The pontif approved taking up arms in support of the Catholic cause; but condemned any attempt upon the person of the king [t]. The states of the *Low Countries*, finding their affairs growing daily worse and worse, offered their sovereignty to *Henry* the third, without restriction or reserve, which he thought fit to decline [u]; but, because he had admitted the deputies into his presence, notwithstanding all the efforts of the *Spanish* embassador to prevent it, the emissaries of the Catholic king forced the duke of *Guise* and his party to declare before they had assembled a proper strength. All they could do, was to carry the cardinal of *Bourbon* to *Peronne*; and being there in safety, they published a manifesto in his name, as first prince of the blood, and presumptive heir of the crown, in which they made a most dreadful picture of the state of public affairs; and, by a mixture of truth and falsehood, exposed the king's conduct in such a manner as was most likely to render him both odious and contemptible to his subjects [w]. The duke of *Guise* took the field with between four and five thousand men, with which he surprized *Verdun*, but failed in a design upon *Metz*, thro' the care of the duke of *Epernon* [x]. An attempt was made upon *Bourdeaux*, which was rendered abortive by marshal *Matignon*, who secured that city for the king. *Marseilles* was seized by the league, but recovered next day by the royalists, who ventured to try, condemn, and execute the principal conspirators. This was supported by an arret of the parliament of *Aix*, which declared all who took up arms without the king's authority disturbers of the public peace, notwithstanding which, the city and citadel of *Lyons* was surprized by the faction [y]. If the king had followed the advice of marshal *d'Aumont*, had put himself in arms, and shewn a spirit worthy of a monarch, he might easily have dispersed the forces of the league, and obliged the duke of *Guise* to quit the kingdom. But the queen-mother had, in a great measure, regained her influence, as appeared by the king's publishing a feeble apology for his own conduct, at the close of which he invited his subjects, now in arms, to return to their duty, promising them pardon, and, which was more extraordinary, favour [z]. She went afterwards to *Rheims*, to meet the duke of *Guise* and the cardinal of *Bourbon*, received from them an insolent memorial, in which they demanded that the king

They publish a manifesto in the name of the cardinal de Bourbon, *and take arms against the king.*

[t] Memoires du Duc de Nevers. P. Dan. [u] Strada. [w] Jacob. Thuan. Memoires de la Ligue. [x] Memoires du Duc d'Espernon. Histoire de France, tom. ix. p. 178. [y] Memoires de Brant. Dupl. [z] Chronologie Novenaire de Victor Cayet.

should

ſhould oblige the Proteſtants to reſtore the cautionary towns they held, renounce the protection at *Geneva*, give them a multitude of ſtrong places, money to pay their troops, and annul all the edicts that had been given in favour of the Proteſtants. In the beginning of *July* a peace was concluded upon theſe terms; and on the eighteenth of the ſame month an edict was publiſhed to confirm it[a]. A deputation ſoon after was ſent, at the deſire of the leaguers, to invite the king of *Navarre* to return to the Catholic church. The intention of *Henry* the third was to gain time, whereas the *Guiſes* aimed at rendering that prince more and more odious, and conſequently more irreconcileable to the Papiſts. Marſhal *Montmorency* declared himſelf head of a third party, compoſed of ſuch as ſhould remain firm to the conſtitution in church and ſtate[b]. *Peace concluded.*

THE edict, which gave the royal ſanction to the peace, was dated from *Nemours*; and when the king of *Navarre* firſt read it, it threw him into ſo great a conſternation, that leaning his head upon his arm for ſome time, buried in thought, he found afterwards that the muſtachio on that ſide of his lip was turned white, a circumſtance which the hiſtorian, who records it, affirms he received from the mouth of the king himſelf[c]. How much ſoever it affected his mind, it did not in the leaſt abate his courage, or hinder his acting with equal prudence and ſpirit upon every occaſion. As for the unfortunate *Henry* the third, he went to *Paris* to demand a kind of benevolence from his ſubjects for carrying on a war, which, in his heart, he diſapproved. His capital was, properly ſpeaking, no longer his: a burgher, whoſe name was *Rocheblon*, had framed a ſcheme of a particular league in that city; and, that he might keep up a correſpondence amongſt his party, and know the ſtrength of it the better, he fixed an intercourſe with ſixteen perſons in the different parts of *Paris*, which expedient was ſo highly approved by the duke of *Guiſe*, that, in a little time, they aſſumed the title of, the council of fixteen; became formidable to the king and kingdom; and, ſo long as hiſtory laſts, their memories will be odious to the ſober and rational part of mankind[d]. By theſe new rulers, or, at leaſt, by thoſe under their influence, a conſiderable ſum was raiſed for the ſervice of the Holy league, for ſuppreſſing hereſy, hypocriſy, and tyranny; the firſt was levelled againſt the king of *Navarre*, and the two laſt againſt *Henry* the third. *Sixtus* the fifth, who by this time was raiſed to the pontifical throne on the demiſe *Council of ſixteen eſtabliſhed at Paris.*

[a] Hiſtoire de France, tom. ix. p. 181, 182. [b] JACOB. THUAN. DUPLEIX. MEZ. [c] P. MATTH. [d] Memoires de la Ligue.

of *Gregory* the thirteenth, disapproved his predeceſſor's conduct, who had countenanced the league, and ſtruck out one more extraordinary of his own. He pitied the cardinal of *Bourbon* as a weak, honeſt, infatuated man, and treated his aſſociates as they deſerved: he foreſaw and foretold all the miſchiefs that afterwards happened; and, as if he meant to fulfil his own prophecy, he gave the duke of *Nevers* a bull, by which he excommunicated ſuch as took up arms againſt the king; and in the beginning of *September* publiſhed another, by which he not only excommunicated the king of *Navarre* and the prince of *Condé*, but in the moſt haughty manner, and with the moſt contemptuous language, declared them fallen from their dignities, and incapable of any kind of ſucceſſion[e]. This bull made a prodigious noiſe, but was far from having all the effect that it was ſuppoſed it muſt produce. The wiſer and better ſort of Catholics, more eſpecially ſuch as were verſed in the hiſtory and the laws of their country, looked upon this in a proper light, and as a moſt unfounded ſtretch of papal authority, which induced numbers to repair to marſhal *Montmorency*, as the Proteſtants every where reſorted to the king of *Navarre*, the prince of *Condé*, and Mr. *de Leſdiguieres*[f]. It was indeed time; for, on the fifteenth of *October*, the king, by an edict, commanded all his ſubjects to return to the old religion in fourteen days, on pain of forfeiting their goods and chattels, which was rigorouſly executed. The king of *Navarre* made reprizals in his dominions, publiſhed his appeal from the pope's bull to the peers of *France*, in what regarded the ſtate; to a general council in reference to religion, to which he ſummoned the pope, on pain of being taken for Anti-Chriſt; and this appeal he cauſed to be poſted up in the moſt public places of *Rome*. The war began now on all ſides, with no conſiderable advantage to either party, except that the prince of *Condé* miſcarried in an attempt to relieve *Angiers*, was forced to diſperſe his troops, and with ſome difficulty made his eſcape into *England*[g].

The king of Navarre *excommunicated by the pope; and hoſtilities recommence againſt the Proteſtants.*

A. D. 1585.

As ſoon as the ſeaſon would permit, the king had five armies in the field, the generals of which commanded according to their own notions, and with very different views: the duke of *Mayenne*, with the moſt numerous, acted in *Guienne*, with the ſincereſt intention of extirpating the Hugonots, and, if poſſible, deſtroying the king of *Navarre*. Marſhal *Matignon* commanded another in the neighbourhood of *Bourdeaux*; his deſign was to ſerve his maſter, and he apprehended

[e] Hiſtoire de France, tom. ix. p. 186, 187. [f] Jacob. Thuan. Dupleix. Mez. [g] P. Matth. P. Daniel.

that

that the beſt way to do this was to ſpill as little of his ſubjects blood as poſſible. He went, when invited, to the aſſiſtance of the duke of *Mayenne*, but they quickly quarrelled to ſuch a degree, that neither of them did much; and the former, by affecting to hunt the king of *Navarre*, who had not the force requiſite to oppoſe a royal army, ruined his own. Once indeed, thro' the king's imprudence in viſiting a miſtreſs, he was very near becoming maſter of his perſon, but, either by a brisk march, or thro' the connivance of one of the duke's officers, the king made his eſcape[i]; the duke *de Epernon* commanded the third in *Provence* and *Dauphine*, where he acted ſolely for the king's ſervice, and kept both the Proteſtants and the leaguers in awe; the duke of *Guiſe* was with a very ſmall army in *Champagne* and *Burgundy*, with which he did more than all the reſt; *Joyeuſe* ruined a good corps of troops he had, in reducing ſeveral ſmall fortreſſes not worth taking, by which the king was convinced that he had deſerted his ſervice to make his court to the league. The duke of *Mayenne* returned from the army, making loud complaints that he was ill ſupplied, that his projects were rejected, and that his troops were diſſipated for want of pay. The king upon this went to the parliament, and held his court of juſtice in the month of *June*, where he forced them to regiſter twenty-ſix oppreſſive edicts; but at the ſame time cauſed the people to be informed that the money was not for his ſervice, or the edicts of his contrivance; but that they were indebted for the neceſſity, and for the means of ſupplying it to the league[k]: the prince of *Condé*, having received a powerful ſupply from the queen of *England*, carried on the war in *Xaintonge* with vigour and ſucceſs: the king of *Navarre* went thither, and, to pleaſe the *Rochellers*, expoſed himſelf very much in an enterprize, which, if he had thoroughly conſidered, would not certainly have appeared worthy of the pains he took, and the hazard he ran. It was againſt *Brouage*, not with an intent of becoming maſter of it, but in order to ſpoil the port, which interfered with the commerce of *Rochelle*, which he accompliſhed[m]. The prince of *Condé* gained another great advantage by his marrying a princeſs of the houſe of *la Trimouille*, by which he gained the duke, her brother, tho' their father had been the head of the league in *Poitou*, to the Proteſtant religion, and to the ſupport of that cauſe in which he was embarked[n]. Marſhal *Biron* was ſent to reſtore affairs on this ſide, which he did very effectually, for the Proteſtants

The king holds a bed of juſtice.

[i] Memoires de la Ligue. [k] Memoires du Duc de Eſpernon. JACOB. THUAN. [l] CAYET. [m] D'AUBIGNE. [n] DUPLEIX.

ſuffered him to take ſeveral places where he had garriſoned his troops, and kept the leaguers at a diſtance. An accident happened about this time at *Aix*, which deſerves notice. The chevalier *d'Angouleſme*, grand prior of *France*, had long hated *Altoviti*, an *Italian* gentleman in the king's ſervice, and ſeeing him in a houſe over againſt that in which he was, croſſed the way, ran up, and, with many injurious expreſſions, ran him thro' the body. *Altoviti*, finding himſelf mortally wounded, drew his dagger, cloſed with him, and ſtruck him into the belly; of theſe wounds they both died in a few hours. The chevalier was of the council that contrived, and was himſelf one of the buſieſt actors in the bloody ſcene of *St. Bartholomew*[o]: the king gave the government of *France* to the duke of *Epernon*, and the poſt of grand prior to his nephew, the natural ſon of *Charles* the ninth[p].

THE powers of the north, and the chief of the *German* princes of the Proteſtant religion, in conſequence of the king of *Navarre*'s ſollicitations, who, at the breaking out of the war, had ſent *Pardaillan* to ſollicit aſſiſtance, ſent a ſolemn embaſſy to intreat the king to reſtore his Proteſtant ſubjects to his favour, and to leave them in poſſeſſion of the liberties that had been formerly granted them by the edicts of pacification. The king delayed their audience as long as he could, and ſent them away at laſt with a rough anſwer, importing, that as he did not meddle with their religious differences, he knew not what pretence they had to interfere between him and his ſubjects[q]. This was done to gratify the league. In the mean time the king, who foreſaw that this would bring new troubles upon his ſubjects, employed his mother, who had a paſſion for negotiating, to treat with the king of *Navarre*. She carried with her the duke of *Nevers* and marſhal *Biron*, to aſſiſt her with their counſels; and ſhe had alſo in her train a bundance of young beauties, who did not ſerve her ſo effectually as in times paſt. The king of *Navarre* had a due ſenſe of the importance of this conjuncture, and the prince of *Condé* was lately married. She had no power to grant a toleration; they would not ſo much as hear of a peace without; ſo that the conferences ended in a truce for a few months. On this occaſion the baron *de Roſni*, the king of *Navarre*'s miniſter, coming to court, *Henry* the third told him he would conſent to his maſter's taking twenty thouſand *Swiſs* into his pay, provided that, at a proper time, he would ſuffer them to paſs into

Truce for a few months between the leaguers and the king of Navarre.

[o] HON. BOUCHE Hiſt. de Provence, l. 10. [p] Memoires du Duc de Eſpernon. [q] CAYET. P. DAN. & JACOB. THUAN. CAYET. MEZERAI. DUPLEIX. D. DANIEL.

his

his ſervice againſt the league[t]. The marſhal *de Montmorency* continued ſupreme in *Languedoc*, at the head of the politiques. His ſituation was the moſt extraordinary that perhaps the world ever ſaw; the king underſtood and approved his conduct, tho', in appearance, arewole. He was highly conſidered by the king of *Navarre*, who depended upon him, in caſe of the king's death: he drew immenſe ſubſidies from the king of *Spain* and the duke of *Savoy*, had great regards paid him at *Rome*, becauſe he ſtiled the *Proteſtants* heretics, at the ſame time that he made no ſcruple of treating the leaguers like rebels[u]. *Remarkable ſituation of the marſhal* de Montmorency.

THE troubles of the queen of *Scots* were finiſhed in the beginning of this year by a violent death on a ſcaffold. Her being deſcended by the mother's ſide from the houſe of *Guiſe* was the ſource of all her misfortunes. The king ſent over *Bellievre* to ſollicit for her, which he did at leaſt in public; but the adherence to the league in thoſe days, and ſome private memoirs ſince, have inſinuated, that the king or his mother were not diſpleaſed with her death; and, perhaps, hinted to queen *Elizabeth*, that it was the only way to enjoy peace[w]. The duke of *Mayenne*, under colour of chagrin, remained at *Paris*, where, in conjunction with the ſixteen, he took every meaſure to render the king odious, and to impute to him ſolely the miſeries the nation endured: at length he went ſo far as to concert with them the means of drawing him thither, ſecuring his perſon, and ſending him priſoner to the duke of *Guiſe*, all which the king diſcovered and diſappointed, but did not think it prudent to puniſh, being content to tell the duke of *Mayenne*, who found it neceſſary to ſhift his quarters when he came to take his leave, that he did ill to abandon the good leaguers of *Paris*[x]. The army of the Proteſtant league, under the nominal command of duke *Caſimir*, was aſſembling in *Alſace*, and, tho' it is no where ſaid to have been above twenty-thouſand men, he ſtruck the whole kingdom of *France* with terror. The king took the beſt meaſures he could to render this invaſion fruitleſs, while the emiſſaries of the league conſtantly gave out that they were invited by him, and that he acted in concert with them[y]. The duke of *Guiſe*, who had an interview with him at *Meaux*, uttered all the ſuſpicions, and all the ſcurrilities of his party to his face; which the king ſupported and anſwered with great *The army of the Proteſtant league aſſembles in* Alſace.

[t] Memoires de Sulli, tom i. c. 21. [u] P. DAN. Hiſtoire de France, tom. ix. p. 213, 214. [w] CAMDEN: Memoires de BRANTOME. [x] JACOB. THUAN. DUPLEIX. Mez. [y] Memoires de la Ligue.

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troops, and kept the leaguers at a diſtance.
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Altoviti, an *Italian* gentleman in the k
him in a houſe over againſt that in
way, ran up, and, with many inj
thro' the body. *Altoviti*, findi
drew his dagger, cloſed with
belly; of theſe wounds they
chevalier was of the counc
one of the braveſt actors
merv: the king gave t
of *Epernon*, and the
natural ſon of *Charl*

THE powers of
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of *Navarre*'s ſo
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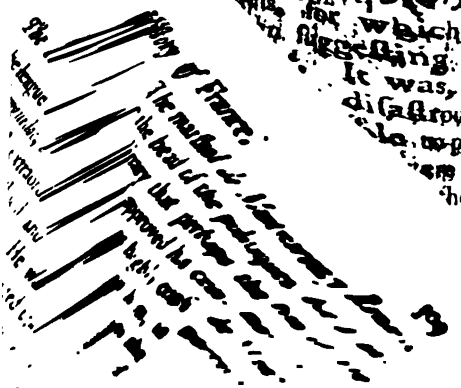
The king of Navarre obtains a compleat victory over the D. de Joyeuſe, at Coutras.

under the marſhal *Joyeuſe*, which was to act againſt
king of *Navarre*, in order to prevent his marching to
his allies [b]. At the beginning of *Auguſt* the *Germans*
paſſed the *Rhine*, waſted *Lorrain* with an army of thirty five
thouſand men, for it was grown to this by the addition of the
Swiſs, the *French* troops, and thoſe of the duke of *Bouillon*.
The duke *de Joyeuſe*, who was ſuperior in number to the
army of the king of *Navarre*, ſurrounded by a multitude of
nobility, who thought that nothing could reſiſt them, and
that no puniſhment was too great for thoſe that did, marched
directly towards the king, who had under him the prince of
Condé and the count of *Soiſſons*. On the 20th of *October* the
two armies engaged at *Coutras*, where the king gained a com-
plete victory; the duke *de Joyeuſe*, with four hundred gentle-
men, being ſlain upon the ſpot, with near five thouſand private
men. This was the firſt victory the Proteſtants ever gained,
and it was ſolely attributed to the king of *Navarre*, who com-
manded like a great general, and fought like a gallant ſoldier [c].
But he made no uſe of this important victory; for, inſtead of
marching to meet his allies, he diſperſed his troops, and went

[a] P. DAN. tom. ix. p. 227. [a] Memoires du Duc d'Eſpernon. DUPLEIX. [b] D'AUBIGNE. [c] P. MATTHIEU.

to



…which a great writer could find no …ſuggeſting. It was the laſt fault he com…
It was, however, fatal to his confede…
diſaſtrous diſputes with the duke of …
to paſs the king's army, began to …
…ſures made them. In *November* the …
…houſand crowns, and retired; …
…orſe made a treaty of the like …
…gnified the duke of *Guiſe*'s …
…o the king's precaution.

…eputation was to pro- *Reſolution of the* Sor-
…doctors of the *Sor-* bonne,
…ehaved otherwiſe than *with reſpect to bad princes.*
…om the government, as a
…of the civil law be deprived of
…public offices. The king being
…ot them to the *Louvre*, where he repri-
…verely, and threatened to have them to the A. D.
…parliament: but impunity encouraged them 1587.
…ſome ſenſe of ſhame could diſturb them from this

…me now to that important year in which the troubles
…ame to their firſt criſis. The death of the duke of
…who left an only daughter under the tutelage of the
…ſovereign and other princes of the blood, but under
…the care of the famous Mr. *de la Noue*, attracted
…ambition of the houſe of *Lorrain*, who, from the vicinity
…importance of her eſtates, were determined to annex them
…their own. This occaſioned their drawing the duke of
…and his principal partizans, where they conſulted of that
…title, as well as of the affairs of *France*. In reſpect to
…latter, they determined on an inſolent memorial, conſiſting
…ſeven articles, in which they preſcribed to the king upon
…what terms they were content to leave him that title. In the
…firſt, he was to declare himſelf openly for the league;
…he was to receive the council of *Trent*; he was alſo to
…eſtabliſh the inquiſition in all the great cities in *France*; no
…office was to be given to any heretic priſoner, unleſs he re-
…nounced his religion; the king was to remove all his own
…officers, and to replace them by thoſe in whom they could
…confide. The reſt were of the ſame nature, or worſe [h]. The *The faſti-*
…duke could not help ſhewing ſome emotion at reading them, but *on of the*

[a] D'Avrigny. Memoires de Sulli. [e] Memoires de la Ligue. [f] P. Matth. Dupl. [g] Cayet Preface, tom i. [i] Journal d'Henry III. [k] Jacob. Thuan. [h] Mez. P. Matthieu.

patience[z]. At length he determined to form three armies; the command of the first he gave to the duke of *Guise*, the second to the duke of *Epernon*, the third he reserved for himself; and these were so disposed, that the duke of *Guise* was to act in conjunction with the troops of the duke of *Lorrain*; the duke of *Epernon* was to prevent their taking any strong places in their march; the king, with the best army of the three, undertook to hinder their passing the *Loire*.

ALTHOUGH he brought them upon himself, and was therefore the less to be pitied, yet the king's circumstances at this time were very hard. If the Protestant army passed the *Loire*, and joined the king of *Navarre*, he was afraid of lying at the mercy of the Hugonots; on the other hand, if they were beaten and destroyed, he was in no less danger from the league. In so critical a situation, his behaviour shewed how much he had been to blame, ever since the crown had been placed upon his head. He took his measures in his cabinet with much prudence, he acted in the field with spirit, he managed every incident with great dexterity, and extricated himself from these embarrassments better than even his best friends expected. Besides the armies, the destination of which we have already mentioned, the king formed another, under the marshal *Joyeuse*, which was to act against the king of *Navarre*, in order to prevent his marching to join his allies[b]. At the beginning of *August* the *Germans* passed the *Rhine*, wasted *Lorrain* with an army of thirty-five thousand men, for it was grown to this by the addition of the *Swiss*, the *French* troops, and those of the duke of *Bouillon*. The duke *de Joyeuse*, who was superior in number to the army of the king of *Navarre*, surrounded by a multitude of nobility, who thought that nothing could resist them, and that no punishment was too great for those that did, marched directly towards the king, who had under him the prince of *Condé* and the count of *Soissons*. On the 20th of *October* the two armies engaged at *Coutras*, where the king gained a complete victory; the duke *de Joyeuse*, with four hundred gentlemen, being slain upon the spot, with near five thousand private men. This was the first victory the Protestants ever gained, and it was solely attributed to the king of *Navarre*, who commanded like a great general, and fought like a gallant soldier[c]. But he made no use of this important victory; for, instead of marching to meet his allies, he dispersed his troops, and went

The king of Navarre *obtains a compleat victory over the D. de Joyeuse, at* Coutras.

[z] P. DAN. tom. ix. p. 227. [a] Memoires du Duc d'Espernon. DUPLEIX. [b] D'AUBIGNE. [c] P. MATTHIEU.

to

to visit his mistress, for which a great writer could find no other excuse, than suggesting it was the last fault he committed of that kind [d]. It was, however, fatal to his confederates, who, after two disastrous disputes with the duke of *Guise*, finding it impossible to pass the king's army, began to listen to the proposals that were made them. In *November* the *Swiss* accepted four hundred thousand crowns, and retired; and in *December* the *Germans* made a treaty of the like kind [e]. The leaguers of *Paris* magnified the duke of *Guise*'s success, which, in reality, was due to the king's precaution.

The use they made of his exaggerated reputation was to procure from a secret assembly of the young doctors of the *Sorbonne*, a resolution, that princes, who behaved otherwise than they ought, might be removed from the government, as a tutor, who is suspected, may by the civil law be deprived of the administration of his pupil's effects. The king being informed of this, sent for them to the *Louvre*, where he reprimanded them severely, and threatened to leave them to the justice of his parliament; but impunity encouraged them more than any sense of shame could disturb them from this public reproof [f].

Resolution of the Sorbonne, with respect to bad princes.

A. D. 1587.

We come now to that important year in which the troubles of *France* came to their first crisis. The death of the duke of *Bouillon*, who left an only daughter under the tutelage of the king of *Navarre* and other princes of the blood, but under the immediate care of the famous Mr. *de la Noue*, attracted the attention of the house of *Lorrain*, who, from the vicinity and importance of her estates, were determined to annex them to their own. This occasioned their drawing the duke of *Guise* and his principal partizans, where they consulted of that enterprize, as well as of the affairs of *France*. In respect to the latter, they determined on an insolent memorial, consisting of eleven articles, in which they prescribed to the king upon what terms they were content to leave him that title. In the first place, he was to declare himself openly for the league; next, he was to receive the council of *Trent*; he was also to establish the inquisition in all the great cities in *France*; no quarter was to be given to any heretic prisoner, unless he renounced his religion; the king was to remove all his own friends, and to replace them by those in whom they could confide. The rest were of the same nature, or worse [g]. The king could not help shewing some emotion at reading them, but

The faithless of the

[d] D'Aubigne. Memoires de Sulli. [e] Memoires de la Ligue. P. Matth. Dupl. [f] Cayet Preface, tom i. Journal d'Henry III. [g] Jacq. Thuan. [h] Mez. P. Matthieu.

patience[z]. At length he determined to form [illegible] the command of the first he gave to the duke [illegible] second to the duke of *Epernon*, the third he [illegible] self; and these were so disposed, that the [illegible] to act in conjunction with the troops of [illegible] the duke of *Epernon* was to prevent [illegible] places in their march; the king, [illegible] three, undertook to hinder their passage.

ALTHOUGH he brought the [illegible] therefore the less to be pitied, [illegible] this time were very hard. If [illegible] *Loire*, and joined the king [illegible] lying at the mercy of the [illegible] they were beaten and de[illegible] from the league. In [illegible] shewed how much he [illegible] crown had been place[illegible] in his cabinet with [illegible] spirit, he managed [illegible] extricated himse[illegible] even his best frie[illegible] tion of which [illegible] another, un[illegible] the king o[illegible] join his a[illegible] passed th[illegible] thousan[illegible] *Swiss*[illegible] The[illegible] arm[illegible] protector of the Catholic religion, and the [illegible] ris." He returned safe from this audience, [illegible] much of the king's disposition in his eyes, [illegible] sufficiently sensible of his danger[a]. The same day [illegible] ordered all strangers to depart *Paris*; but finding [illegible] obeyed, he ordered four thousand *Swiss*, and two [illegible] *French* infantry to enter the city next morning, [illegible] did; but, not having orders to fire, the scholars of the [illegible] versity and the populace quickly barricadoed the streets, [illegible] by taking themselves to arms, obliged a great part [illegible] guards to submit, and, in a manner, blocked the king up in the *Louvre*[b]. The duke of *Guise* amused the queen-mother

The king of Navarre obtains a compliment with

[illegible] all

[z] DUPL. P. DAN. THUAN. CAYET. P. MATTH.
[a] D'AUBIGNE, JACOB. THUAN. P. MEZ. P. DAN.
[b] D'AVILA, L. DE SERRES. P. D'AUBONT.
CAYET.

...ing on foot to perſuade him ...elihood in what poſture things were; ...ly, that he would not abandon the ...ing and his evil counſellors. This ...ed from thence, by the *French*, ...next morning the queen- ...propoſitions of peace, ...and whiſpered him ...on which he cried out, *The king is obliged to fly from Paris.* ...me." The king, ...d with great difficulty ...on, looking back ...ain, but thro' a ...duke of *Guiſe* ...er, Sir *Edward* re- ...ceen there ...e duke's offer ...ter of the queen's dominions, he would ...the king. He added, that ...o his miſtreſs of what his eyes ...viour he is highly and juſtly com- ...writers[s]. The duke, to ſhew his great ...tranquility of *Paris*, and, to maintain ...magiſtrates whom he ſuſpected, ſeized the ...poſed of every thing at pleaſure.

...ſt to *Chartres*, taking no ſleep in his ...; from thence he publiſhed a mani- ...to his ſubjects of what had paſſed at *Paris*, ...lowed by manifeſtoes on the part of the *Guiſes*, ...great towns and provinces declared, ſome on ...and ſome on the other[t]. The queen-mother fol- ...to *Chartres*, attended by the deputies from ...to demand pardon for what had paſſed; ...allo ſent a deputation, and were well received ...who told them at their departure, that he was ...to pardon the people of *Paris*; but that they would ...ing their conduct, and not oblige him to with- ...his courts of juſtice, and other marks of ...which his predeceſſors had honoured them, and ...they owed that influence they had ſo much abuſed. *The parliament* did their duty in this reſpect with ſo much

[s] *Journal d'Henry III.* [t] CAYET. P. MATTHIEU. DUPLEIX. P. DAN. *Hiſtoire de France*, tom. ix. p. 289. [u] JACOB. THUAN. D'AUBIGNÉ.

dignity

Guiſes behave with great inſolence to the king.

quickly recovered himſelf, and promiſed to conſider them. The duke of *Guiſe* came to *Soiſſons*, and from thence tranſmitted his inſtructions to the ſixteen, who, by his orders, provided arms and every thing neceſſary for a general revolt, to facilitate which, he ſent many officers and gentlemen, on whoſe courage he could depend, to diſperſe themſelves thro' the city. The king had a faithful ſpy, whoſe name was *Poulain*, from whom he received exact intelligence of every ſtep they took, and of every place in which they met. He might have ſeized the whole ſixteen at once, and intended it; but ſuffered himſelf to be diſſuaded from it by the queen-mother and *Villequier*, who betrayed him [k]. He did more; for he ſent for the preſident *de Neuilly*, who was one of the ſixteen, reprimanded him for his ſeditious practices, and threatened to put him and his aſſociates to death, which rendered them in a manner deſperate [l]. But the king thought he ſufficiently provided for his ſafety, by forbidding the duke of *Guiſe* to come to *Paris*. His ſiſter, the ducheſs of *Montpenſier*, laid a ſcheme for ſeizing the king as he went to take the air, and ſending him to *Soiſſons*, which had certainly taken effect, if *Poulain* had not given the king notice of it, a few hours before it was put in execution [m].

On the 9th of *May* the duke of *Guiſe*, contrary to the king's expreſs command, came to *Paris*, and deſired the queen-mother to introduce him to the king. The king conſented to it the next day, with a full intention to have had him ſtabbed in his preſence, from which he was diſſuaded by his mother and *Villequier* [n]. As the duke went to the *Louvre*, he was attended by perſons of all ranks, who cried aloud, "Long live the duke of *Guiſe*, the defender of the church, "the protector of the Catholic religion, and the Saviour of "*Paris*." He returned ſafe from this audience; but he read ſo much of the king's diſpoſition in his eyes, that he was ſufficiently ſenſible of his danger [o]. The ſame day the king ordered all ſtrangers to depart *Paris*; but finding he was not obeyed, he ordered four thouſand *Swiſs*, and two thouſand *French* infantry to enter the city next morning, which they did; but, not having orders to fire, the ſcholars of the univerſity and the populace quickly barricaded the ſtreets, and, by taking themſelves to arms, obliged a great part of the guards to ſubmit, and, in a manner, blocked the king up in the *Louvre* [p]. The duke of *Guiſe* amuſed the queen-mother

[k] Dupl. P. Dan. [l] Thuan. Cayet. P. Matth. [m] D'Aubigne, Jacob. Thuan. P. Mem. P. Dan. [n] D'Avila, [o] L. de Serres, [p] D'Aubigne, Cayet.

all

all the night; who went to his lodging on foot to perſuade him to withdraw, till he underſtood in what poſture things were; and then he told her roundly, that he would not abandon the good people of *Paris* to the king and his evil counſellors. This happened on the 12th of *May*, called from thence, by the *French*, the day of the barricades. The next morning the queen-mother came to the duke again to make propoſitions of peace, and was interrupted by a perſon came and whiſpered him that the king had made his eſcape, upon which he cried out, "Madam, you have amuſed and undone me!" The king, at the time he quitted *Paris*, which he did with great difficulty and danger, ſaid, with an air of indignation, looking back upon it, "I will never enter thoſe walls again, but thro' a breach." In the height of this confuſion, the duke of *Guiſe* ſent a perſon of diſtinction to the *Engliſh* miniſter, Sir *Edward Stafford*, to offer him a ſafe-guard. Sir *Edward* received the perſon very politely; told him, if he had been there in a private capacity, he ſhould have accepted the duke's offer with gratitude and thanks; but in the character of the queen's ambaſſador in the capital of the *French* dominions, he would accept of no ſafe-guard, but from the king. He added, that he would make a true report to his miſtreſs of what his eyes had ſeen; for which behaviour he is highly and juſtly commended by the *French* writers[x]. The duke, to ſhew his great power, reſtored the tranquility of *Paris*, and, to maintain it, changed all the magiſtrates whom he ſuſpected, ſeized the *Baſtile*, and diſpoſed of every thing at pleaſure.

The king is obliged to fly from Paris.

The king retired firſt to *Chartres*, taking no ſleep in his paſſage, but in his boots; from thence he publiſhed a manifeſto, to inform his ſubjects of what had paſſed at *Paris*, which was followed by manifeſtoes on the part of the *Guiſes*, in which ſeveral great towns and provinces declared, ſome on one ſide, and ſome on the other[y]. The queen-mother followed the king to *Chartres*, attended by the deputies from *Paris*, who came to demand pardon for what had paſſed; the parliament alſo ſent a deputation, and were well received by the king, who told them at their departure, that he was content to pardon the people of *Paris*; but that they would do well to change their conduct, and not oblige him to withdraw his preſence, his courts of juſtice, and other marks of favour, with which his predeceſſors had honoured them, and to which they owed that influence they had ſo much abuſed. The parliament did their duty in this reſpect with ſo much

[x] Journal d'Henry III. [y] Cayet. P. Matthieu. D'Avila. [z] Dupleix. P. Dan. [a] Hiſtoire de France, tom. ix. p. 289. [b] Jacob. Thuan.

dignity

dignity and ſpirit, that it made a very ſtrong impreſſion on the *Pariſians*, which the duke of *Guiſe* perceiving, reſolved to finiſh the treaty of peace without delay[w]. The king was gone to *Rouen*, where the accommodation was quickly concluded, in ten articles, that differed little from the eleven which had been before ſent him from *Nancy*; the laſt of them contained a general amneſty for what was paſt[x]. The appearance of the grand *Spaniſh* armada on the coaſt of *Bretagne* contributed not a little to influence the king's reſolutions. On the 18th of *June*, the edict of pacification was publiſhed, and a general aſſembly of the ſtates called to meet in the *September* following at *Blois*[y]. On the 4th of *July* appeared a new edict for the re-union of all the king's ſubjects to the Catholic religion; and the king having now, in all probability, taken his final determination, tho' ſome think he was ever governed by events, and took no meaſure but expedients, changed his conduct entirely, and received into high favour the chiefs of the league. He made no ſcruple of declaring the cardinal of *Bourbon* firſt prince of the blood, conſtituted the duke of *Guiſe* lieutenant-general of his armies throughout the kingdom, with powers little, if at all, inferior to thoſe of the conſtable[z]. What gave ſtill greater ſatisfaction was, his taking the government of *Normandy* from the duke of *Epernon*, and giving it to the duke of *Montpenſier*, the former being at the ſame time diſmiſſed the court[a]. From *Rouen* the king went back again to *Chartres*, without taking *Paris* in his way, tho' he was extremely preſſed to it[b]. The duke of *Guiſe* followed him to *Chartres*[c], and was received with ſuch high marks of favour, that people in general looked upon the reconciliation as ſincere, more eſpecially as the king ſpoke of nothing but the ſecurity of the Catholic religion, and the converſion or extermination of his Proteſtant ſubjects. The queen-mother was remarkably kind to the duke of *Guiſe*, which was ſuppoſed to proceed from her deſire of transferring the crown to her grandſon the marquis of *Pontmouſſon*. But, from whatever it proceeded, the duke of *Guiſe* ſeemed to be entirely ſatisfied, and received from her ſo many and ſo ſtrong marks of confidence, that he relied upon her entirely.

An accommodation effected between him and the Guiſes.

The diſtracted ſtate of the

AT this time it is very difficult to form a juſt notion of the ſtate of *France*, where, from the number of governors and want of obedience, there was, in effect, thro' the greateſt

[w] Dupleix. Mez. [x] Cayet. [y] Jacob. Thuan. [z] Hiſtoire de France, tom. ix. p. 301, 302. [a] Memoires du Duc d'Eſpernon. [b] Jacob. Thuan. [c] Serres, P. Daniel.

part

part of the realm, no government at all. The king himself was of so mutable, so irresolute a temper, so much in the hands of his mother and her creatures, or they took upon them to use his name and authority with so little ceremony, tho' without his knowlege, that they made him act, at least in appearance, against his own interest, and for the destruction of his best friends. It was under some delusion of this sort, that the queen-mother and *Villeroy*, who hated the duke of *Epernon*, sent the king's orders to the chief magistrate of *Angoulesme*, to drive out the duke *de Epernon*, who had seized that place for his service. In consequence of this command, however obtained, a bold attempt was made to murder the duke, which he prevented by his intrepid behaviour, and afterwards defended the castle with a few of his domestics, where they were thirty hours without food, 'till he was relieved[a]. His brother, the duke *de la Valette*, seeing what turn things were like to take, made a treaty, offensive and defensive, with *Lesdiguieres*, as if they had been sovereigns[e]. The marshal *de Montmorency* was really so in his government, where he levied money and troops as he thought fit, and by doing strict justice, and living in a princely manner upon his own fortune, he maintained the public tranquility and every thing in exact order[f]. The duke of *Savoy*, after offering his assistance to the king, the duke *de Guise*, and Mr. *de Lesdiguieres*, provided he might have the marquisate of *Saluces* for his pains, finding his offers rejected on every side, made himself master of the best part of that country, and amongst the rest of the strong fortress of *Carmagnoles*[g], in which were four hundred pieces of cannon, with military stores sufficient to have enabled the king to reduce his rebellious subjects, if they had been properly employed. As for *Paris*, it was entirely devoted to the duke of *Guise*, who put it under the direction of the sixteen[h], supported by an infinite number of his friends, that is, of such as were desirous of rising at any rate; for, in conjunctures like this, such as have nothing to lose are in the fairest way of making their fortunes. The king, stript of his friends, surrounded by his enemies, without force, and without allies, had occasion enough, tho' little opportunity, to contemplate his ruined condition, and that labyrinth of difficulties into which his indolence and his

kingdom at this juncture.

[a] Mémoires du Duc d'Espernon. Cayet. [e] Histoire du Connestable de Lesdiguieres, par Louis Videl, liv. iii. c. iv. p. 163, 166. [f] Jacob. Thuan. [g] Guichenon. J. de Serres. P. Daniel. [h] Histoire de la Ligue, par Maimbourg. Du Tillet.

luxury

luxury had brought him. He gathered, however, courage (a ſure proof he had parts) from the proſpect of danger.

He removes ſome of his principal miniſters, and begins to loſe all confidence in the queen-mother.

On the firſt of *September* the king arrived at *Blois*, where the firſt ſtep he took was very extraordinary, which was ſending orders to the chancellor *Chiverni*, *Bellievre*, ſuperintendant of the finances, *Brulart*, *Villeroy*, and *Pinart*, ſecretary of ſtate, to retire to their houſes, and meddle no further with public affairs[1]. The ſeals were given to *Montholon*, an advocate of *Paris*, a zealous Catholic, a man of honour, but very inexpert in affairs of ſtate[2]. From this time the queen-mother loſt the confidence of her ſon, he was aſhamed of the conceſſions he had made, he was provoked by the pope's letter (*Sixtus* the fifth was now on the papal throne) to the duke of *Guiſe*, and the cardinal *de Bourbon*, in which he ſtiled them *Maccabees*; and he was well informed of the true deſign of the league, which was to thruſt him into a convent, and to place the duke of *Guiſe*, or ſome other prince of the houſe of *Lorrain*, upon the throne. He likewiſe knew that the queen-mother was embarked or at leaſt not unacquainted with theſe projects, in hopes of having the government under the name of the young prince *Henry* of *Lorrain*, her grandſon[3]. The meeting of the ſtates was very full, the clergy were repreſented by one hundred thirty-four deputies, amongſt which were four archbiſhops, and twenty-one biſhops; they choſe for their ſpeakers the cardinals of *Bourbon* and *de Guiſe*: thoſe of the nobility were one hundred and eighty, their ſpeakers were the count *de Briſac*, and the baron *de Magnac*: the deputies of the third eſtate were one hundred ninety-one, and at their head was *La Chapelle Marteau*, proveſt of the merchants at *Paris*, all of them zealous leaguers, which ſufficiently ſhewed the complexion of the aſſembly[4].

Opens the aſſembly of the ſtates with a bold ſpeech.

The king opened the ſtates on the 16th of *October*, with a very wiſe and weighty ſpeech, which he delivered with much grace and dignity; he profeſſed himſelf a zealous Catholic, aſſured them of his willingneſs to contribute to the utmoſt of his power to ſecure and to promote the eſtabliſhed religion, and adviſed the making it a fundamental law, that none but Catholics ſhould be capable of the ſucceſſion: he added, that, in his judgment, as all leaguers and alliances with foreign princes, under pretence of religion, were needleſs, ſo in their nature and conſequences, when without the conſent of the ſovereign, they were acts of high treaſon[5].

[1] Cayet. Jacob. Thuan. [2] Dupleix; De Tillet. [3] P. Matthieu. P. Daniel. [4] J. de Serres.

know, said he, that some great men have given their countenance to things of this kind; but from my accustomed clemency, I am willing to overlook what is past[n]." The duke of *Guise* and the cardinal changed colour at those words, and they obliged the king to soften his harangue before it was printed. He was likewise compelled to swear to the edict of re-union, and to confirm his reconciliation with the duke of *Guise*, by receiving with him, at the same altar, the same host[o]. Notwithstanding this, he quickly discerned that his own safety and the duke's views were utterly incompatible. He discovered, tho' he made a show of the contrary, that the duke held secret intelligence with the duke of *Savoy*; he found that he had a superior interest in the states, who pressed to have the king of *Navarre*, by name, declared incapable of the succession; he perceived that they were bent upon limiting his authority; and some of the princes of the house of *Lorrain* declared to him privately, that they disapproved the duke of *Guise*'s conduct and designs. But what moved him most was an insolent speech of the duchess dowager of *Montpensier*, sister to the duke, who, shewing a pair of gold scissars which she wore at her girdle, said, the best use she could make of them was, to clip the hair of a prince unworthy to sit on the *French* throne, in order to qualify him for a monastery, while a worthier person mounted it in his stead, capable of repairing the losses which religion and the state had suffered thro' the cowardice of his predecessor[p]. He determined, therefore, to rid himself of the duke, some way or other.

In this sad perplexity he summoned a council of his friends, and a better picture of his condition cannot be given than the naming them. They were no more than marshal *D'Aumont*, *Nicholas d'Angennes*, sieur *de Rambouillet*, and *Beauvais-Nangis*. Those were all he could trust with his distress; and to them he explained the apprehensions he was under from the duke of *Guise*, and the new project that prince had formed of forcing him by means of the states to make him constable. They desired a day to consider of it, and by the king's command at their next meeting, *Louis d'Angennes*, the brother of *Nicholas*, was present. Marshal *D'Aumont* advised the arresting the princes of the house of *Lorrain*, and forming their process; all the rest were clear that this was impossible; the king himself said, the flag would be too strong for the toils. It was then resolved to put him to death; and the king would have confided the execution to *Crillon*, who commanded his guards; but he answered, "That his rank and services ren-

Concerts with a faithful friend.

the means for carrying a design into execution.

[n] Jacob. Thuan. [o] P. Matth. [p] P. Daniel. [q] Serres. Dupl.

"dered

"dered him unfit to be a hangman;" adding, "I will draw "my ſword fairly upon the duke; and if he does not kill "me, I will kill him, as becomes your majeſty's ſervant[r]." The king did not take this at all amiſs; he then addreſſed himſelf to *Loignac*, the firſt gentleman of his bed-chamber, who accepted it without difficulty. The king had about him a guard of *Gaſcons*, recommended by the duke *de Epernon*, which, from their number, were ſtiled the *forty-five*[s], all determined men, who hated the duke of *Guiſe* perſonally, becauſe, under colour of ſaving, he was for diſmiſſing them. Out of theſe the king choſe nine for the execution. He was alſo forced to intruſt his ſecret with *Ornano*, *Bonnivet*, *La Grange*, *Montigni*, and *D'Entraques*, to whom he gave his orders. *Larchant*, who commanded the company of guards on duty, was directed to ſummon the duke to council, in the evening of the 22d of *December*; and after he had delivered his meſſage from the king, that the council was to be held early the next morning, that all preſſing affairs might be diſpatched before *Chriſtmas*, he preſſed him, as from himſelf, for the pay of his men, who he ſaid were ſo diſtreſſed, that they were on the point of diſbanding. The duke giving him fair words, he deſired leave to communicate them to his troop, and that he might be permitted to put a petition into his hand as he went to council in the morning, which the duke readily granted[t]. All theſe previous ſteps could not be taken without creating ſome jealouſy, and, if the duke did not eſcape his fate, it was not for want of warning. That very day he had a note put under his plate at dinner, in which were theſe words, *Beware, they are about to do you an ill turn.* The duke, when he had read it, took his pencil and wrote, *They dare not*; folded it up, and threw it under the table[u]. He had himſelf ſome apprehenſions, but he thought he was too far advanced to go back. Beſides, the archbiſhop of *Lyons*, who had in view a hat from *Rome* by his intereſt, prevailed upon him to let the two armies of the league be commanded by the dukes of *Mayenne* and *Nevers*, and to execute his own office of great maſter of the houſhold, with all the authority of the old mayors of the palace; and, for that reaſon, to keep always cloſe to the perſon of the king.

The death of the D. of Guiſe, *and the*

ON the 23d of *December*, early in the morning, the king having his four friends in his cabinet, ordered *Loignac* to introduce the nine guards, and to bring as many poniards; he then made a diſcourſe on the buſineſs in hand, and concluded

[r] D'AVILA. [s] Abrege Chronologique de l'Hiſtoire de France, par MEZ. tom. v. p. 301. [t] SERIES. DUPL. [u] JACOB. THUAN.

it

it with these words, "It is an execution of justice, which I command you to make on the greatest criminal in my kingdom, whom all laws human and divine permit me to punish; but, not having the ordinary methods of justice in my power, I authorize you to do it, by the right inherent to my royal authority." He then disposed them in the passage which led from his chamber to his cabinet, into which he retired with the four persons before-mentioned [v]. The council assembled early, consisting of the cardinals of *Vendosme* and *Gondi*, the marshals *D'Aumont* and *Rhetz*, the Sieurs *de Rambouillet* and *d'O*. The cardinal of *Guise*, and the archbishop of *Lyons*, came afterwards; last of all came the duke, who found, at the door of his apartment, as he came out, the guards disposed in two lines; and before he had time to reflect, *Larchant* presented the petition, which accounted so well for their appearance, that he went on without suspicion [x]. When he had ascended the stairs, leaving all his equipage below, he came into the anti-chamber where the council sat; he found himself faint, and sent to the king's valet de chambre for some plumbs, and a handkerchief to wipe his eyes, which watered [y]. About eight o'clock the secretary of state came to inform him the king desired to speak to him in his cabinet. He went thro' the gallery that led into the chamber, the door of which, as usual, was shut after him. He then turned to the left, and as he lifted up the tapestry that hung before the passage that led to the cabinet, he received six poniards at once into his breast, on which he cried out, *My God, have mercy upon me* [z], fetching so deep a groan, that it was heard into the anti-chamber. The cardinal of *Guise* and the archbishop of *Lyons* rose and ran to the gallery, where the guards presented their halberts. They were immediately arrested by the marshals *D'Aumont* and *Rhetz*, and conducted to a room in the upper part of the castle [a]. The lords and great men being admitted into the anti-chamber, the king presently entered it, and addressing himself to the cardinal of *Vendosme*, said, "I am now a "monarch; and, by what has been executed by my orders, "those who, under the specious pretence of religion, shall "hereafter trouble the state, may learn what they have to "expect." He then went to the queen-mother's apartment, who occupied the first floor of the castle, and entering her chamber, for she was indisposed, he said, "I am now a king, "madam, and have no companion, the duke of *Guise* is dead."

Conduct of the king at and after this execution.

[v] Serres. Du Tell. [x] Jacob. Thuan. Mez.
[y] Dorleix. P. Matthieu. [z] Cayet. Davila.
[a] P. Daniel.

She,

She, without approving or blaming the action, contented herself with asking him if he had considered well what consequences might attend it. "I have, madam," replied he, "and "have given proper orders." "I hope so," returned the queen, "and that it may prove to your advantage[b]." This agrees with what moſt writers affirm, that ſhe was totally unacquainted with the king's deſign; and yet this is a matter very far from being certain (M).

In

[b] J. de Serres. P. Matthieu. Dupleix.

(M) The *French* hiſtorians in general, and even moſt of their private memoirs, agree, that the death of the duke of *Guiſe*, and the meaſures requiſite to bring it about, were entirely without the queen-mother's concurrence and conſent. But, however, there is a very curious and diſtinct relation of this affair, penned by one who is on all hands allowed to have had as large a ſhare in the king's confidence as any who were about him. This was his phyſician *Miron*, whoſe relation is yet extant, in a work little regarded, and yet not eaſy to be found (1). He is very diſtinct and preciſe in every thing that he ſays, and, in particular, tells us, with reſpect to that of which we are ſpeaking, that on the 20th of *November* the queen-mother, having received letters from the ducheſs of *Aumale*, ſhe ſent to the king to deſire that he would come to her, or at leaſt ſend ſomebody that he could truſt; upon which the king ſent the author of this relation to his mother, from whom he received this meſſage, "Tell the king, "my ſon, that I deſire he will "take the trouble to come "down into my cabinet, be- "cauſe I have ſomewhat to ſay "to him, which regards his life, "his honour, and his dignity." He delivered his meſſage accordingly to *Henry*, who preſently called one of his favourites, and went with him and his phyſician down to the queen's apartment. Soon after they entered, the king and his mother went together into a large window, while the two perſons the king brought with him retired to the other end of the cabinet; they heard, therefore, nothing of what paſſed; but, at parting, the queen ſaid aloud, "My ſon, in this caſe diſpatch "is neceſſary, you have loſt too "much time already; but give "your orders now in ſuch a "manner, that you may not be "deceived again as you were at "the barricades of *Paris*." The king being thus, in this writer's opinion, confirmed in the project he had formed of delivering himſelf from the duke, went about it in a very extraordinary manner. He ſeemed to give himſelf more up than ever to devotion, and, as a proof of it, ordered cells or little apartments to be prepared over his own for certain capuchin friars, became every day more indolent

(1) *This curious Piece from the MSS. of Meſſieurs Du Puy, is printed in the Hiſtoire generale des Cardinaux, par Aubery, Paris, 1649, 4to. tom. v. p. 551.*

and

who made application to the king's orders, they arreſted in the caſtle of the duke of *Elbœuf* and *Nemours*, the cardinal *de Bourbon*; *Many of his confede-*

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and immerſed in his affairs, dropping from time to time hints that he would devolve the weight of the government upon the queen-mother and the duke of *Guiſe*, in order to occupy himſelf entirely in matters of religion. This had preciſely the effect he intended, for the cardinal of *Guiſe* and the archbiſhop of *Lyons* looked upon him as a poor thoughtleſs doating creature, intent only on qualifying himſelf for a monaſtery, into which they intended to thruſt him. This had two conſequences. It afforded him the means of taking all his meaſures without ſuſpicion, and prompted them in ſuch open acts of inſolence as beſt ſerved to juſtify the action for which he was preparing. Theſe cells, inſtead of capuchins, were intended for his guard of forty-five at the critical juncture, when he ſhould ſtand in need of their ſervice. He proſecuted this plan coolly and ſteadily to the very laſt. He called a journal of the week to be ſettled, and ſigned in council on the preceding *Saturday*. On the *Monday* the king was to do ſo and ſo, on the *Tueſday* ſo, on the *Friday*, which was the day the duke was killed, he was to go to our lady of *Clery* to perform his devotions. This ſtrange behaviour at ſo critical a ſeaſon, equally amazed the faction who ſought his ruin, and his friends who thought the king abſolutely infatuated. But it was the preſence of this journey that furniſhed him with the means of making the laſt preparations for the tragedy without ſuſpicion. On the *Thurſday* the duke of *Guiſe* puſhed the provocations he had given the king farther than he had ever done, by complaining of his cauſeleſs jealouſies and ſuſpicions; and inſiſting peremptorily on reſigning his high office of lieutenant-general, notwithſtanding all the condeſcenſion the king could employ in order to prevail upon him to keep it. The duke knew that things were at a criſis, and thought there was but one ſtep more to take, which ſome ſay was to ſeize his maſter's perſon, and to carry him to *Paris*, in order to diſpoſe of him there as he thought fit (2). At leaſt, this is conceived to be that plot of which the king was appriſed by the queen-mother. On the other hand, this monarch took the reſignation as flowing from a contempt of his authority, being perſuaded that the duke intended to receive either the ſame poſt, or the office of conſtable from the ſtates, as diſdaining to hold it from the favour, or ſo much as with the conſent of the king (3). This kept him ſteady to his reſolution, and it was under colour of making a tour to the church of our lady of *Clery*, that the council was appointed ſo early in the morning, and the preparations for it ſerved to cover that ſtir, which the execution of the

(2) *Le Gendre.* (3) *Memoires de Beauvais Nargis, Memoires de la Ligue.*

rates arreſted, and his brother the cardinal put to death.

the prince *de Joinville*, and *Anne d'Eſt*, the former the ſon, the latter the mother of the duke of *Guiſe*, and alſo of the duke of *Nemours*. *Francis du Pleſſis de Richelieu*, grand provoſt, with his archers, ſeized the preſident *de Neuilli*, *Chapelle-Marteau*, *Compan*, and *Cotteblanche*, deputies from the city of *Paris*; together with *Vincent le Roi*, lieutenant general of *Amiens*. *Urbain de Laval Bois-Dauphin*, and the count *de Briſſac*, both of whom became afterwards marſhals of *France*, were confined in their own houſes; *Periard*, ſecretary to the duke of *Guiſe*, was ſeized with all his papers [c]. The next day the cardinal *de Guiſe* was brought from the place of his confinement by a ſerjeant and three of the guards, to be examined; but, in going thro' a dark paſſage, by the orders of *du Guaſt*, who was captain of the guards, they diſpatched him with their halberds [d]. He was more violent than his brother, and, amongſt other inſolent ſpeeches, had given out, that he would hold the king's head between his knees, till the tonſeur was performed at the capuchins [e]. The bodies of both the brothers were burnt to aſhes, and thoſe ſcattered by the winds, to prevent their faction from abuſing them as relicks. The king endeavoured alſo to ſeize the dukes *de Mercœur* and *Mayenne*; but they had ſo good intelligence, that they made their eſcape, as the duke of *Nemours* did ſoon after. On the firſt news of the duke's death at *Paris*, the people were extremely ſurprized; but, as ſoon as they were informed that *Orleans* and ſome other places had declared in favour of the league, they began to recover their ſpirits, took all the precautions poſſible for the ſecurity of the place, and throwing off all reſpect to the king, ſtiled him openly, tyrant, apoſtate, hangman, traitor, and whatever elſe their brutal malice could ſuggeſt, breaking his ſtatues, tearing his pictures, and demoliſhing his arms in every public place where they had been fixed during his reign [f].

A. D. 1588.

[c] Jacob. Thuan. Du Tillet. [d] D'Aubigne. P. Daniel. [e] Lettres du Roi au Marquis de Piſani du 24 Decembre, Imprimée aux de l'Hiſtoire des Cardinaux, tom. v. p. 614. [f] Cayet.

king's dark deſign neceſſarily required (4). If we believe the phyſician's relation, the queen-mother was the principal author of the duke's death; and yet from a concurrence of circumſtances, it ſeems highly probable that he did not acquaint her with the ſteps taken to accompliſh it, and that ſhe was really very much ſurprized at the event.

(4) *Relation de la Mort de Meſſieurs les Duc et Cardinal de Guiſe, par le Medecin Miron.*

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THE queen-mother, ſick as ſhe was, cauſed herſelf to be carried to the place where the cardinal *de Bourbon* was confined, who no ſooner ſaw her, than he cried out, *Madam, this is one of your contrivances, and by your arts we have been all brought here to have our throats cut.* The queen anſwered with one of thoſe execrations which were then common, that ſhe was entirely ignorant of the matter [g]. This converſation made ſo ſtrong an impreſſion on her mind, that it is ſuppoſed to have haſtened her death, which happened on the 5th of *January*, in the 70th year of her [h] age (F). The king now flattered

The death of the queen-mother, and the great perplexity of the king.

[g] J. DE SERRES. P. MATTH. [h] Journal du Regne du Roy Henry III. p. 122.

(F) This great queen *Katherine*, the dowager of *Henry* the ſecond, the mother of *Francis* the ſecond, *Charles* the ninth, and *Henry* the third, kings of *France*, was born at *Florence*, *April* the 13th, 1519 (1). In her perſon ſhe was rather comely than handſome, more eſpecially in the latter part of her life, when ſhe grew coarſe and fat. It is allowed by all parties that ſhe had great natural talents, which were improved by education and exerciſe; a great capacity, deep penetration, lively wit, and a deep judgment. But what ſhe principally excelled in were the arts of a court; eaſy, affable, and engaging; magnificent to the higheſt degree, but without regarding expence; liberal even to profuſion; majeſtic in her deportment, having a great preſence of mind, and a wonderful fertility in expedients, even when ſurrounded with dangers. But her ambition was without bounds, without pity, without natural affection. She thought herſelf alone born to command, and that obedience was the portion of all the world beſide. She created parties, that ſhe might preſerve her own power by balancing them; and, to effect this, ſhe ſacrificed all principles of religion, and all pretenſions to integrity. She ſometimes flattered, but oftener perſecuted the Proteſtants. She ſided with the houſe of *Guiſe* againſt the princes, then with the princes againſt the houſe of *Guiſe*. She was not content with being the mother, but would be alſo the miſtreſs, that is, the ſovereign of kings. She neglected the education of her children in their nonage; ſhe ſuffered them to be miſled in their youth, that ſhe might govern them all their days. It was by this conduct that ſhe became inſupportable to *Charles* the ninth, and ſuſpected by *Henry* the third. In order to judge of her true character, we ought to conſider her favourites and her court. The former were men of intrigue, who diſcovered their parts in a multitude of inventions for fleecing and impoveriſhing the people. Abandoned in their manners,

(1) *Memoires pour l'Hiſtoire de France, tom.* i. *p.* 261.

flattered himſelf that affairs would go better in the ſtates; and, to facilitate this, he carried his priſoners to the caſtle of *Amboiſe*,

violent in their actions, and blindly devoted to her pleaſure. As to the ladies who compoſed the latter, their characters are ſufficiently diſtinguiſhed in hiſtory, at the ſame time that they diſgrace it. In ſhort, the age of *Katherine de Medicis*, for ſo we may ſtile the ſpace of upwards of thirty years, in which her genius and example gave the law in *France*, was a mixture of impurities of every kind. Much of ſuperſtition, more of atheiſm, and, what is its conſtant companion, an extravagant propenſity to magic, ſplendour without dignity, a policy ſo refined, as to ſap the foundations of government, an affectation of abſolute power, that ended in total anarchy, and ſuch a ſpirit of diſſipation as left induſtry without hope, and almoſt effaced all ſentiments of probity. After a long life ſpent in luxury, ſhe died, in appearance, of the gout, rendered mortal by a diſtraction of mind, and an incapacity of bearing that contempt which ſhe ſaw coming upon her (2). In her laſt moments ſhe was attended by the king, who expreſſed that tenderneſs which was really in his nature, and would have appeared upon other occaſions, if ſhe had not corrupted it (3). By her teſtament the grand ducheſs of *Tuſcany* and the count *d'Auvergne* were her heirs (4); but they did not reap any great benefit from thence, ſince ſhe died eight hundred thouſand crowns in debt. She affected to govern to the laſt, and ſeemed much fitter for it on her death-bed than thro' her whole life. I leave you, ſaid ſhe to the king, my laſt advice; and I intreat that theſe dying words may be imprinted in your memory, for the good of your ſtate. Love the princes of your blood, and have them always about you; and more eſpecially the king of *Navarre*. I have found them always faithful to the crown; and they alone have any intereſt in the ſucceſſion of the kingdom. Remember alſo, that, if you would reſtore that peace which is ſo neceſſary to *France*, you muſt begin with granting liberty of conſcience to your ſubjects, having obſerved, that, amongſt the *Germans* and other ſovereign princes of my time, there have been none who, by mere force of arms, have been able to extinguiſh the troubles excited in their countries on the ſcore of religion (5). Her death was no ſooner known at *Paris*, than the people publicly declared, that if they brought her body thither, in order to inter it in the new tomb which ſhe had built for herſelf and her huſband at *St. Denis*, they would never ſuffer it, but either caſt it into the common ſewer, or into the river (6). The reaſon of this bitterneſs was, the perſuaſion they had that the death of

(2) *P. Daniel.* (3) *Davila, liv.* ix. (4) *Memoires pour l'Hiſtoire de France.* (5) *P. Daniel, tom.* ix. *p.* 343. (6) *Journal du Regne du Roy Henry* III. *p.* 122, 123.

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boiſe, the command of which he gave to *du Guaſt*, who by his order had cauſed the cardinal *de Guiſe* to be murdered. He was prevailed upon, however, to releaſe the count *de Briſac*, and to ſend all the deputies from *Paris*, except *Chapelle Marteau*, together with *Vincent le Roi*, to that capital, in hopes that, according to their promiſe, they would endeavour to calm the minds of the people; and contented himſelf with taking their oaths, that, if they did not ſucceed, they would return [i]. But in a very little time he found all his expectations vain; the deputies began to retire without his leave from *Blois*; ſo that, to ſave appearances, he was forced to prorogue the ſtates: many of the great cities declared for the league, which was now publicly countenanced by the pope and the king of *Spain*. But what troubled him moſt, and gave the greateſt wound to his reputation, was the conduct of *du Guaſt*, who began to treat with the leaguers for the ranſom of his priſoners; and had the aſſurance, when the king on this intelligence demanded them, to drive a bargain with the king himſelf, who was forced to give him thirty thouſand crowns in ready money, for the cardinal *de Bourbon*, the duke of *Elbœuf*, and the young duke of *Guiſe* [k]. As for the archbiſhop of *Lyons* and *Chapelle Marteau*, he kept them to make his market of elſewhere, and ſold them afterwards to the leaguers [l]. If, inſtead of following the timid counſels of marſhal *de Rhetz*, the king had liſtened to the advice of marſhal *D'Aumont* and the Sieur *de Rambouillet*, who adviſed him to recall the army of the duke of *Nevers*, and to march directly to *Paris* [m], he had probably put an end to the civil war at the very beginning; but the humour of temporizing, which was always fatal to him, prevailed and gave riſe to thoſe troubles which ſubſiſted for ſo many years, and reduced the monarchy of *France* to the very brink of ruin, after bringing him by an untimely death to his grave.

[i] Jacob. Thuan. P. Dan. [k] J. de Serres. Dupl. Du Tillet. [l] Hiſtoire de la Ligue. D'Avila. Mez. [m] P. Matth.

the duke and cardinal *de Guiſe* was the effect of her counſel. At *Blois* ſhe was no ſooner dead than ſhe was forgotten; and the king, contrary to his cuſtom, cauſed her remains to be ſilently interred; but, more than twenty years after, they were removed to that chapel which ſhe had founded at *St. Denis*, and reſt there with thoſe of her family (7).

(7) *Jacob. Thuan. Dupleix, Memoires de Brantome.*

The leaguers at Paris *diſown the king, and create the duke of* Mayenne *lieutenant general of the realm.*

In the mean time the leaguers at *Paris* were reducing rebellion into a ſyſtem. Seventy doctors of the *Sorbonne* took upon them to decide that the people were releaſed from their oath to *Henry* of *Valois*, and by another decree they were forbid to mention the king in their public prayers; they likewiſe pronounced it lawful to levy money and to take up arms [n]. The *ſixteen*, who were, in effect, tribunes of the people, had declared the duke of *Aumale* governor of *Paris*, and in concert with him *Buſſi le Clerc*, a factious attorney, to whom the duke of *Guiſe* committed the charge of the *Baſtile*, underſtanding that the parliament were aſſembled with intent to ſend a ſolemn deputation to the king, went thither, attended by a guard, and carried fifty preſidents and counſellors in their robes publicly thro' the ſtreets, expoſed to all the inſults of the populace, to his fortreſs, where he confined them [o]. They then formed a new parliament, at the head of which they placed the preſident *Briſſon* by force; the Sieur *Mole* was made attorney general, and threatened with death if he did not accept it. This new parliament, thus conſtituted, declared the promiſe made by the deputies to return to *Blois*, tho' made upon oath, to be null and void, and alſo took an oath themſelves never to depart from the league, and to revenge the death of the duke and cardinal of *Guiſe*. On the arrival of the duke of *Mayenne*, the council of union, which was compoſed of forty members, and which his firſt care was to get enlarged, declared him *lieutenant general of the ſtate royal and crown of France*, an unknown and unintelligible title, but with which they gave him almoſt ſovereign power; and indeed they would have complimented him with the title of king, but that he prudently refuſed it [p]. *Rouen* and a great part of *Normandy* declared for the league, *Lyons* and *Toulouſe* did the ſame, and the whole province of *Bretagne* followed their example; *Bourges*, *Marſeilles*, *Aix*, *Arles*, and *Toulon*, did the like; marſhal *Matignon* preſerved *Bourdeaux*, and marſhal *D'Aumont* recovered *Angiers*; but the provinces of *Mayenne* and *Auvergne* embraced the league [q]. The *Spaniſh* embaſſador repaired to *Paris*; a ſufficient indication what ſide his maſter was inclined to take. The pope was inclined the ſame way; for the league had, in cardinal *Pellevè*, an active and able agent at *Rome*, where the king was alſo well ſerved by the marquis *Piſani*. In all provinces troops were raiſing for

[n] Maimbourg Hiſt. de la Ligue, p. 297, 298, ad ann. 1589. Memoires de la Ligue, tom. iii. [o] Journal du Regne du Roy Henry III. p. 123, 124. [p] Dupleix. Mezeray. [q] Jacob. Thuan.

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the king and for the league; and tho' religion was the pretence, yet intereſt or reſentment were the real motives. There was all this time an open war with the Proteſtants, but it was carried on very faintly, the league having no opportunity of attacking them; and the king, and the nobility who adhered to him, having no inclination, though, to ſave appearances, and to leſſen the influence of the rebels, they declared publicly, and in ſtrong terms, againſt hereſy and heretics, with whom they were privately treating, and without whoſe aſſiſtance there was nothing more evident than that the king muſt be undone, and the conſtitution overthrown [r].

The king is reconciled to the king of Navarre.

The diſtreſs of princes is the great criterion of zeal and duty. *Henry* ſaw himſelf, at *Blois*, abandoned by almoſt all thoſe whom his favour had raiſed to greatneſs, decried by the clergy whom he had encouraged, and abhorred by the bigots, to whom, during his whole reign, he had been paying court. In this conſiſted his good fortune; it made room for thoſe who ought to have been always about him. Except the old doating cardinal of *Bourbon*, who was in priſon, and whom the league (worthy of ſuch a king) ſtiled *Charles* the tenth, all the princes of his blood repaired to him, not to receive places and preferments, but to ſacrifice their lives and fortunes for his ſervice; the cardinal *de Lenonceur*, the marſhal duke *de Montmorency*, the duke *d'Eſpernon*, the duke of *Nevers*, and other perſons of great quality, reſorted with what forces they could collect; by their advice he removed to *Tours*, and by his edict of the fourth of *March*, transferred thither the parliament and chamber of accounts from *Paris* [s]. He had negotiated with the duke of *Mayenne*, and, out of a deſire of peace, and to ſhew his ſteady affection to the church of *Rome*, had offered him and the family of *Lorrain* the government of one third of the kingdom; but their hopes of poſſeſſing the whole was ſo ſtrong, that they rejected theſe offers [t]. The king of *Navarre*, on the contrary, publiſhed a declaration, by which he offered himſelf and his forces for his majeſty's ſervice, without any ſtipulation. *Diana de Angouleſme*, natural daughter to king *Henry* the ſecond, negotiated the reconciliation between them, which was perfected in an interview towards the end of *April*. Some had ſuggeſted to the king of *Navarre* that he might meet the ſame fate with the duke of *Guiſe*: to ſatisfy them he took ſome precautions at the firſt meeting, but went the next morning to confer with the king, attended only by a page, which produced a thorough

[r] P. Matth. Serres. [s] Jacob. Thuan. [t] Cayet Hiſt. de la Vie du Duc d'Eſpernon, tom. i. p. 248, 249. Maimbourg.

reconciliation [u]. While the king of *Navarre* was aſſembling his troops, the duke of *Mayenne* was very near ſeizing the king. A detachment of horſe was within a hundred yards of him: a miller gave him notice of his danger; it was with difficulty he recovered the ſuburbs of *Tours*, which were gallantly defended by *Crillon*, with part of the regiment of guards; but both the place and his perſon had been taken, if the troops of the king of *Navarre* had not relieved it on the ſeventh of *May* [w]. The pope, by his bull, excommunicated the king, for the death of the cardinal *de Guiſe*, the impriſonment of the cardinal *de Bourbon*, and his reconciliation with the king of *Navarre*. This prince, ſeeing the king extremely affected with the thunder of the *Vatican*, ſaid, "Sire, let us "march with our forces to *Paris*; if we are victorious we "ſhall be eaſily abſolved [x]." The duke of *Aumale*, with the militia of that capital, beſieged *Senlis*, which had been ſurprized by the king. *La Noue* and the duke of *Longueville*, with a handful of men, beat *Aumale*, and relieved it, which encouraged the two kings to proſecute their enterprize. In their march they recovered ſeveral places, ſome of which ſurrendered, and ſome were taken by ſtorm; amongſt the latter was *Eſtampes*, for defending of which the baron *de St. Germain* loſt his head [y]. *Nicholas de Harlay*, Seigneur *de Sancy*, whom the king had ſent to raiſe troops in *Switzerland* without money, by the ſale of his own jewels and lands accompliſhed his commiſſion, and brought ten thouſand *Swiſs* foot, two thouſand *Lanſquenets*, and fifteen hundred *Reitres*, to *Conflans*, where they joined the army of the two kings. The compliment *Henry* made to this gentleman was very remarkable; after embracing him, he ſaid, "In recompenſing "this ſervice, I ſhall never be able to reach your deſerts; "but I will endeavour to exceed your expectations [z]." Their forces were now between thirty and forty thouſand men, with whom, on the laſt of *July*, they inveſted *Paris*, the king fixing his quarters at *St. Cloud*, and the king of *Navarre* at *Meudon* [a].

Henry III. *murdered by* James Clement,

ON the approach of the royal army to *Paris*, the council of union had recalled the duke of *Mayenne* from *Alenſon*, which he had reduced to defend them. He made the beſt diſpoſition for this purpoſe that was poſſible, and took poſt himſelf, with four thouſand men, in the ſuburb of *St. Honore*,

[u] Hiſtoire de la Vie du Duc d'Eſpernon, tom. i. liv. iii. P. MATTH. [w] CAYET. DUPLEIX. Hiſtoire de France, tom. iv. p. 195. [x] Journal du Regne du Roy Henry III. P. DAN, [y] D'AUBIGNE. [z] JAÇOB. THUAN. GUICH. [a] SERRES. MEZ.

fully

fully resolved, in case things came to extremity, to open him- a Jacobin
self a passage, or perish in the attempt. It is generally be- mo-
lieved that this capital could not have held out long. The *his*
king would very soon have prevented any kind of supplies from *ma*
entering the place; and when once the inhabitants were St.
distressed, as there were numbers of royalists in the place, the duke of *Mayenne* and the inveterate leaguers would have found themselves in a manner between two fires. But their danger and their deliverance came together. A *Jacobin* friar, whose name was *James Clement*, a native of the village of *Sorbonne*, near *Sens*, an ignorant half-witted creature, about twenty-five years of age, distracted with the enthusiastic sermons that were every day thundered from the pulpits, and prompted by better heads, and perhaps wickeder hearts than his own, was fixed upon as a proper instrument for dissipating the royal army by dispatching the king. To facilitate this enterprize, a passport was procured, under false pretences, from the count *de Brienne*, one of the king's generals, then a prisoner, and a letter forged from president *Harlay*, who was in the bastile. With these implements he set out from *Paris* the very day the king came to *St. Cloud*, and falling in upon the road with the attorney general, Mr. *La Gueste*, and his brother, who were going to the king's quarters, and telling them that he was going with very important intelligence, one of the gentlemen took him up behind him, and carried him to *St. Cloud* [b]. As it was too late for him that night to see the king, he supped with the attorney general's servants, with whom he was remarkably lively and merry, and slept so soundly, that they were forced to awake him in the morning [c]. When he was introduced to the king by *La Gueste*, he spoke to him with great readiness, presented his letters, and while he was reading them, drew a knife he had concealed in his sleeve, and thrust it into his belly [d]. The king drew it out himself, and gave him one, or; as some say, two wounds in the face, on which *La Gueste* struck him on the stomach with the pomel of his sword, which stunned him; and two of the king's guards dispatched him as he lay on the floor, very imprudently [e] (G).

At

[a] Jacob. Thuan. [b] P. Dan, [d] Memoires du Duc d'Angoulesme. [e] Mezeray.

(G) We have given in the text as clear and as distinct an account of this barbarous assassination, as we could collect from the best historians. The attorney general, *La Gueste*, gave himself a full and circumstantial narrative of this melancholy affair, from the time of his meeting with *James Clement*, to that

of

At firſt the king's wound was not thought mortal, at leaſt ſo it was given out; but his ſwooning frequently quickly diſcovered of his death. Some have aſſerted that *La Gueſle* run him through the body; but he poſitively aſſerts the contrary; and that the aſſaſſin remaining upon his knees, after the king had wounded him in the face, himſelf, through fear of his having other arms, ſtruck him with the hilt of his ſword in the ſtomach, and, when he fell, threw him at a diſtance from the king (1). At that time there was not the leaſt doubt that *James Clement* was the aſſaſſin. There was a pompous account of his martyrdom publiſhed at *Paris*, and his order were ſo far from being aſhamed either of the action or of him who did it, that one of his brethren publiſhed another account, in which his attempting it was aſcribed to a revelation from heaven (2), which was fatal to the prior of his order, who being taken about ſix months after, ſuffered death, as an accomplice or encourager of the fact. He denied it however, when tortured; and at his death declaring himſelf perfectly innocent, and profeſſing that he deteſted the action. Nay, in the letter of *La Gueſle* beforementioned, it is ſaid, that *Clement* was told at his ſupper, the night before, that ſix of his order had made a vow to kill the king, to which he anſwered modeſtly and mildly, that there were good and bad of all ſorts, monks as well as others. His knife was alſo remarked being new, having a long blade and a black handle; and ſomebody ſaid to him, obſerving that he uſed it very briſkly at ſupper, you would have ſooner forgot your breviary than your knife; to which he anſwered frankly, there is my knife, and here is my breviary (3). But, notwithſtanding all this, ſome doubts have been raiſed whether *James Clement* killed the king or not. It is ſuggeſted, that, while the king was intent on reading the letter he preſented him, ſome perſon near him ſtabbed him in the belly, and that the monk was firſt ſtunned, and then diſpatched, to prevent a diſcovery of the truth. Others inſinuate that the monk was ſent out of the world before the king; and that another perſon dreſſed in his cloaths committed this bloody fact. But there are no proofs of this; only it is affirmed that a footman of the count *de Auvergne* affirmed, upon his deathbed, that it was not a *Jacobin* who killed the king; and that madame *d'Entragues*, the daughter of the count, frequently aſſerted the ſame (4) thing. It ſeems, indeed, tolerably proved, that this *James Clement* had formerly profeſſed himſelf loyal, and had been employed by the king's party to carry letters from *Blois* and from *Tours* to *Paris*,

(1) *Memoires pour ſervir à l'Hiſt. de France, tom.* ii. *p.* 294. (2) *Diſcours veritable de l'eſtrange & ſubite mort de Henry de Valois, advenüe par permiſſion divine, luy eſtant à St. Cloud, ayant aſſiege la Ville de Paris, le Mardy premier jour d'Aouſt* 1589. (3) *P. Matthieu.* (4) *La Fatalite de St. Cloud, Article* xxiii.

vered his danger. The king of *Navarre* repaired immediately to the king's quarters as ſoon as he was informed of what had happened.

which accounts for his being truſted upon this occaſion, but does not at all acquit him of the murder. On the contrary, it appears clearly, that the leaguers were fully perſuaded that it was done by his hand, ſince they ordered their creatures to celebrate him as a martyr, exhibited his picture, with a glory round his head as a ſaint, and rewarded his mother and ſome of his relations (5). There is alſo a trifling circumſtance that ſeems to put it out of diſpute. He was ſeen a little before his departure mending his ſhoes with packthread; and, as he was looked upon to be a kind of a half-witted fellow, thoſe who ſaw him thus employed jeſted with him, and told him his work would not laſt long; to which he anſwered, that it would laſt as long as he had occaſion for it; from which it is evident that he expected to periſh in this undertaking (6). The ſource of theſe different reports was the imprudence of killing him upon the ſpot, which, however, *La Gueſſe* ſays, he endeavoured all he could to prevent; and the flinging his body out of window without examining it; upon which the provoſt *Richlieu*, by order of *Henry* the fourth, cauſed it to be torn by four horſes and then burnt (7). But the great obſcurity lies with reſpect to the contrivers of this fact, of whom the beſt authors ſpeak very cautiouſly and darkly, and even thoſe, who in other things ſeem to have been beſt informed, acknowlege, that with reſpect to this, they could ſay nothing with certainty; that, it was hid under impenetrable clouds, and muſt be referred to divine juſtice. It is, however, allowed, that common fame threw it upon the duke of *Mayenne*, and the ducheſs of *Montpenſier* his ſiſter. The former diſclaimed it in the ſtrongeſt manner, but the ducheſs avowed it; and there want not ſome who aſſert that ſhe bribed that profligate monk to commit that deteſtable action, by granting him the greateſt favour in her power; and, beſides other provocations, it is reported, that being diſappointed in a love intrigue with the king was one of the principal cauſes of her rage and reſentment. It is certain that ſhe and her mother drove about the ſtreets in the moſt indecent manner, publiſhing the news to the populace, and then went to the church of the *Cordeliers*, where the ducheſs of *Nemours*, mounted on the ſteps of the altar, for a long time reviled the deceaſed king in the moſt abuſive manner (8). They likewiſe diſtributed green ſcarfs to their friends, inſtead of the black ones which they had worn from the time of the death of the duke of *Guiſe*: But if this behaviour was inexcuſable, even in women, much more ſo was

(5) *Memoires de la Ligue. Memoires de la Ligue.* (6) *La Fatalite de St. Cloud.* (7) *Journal du Regne du Roy Henry III.* (8) *Memoires de Brantome. Jacob Thuan.*

that

happened. There are different accounts of their converſation, and perhaps equally ill-founded; but it is generally agreed that the king embraced him tenderly, called him his dear brother, declared him his ſucceſſor, and exhorted the nobility who were preſent to acknowlege and ſupport him. The king died the next morning, which was the ſecond of *Auguſt*, about four o'clock, in the 39th year of his age, and in the 16th of his reign [f] (H).

[f] JACOB. THUAN. P. MATTH. CAYET. DUPLEIX, tom. iv. DAVILA, liv. x.

that of the pope *Sixtus* the fifth, who, in a full conſiſtory, was not aſhamed to magnify the holy zeal of this bloody villain, and to extol his courage and piety beyond thoſe of *Eleazar* (9) and *Judith*. An action in itſelf abominable, and fraught with ſuperſtition and ignorance.

(H) This unfortunate prince, *Henry* the third, was born on *Saturday*, *September* the 20th, 1551, and conſequently not upon *Whitſunday* as is commonly reported (1). At his baptiſm he received the name of *Alexander Edward*; his ſponſors were *Edward* the ſixth king of *England*, *Anthony du Bourbon*, duke of *Vendoſme*, and the princeſs of *Navarre*, the duke's conſort. His name was changed to *Henry* at his confirmation. While duke of *Anjou* he was active, ambitious, and full of generous ardour; but afterwards his nature was quite changed, ſome ſay after the ſhort ſtay he made at *Venice*; but, in reality, this change happened after the maſſacre at St. *Bartholomew* (2). He had naturally a compaſſionate temper, and ſincerely believed the principles of the Chriſtian religion; ſo that from this time his mind became diſordered, inſomuch that he ſtudied ſometimes to forget his apprehenſions in debauches, and at others to appeaſe his conſcience by acts of ſuperſtitious devotion (3). The only excuſe that can be made for him is his youth, to which, perhaps, we may add, his being under the influence of his mother. After his return from *Poland*, he became indolent and capricious; but with theſe new faults he retained an old one, his obſtinacy; for tho' he frequently changed his opinions, it proceeded not from compliance but mutability. It may be that the Catholic and the Hugonot writers have exaggerated his debauches; for he was equally hated by both. But beyond all doubt, after the accident he met with at *Venice*, and the death of the princeſs of *Condé*, his vices took an unnatural turn, of which this is the cleareſt proof. The great hiſtorian, monſieur *D'Aubigne*, being taken priſoner by monſieur *de Saint Luc*, who had been one of the

(9) *La Fatalite de St. Cloud, Article* xviii. (1) *Favin Theatre de Honneur, liv.* iii. (2) *Jacob. Thuan. Hiſt. Dupleix.* (3) *Journal du Roy Henry* III.

king's

ing's minions, he told him frankly, that, not being able to endure the ſight of thoſe exceſſes to which the king ſometimes fell, he concerted with the marſhal de Retz and the duke de Joyeuſe, men, tho' not of the moſt ſcrupulous conſciences, yet ſufficiently diſguſted, as well as himſelf, the means of frighting the king from them. With this view, by the help of an iron pipe conveyed thro' a hole into the king's chamber, *St. Luc* ſpoke to him as if he had been an angel ſent to admoniſh him, at which this poor prince was ſo terrified, that he was very near loſing his ſenſes; upon which the duke of *Joyeuſe* told him the truth; and this incenſed him ſo violently againſt *St. Luc*, that he was conſtrained to abandon the court, and to retire into his government, where he afterwards declared for the league (4). The king waked ſometimes in ſuch terrors, that he roſe and hid himſelf under his bed; and whenever it thundered he took ſhelter in the vaults under the *Louvre*. There might be ſomething conſtitutional in this, for it was obſerved, that in extreme cold weather the king had fits of another kind, during which it was highly dangerous to provoke him. Some ſay the duke of *Guiſe* was apprized of this, and loſt his life for not paying a ſufficient attention to this caution. However that may be, the king had but one relapſe before his death, which diſcovered itſelf in his negotiation with the duke of *Mayenne*; for after that he reſumed his martial ſpirit, and became what he was when duke of *Anjou* (5). In the defence of *Tours*, monſieur *de Thou* aſſures us, that he gave his orders like a great captain, and ſhewed all the intrepidity in danger of the moſt gallant ſoldier (6). He was a kind huſband to *Louiſa* of *Lorrain*, who, after his deceaſe, retired from *Moulins*, and ſpent the remainder of her days in acts of piety, dying about twelve years after the king. His behaviour, after he received the wound of which he died, was equally pious and brave, according to the certificate of the princes, great lords, and others, who were about him, and who met to draw up and ſign that paper the very next day (7). The malice born to this prince is almoſt beyond example; for after his body was embalmed, his entrails, being put up in a coffer, while the great lords of the army were aſſembled in council, this coffer was pierced in ſeveral places with daggers, ſo that the greaſe ran thro' (8). It is from hence argued, that there were ſome about him very capable of doing what is aſcribed to the monk. His inteſtines were after this privately interred near the altar, in the church of *St. Cloud*, where an inſcription has been ſince put up by one of his faithful ſervants, and his body depoſited at *St. Cornille* in *Compeigne*, whither it was attended by the duke of *Eſpernon*, and remained there till the year 1610, when it was removed to *St. Denis* (9).

(4) *Hiſt. univerſelle, tom.* ii. *liv.* iv. *c.* v.
(5) *Memoires d'Eſpernon.*
(6) *De Thou.*
(7) *Memoires pour ſervir a l'Hiſt. de France, tom.* i. *p.* 289.
(8) *Pierre Matthieu, tom.* ii. *liv.* i.
(9) *Mezeray.*

SECT.

SECT. X.

The Reign of Henry IV. *surnamed* the Great, *King of* France *and* Navarre, *Founder of the Branch of* Bourbon, *at present in Possession of the Throne.*

HENRY, king of *Navarre*, was in the thirty-sixth year of his age, when, by the death of his predeceſſor, he was called to the throne, in right of his deſcent[a] (A). He ſaw however

[a] P. Matth. Duplein.

(A) In this note we propoſe to ſhew, as ſuccinctly as poſſible, the deſcent of *Henry* the fourth, and conſequently his title to the crown of *France*(1). *Robert* the ſixth ſon of *St. Lewis*, was born A.D. 1256, and had the county of *Clermont* by his father's gift. He received the honour of knighthood at *Paris*, in 1279, at a tournament, where he received ſo many blows on the head as diſturbed his ſenſes ever after. He eſpouſed, notwithſtanding, *Beatrix*, the only daughter of *John* of *Burgundy* and *Agnes*, heireſs of *Bourbon*, by whom he had many children. He deceaſed in 1318. His eldeſt ſon *Lewis* exchanged the county of *Clermont* with *Charles* the *Fair*, who, in 1327, erected the barony of *Bourbon* into a duchy and peerage, in his favour. He eſpouſed *Mary*, daughter to the count of *Hainault*, by whom he had a numerous progeny; amongſt whom were *Peter* who ſucceeded him, and *James*, from whom deſcended the count *de la Marche*. He deceaſed in 1342. *Peter*, the firſt duke of *Bourbon*, had the charge of grand-chamberlain conferred upon him by *Philip de Valois*. He married *Iſabella*, daughter to *Charles* of *France*, count of *Valois*, and had by her one ſon and ſeven daughters. He was ſlain fighting valiantly by the ſide of king *John* in the battle of *Poictiers*, 1356. *Lewis* the ſecond was one of the richeſt princes of his time; he was in his youth one of the hoſtages for king *John* in *England*, paid a ranſom of one hundred thouſand franks, and ſpent forty thouſand more during his reſidence at *London*. He had ſome ſhare in the government in the reign of *Charles* the ſixth, and was eſteemed the worthieſt man of his time. He married *Anne*, the daughter of the count of *Clermont*, in *Auvergne*, and died in 1410. His ſon *John* ſtiled himſelf duke of *Bourbon* and *Auvergne*, count *de Forez*, *Clermont*, and *Montpenſier*, lord of *Beaujeu* and *Dombes*, peer and chamberlain of *France*. He commanded the vanguard at the battle of *Agincourt*, and was there made priſoner, and conti-

(1) *This genealogy of the Houſe of Bourbon is carefully collected from the original hiſtorians, but to inſert all the citations after the uſual method, would take up more room than the whole note.*

nued

however, very few, except the Hugonots, who ſhewed any great zeal for his ſervice, and reſolved therefore to make uſe of

nued ſo nineteen years. From his younger ſon *Lewis* deſcended the counts of *Montpenſier*. He died in 1434. *Charles* duke of *Bourbon*, who followed the fortunes of *Charles* the ſeventh, and who by *Agnes*, daughter of *John* duke of *Burgundy*, had ſix ſons and five daughters. *John* the eldeſt ſucceeded his father, *Philip* died young, *Charles* became cardinal archbiſhop of *Lyons*, *Peter* had the lordſhip of *Beaujeu*, *Lewis* was biſhop of *Liege*, and *James* knight of the golden fleece. Of the daughters, *Mary* married *John* duke of *Calabria*; *Iſabella*, who became the wife of *Charles*, the laſt duke of *Burgundy*, and was by him the mother of *Mary*, who conveyed that rich inheritance to the houſe of *Auſtria*; *Katherine* became the conſort of *Adolph* of *Flanders*, duke of *Guelders*; *Joan* married the ſon of the prince of *Orange*, and *Margaret* eſpouſed *Philip* count of *Breſſe*, afterwards duke of *Savoy*, by whom ſhe had the princeſs *Louiſa*, the mother of *Francis* the firſt. Duke *Charles* died in 1456. *John* the ſecond, ſurnamed *The Good*, to his other titles added that of conſtable of *France*. He had three wives, but left no children by any of them; he died in 1488. His brother *Peter*, lord of *Beaujeu*, ſucceeded him. He married *Anne* of *France*, eldeſt daughter to *Lewis* the eleventh, and was twice regent of the kingdom; he died in 1503, leaving an only daughter, *Suſannah*, ducheſs of *Bourbon*, who eſpouſed *Charles de Montpenſier*, conſtable of *France*, and, in her right, duke of *Bourbon*. He was killed before *Rome* in 1527, and in him extinguiſhed the houſe of *Montpenſier*. That of *la Marche* being likewiſe extinct, the vaſt eſtates of this family deſcended to *Charles de Bourbon*, count of *Vendoſme*, who married *Frances*, daughter to *Rene* duke of *Alenſon*, and the widow of the duke *de Longueville*, by whom he had *Anthony*; *Francis*, count of *Enguien*, killed by a trunk that was thrown upon his head; *Charles*, cardinal of *Bourbon*, flattered by the leaguers with the title of *Charles* the tenth; *John* duke *de Enguien*, killed in the battle of *St. Quintin*; and *Lewis*, from whom are deſcended the princes of *Condé* and *Conti*. He had alſo ſix daughters, of whom *Margaret* became the wife of *Francis* of *Cleves*, duke of *Nevers*, and the reſt either died young or became nuns: he died in 1538. *Anthony de Bourbon*, duke of *Vendoſme*, eſpouſed *Joan* of *Albret*, ſole daughter and heireſs of *Henry* the firſt, king of *Navarre*, by whom he had *Henry* king of *France* and *Navarre*, and *Katherine* who eſpouſed *Henry* of *Lorrain*, duke of *Bar*, when ſhe was near forty years of age (2). As we have given the hiſtory of this prince amongſt the kings of *Navarre*, and have alſo ſpoken largely of him in the laſt ſection, it is not neceſſary that we ſhould

(2) *Dupleix, Hiſtoire de France, tom.* iv. *p.* 3.

ſay

of thoſe few as ſoon, and to as much purpoſe as he could. Amongſt theſe, the marſhal *de Biron* was one of the firſt; the king ſent him to prevail upon the *Swiſs* to take an oath of fidelity, and to remain in the army, believing, that if this precedent was ſet, it would be very quickly followed. His endeavours and his hopes were anticipated; their colonel general *Sanci*, without ſo much as going to make his court to the king, had diſpoſed the *Swiſs* to do all that he deſired, which was a thing of infinite conſequence [b]. There was, however, a great cabal amongſt the Catholics, at the head of which were the Sieurs *d'O*, *Manou*, *D'Entragues*, *Chateau*, *Vieux*, *Dampierre*, *Marechal de Camp*, who retired to conſult with the duke of *Longueville*, being unwilling to acknowlege *Henry*, and yet more unwilling to join with the league. After much deliberation they came to the king in a body; and the Sieur *d'O* declared, in their names, that they did not pretend to queſtion his title, but expected and deſired that he ſhould become a Catholic. *Henry* changed countenance ſeveral times while he was ſpeaking, and ſeemed more embarraſſed than at any time of his life. He told them he was amazed that any other thoughts ſhould enter their minds, than revenging the death of their ſlaughtered ſovereign, which entirely took up his. He told them, that to follow their advice was the worſt ſtep he could take; that the change of religion to a

[b] Jacob. Thuan. liv. 95.

ſay any thing farther of him here. But, however, to render this point yet more clear, it may not be amiſs to ſet this monarch's deſcent in another point of view, by tracing him in a direct line from *St. Louis* (3). *Robert*, count of *Clermont*, ſon to that monarch, was the father of *Lewis* the firſt, duke of *Bourbon*; *Lewis* was the father of *James*, count *de la Marche*, who was the father of *John*, alſo count *de la Marche*; *John* was the father of *Lewis*, count of *Vendoſme*; *Lewis* was the father of *John*, who was alſo count of *Vendoſme*; *John* was the father of *Francis*, who bore the ſame title; and *Francis* the father of *Charles*, duke of *Vendoſme*, who was the father of *Anthony* king of *Navarre*, who was the father of *Henry* the fourth; he ſtood therefore in the tenth deſcent from *St. Louis*; ſo that the great hiſtorian had reaſon to ſay (4), that if religion had not ſtood in the way, there could have been very little doubt made of the right of the king of *Navarre*; and yet he ſtood related but in the twenty-ſecond degree to his predeceſſor (5), otherwiſe than by marriage.

(3) *Le Gendre, Hiſt. de France, tom. v. p. 5.*
(4) *Jacob. Thuan.*
(5) *P. Daniel, Hiſtoire de France, tom. iii. p. 2.*

-man

man who had any was not the work of an instant; and that he was determined to consider this point with the attention it deserved [c]. At this instant *Givry* entered, and by a brisk unpremeditated speech, did more than all the argument and eloquence in the world could have done: "Sire, said he, the "flower of your brave nobility have resolved to put off their "mourning for the late king till they have revenged him, in "order to which they only wait your commands; you are the "king of all the brave men in the army, and none think of "abandoning you, but the poltroons." Marshal *Biron*, *Sanci*, a crowd of young nobility, all the colonels of the *Swiss*, came immediately and took the oath of fidelity [d]. This had a great effect upon the Catholic lords, who retired, drew up some propositions, mild in their nature, and modestly expressed, which the king signed on the 4th of *August*, and then they likewise took the oath [e]. The duke of *Espernon*, under pretence that the marshals *Biron* and *D'Aumont* had signed before him, refused to concur, and marched off with his troops, which had a very bad effect [f]. In the mean time the leaguers gave incredible testimonies of joy for the death of the late king; but the duke of *Mayenne* acted with great dignity and discretion. He rejected the proposal of those who were for proclaiming himself king, as he likewise did a motion that was made to offer the crown to *Philip* the second; he contented himself with publishing a manifesto in his own name, and that of the council of the union, exhorting the inhabitants of the cities and towns to renew the oath they had taken to live and die in the Catholic religion, and to acknowlege for their king the cardinal of *Bourbon*, the king of *Navarre* being a heretic. He preserved by this step the protection of *Spain* and *Savoy*, and secured the sovereign power in his own hands, on behalf of a captive prince; and at the same time left a door open, thro' which he might with decency retire, when either compelled by necessity, or invited by a favourable opportunity.

Henry IV. *proclaimed king by the army.*

As his army began sensibly to diminish, the king found it necessary to raise the siege of *Paris*, and to march with the forces he had left into *Normandy*. He took several small places by the way; but, in all probability, would have found it difficult to have reduced either *Dieppe* or *Eu*. The former of these was of infinite consequence to him, as it opened a communication with *England*, the only power in *Europe* from

He raises the siege of Paris, *and secures* Dieppe *and* Caen, *in* Normandy.

[c] D'Aubigny, tom. iii. liv. ii. c. 24. P. Daniel. [d] Jacob. Thuan. [e] Dupleix. [f] Histoire de la Vie du Duc d'Espernon, tom. i. liv. iii. p. 274. [g] Memoires de Villeroi, tom. i.

which he could hope assistance. The commander *de Chattes* had a good garrison in it, with which he marched out, and met the king, "Sire, said he, there is not a soldier in the "town, you may send what governor and what garrison into "it you please; as to myself and my troops we pretend to no "other title than being your majesty's faithful subjects[h]." This was of great consequence; and a relation of the commander's secured in like manner the town and citadel of *Caen*. In the mean time the zealous *Parisians*, upon the duke of *Mayenne*'s suggestion, that the king's forces were dwindled to nothing in *Normandy*, and that, if followed thither by a good army, he must be presently undone, furnished that prince with men and money in abundance, and having drawn great succours from *Lorrain*, marched directly into *Normandy* with near thirty thousand men. As the king's forces were not quite seven thousand, the duke proposed either to retake *Dieppe*, or to besiege the king in it; and he might have done which he pleased, if he had acted vigorously[i]. His caution gave the king time to intrench behind the river, and under the cannon of the castle of *Arques*, where the duke attacked him on the 21st of *September*. The leaguers had the advantage at the beginning by an action of the greatest treachery; their *Lansquenets*, perceiving that their countrymen defended the king's intrenchments, pretended to desert; but as soon as they were helped over, attacked the king's troops, and one of their officers made a bold attempt upon his person. At length, however, the duke of *Mayenne* was beaten, with the loss of six hundred men[k]. The principal causes of his misfortune were the rawness of his troops, and the presence of the marquis *du Pont*, eldest son of the duke of *Lorrain*, for whom the queen-mother had such kind intentions, and who, if he had obtained it, would have declared himself king[l]. Soon after this victory, *Henry* had the acceptable news that the *Swiss* cantons and the republic of *Venice* had acknowleged him for king of *France*; he received likewise four thousand foot from *England*[m]. About the middle of *October* he made a quick march to *Paris*, and quartered his troops in sight of it on the last of that month. This strangely alarmed the inhabitants, who had let their windows that looked on the street of *St. Anthony*, to those who promised themselves the pleasure of seeing the *Bearnois* led in triumph, and had just received an authentic account of his being totally defeated at *Arques*, with twenty of the royal standards supposed to be taken, but really

Is attached by the Duc de Mayenne, *who is repulsed.*

He marches immediately to Paris.

A. D. 1589.

[h] P. Dan. [i] Memoires de la Ligue. [k] Jacob. Thuan. P. Matth. [l] Histoire de France, tom. ix. p. 437. [m] Dupl. tom. v.

made

made for that purpoſe [n]. On the firſt of *November* the king inſulted three of the ſuburbs, in which the leaguers loſt thirteen hundred men, fourteen enſigns, and thirty pieces of cannon. If the king's artillery could have been brought up in time, or if the duke of *Mayenne* had not entered with his army, the place had been carried by ſtorm. The people hanged two or three of their own townſmen, who were royaliſts, and the king, in return, hanged up one of the ſixteen who was priſoner of war [o]. On the 21ſt of *November* the king made his public entry into *Tours*, and the ſame day the duke of *Mayenne* proclaimed *Charles* the tenth with great ſolemnity [p]. The ſixteen and moſt of the furious clergy were for declaring the king of *Spain*, notwithſtanding, protector of the league; the duke engaged them to defer it to the arrival of the pope's legate; and upon finding him in the *Spaniſh* intereſt, he propoſed declaring the pope their protector, with which the clergy joined; the legate was forced to approve, and the ſixteen to ſubmit. He then declared, that as he governed by the royal authority (tho' his king was cloſe priſoner in *Fontenai-le-Comte* in *Poitou*), he would appoint a privy council, and diſſolve that of the union, which had the air of a republic. This was a great blow to the ſixteen; and, to ſtrengthen himſelf ſtill farther, he took the ſeals from *Montholon*, who, ſince the late king's death, had refuſed to act, and gave them to the archbiſhop of *Lyons* [q]. Some of the great cities and ſome of the parliaments declared for the king, ſome for the league, ſome affected to remain neuter. Under this pretence marſhal *Matignon* held *Bourdeaux*, by which he did the king more ſervice than if he had declared for him [r]. The duke of *Eſpernon*, tho' he affected a kind of independence, and had a better army than the king's, acted with ſpirit and ſucceſs againſt the league, tho' he made no ſteps to be reconciled to the king, for fear he ſhould borrow his money [s]. The duke of *Savoy* demanded from the parliament of *Grenoble* the title of king of *France*, and being denied that, would have accepted the kingdom of *Arles*, but *La Valette*, *Eſpernon*'s elder brother, prevented his getting either the title or the dominions, ſacrificing his troops, his money, and at length his life, in the king's ſervice [t].

Different towns declare for the king and the cardinal de Bourbon.

The duke of *Mayenne* made himſelf maſter of *Pontoiſe*, and afterwards beſieged *Meulan*, to the relief of which the king marched in perſon with a ſmall force. The duke re-

[n] P. Dan. tom. ix. p. 438. Matth. [o] Jacob. Thuan. P. [p] Davila, liv. x. [q] Hiſtoire de la Ligue. [r] Mezeray. [s] Dupleix, tom. v. [t] Cayet, tom. i.

tired; but, as ſoon as the king was gone, he beſieged the place a ſecond time, tho' without effect. The king relieved it a ſecond time, and the duke, to avoid a battle [u], retired. The king, who had now a ſuperiority, beſieged *Dreux*; but the prince of *Parma* having ſent count *Egmont* with a potent ſuccour of the beſt troops in his army, the duke of *Mayenne* marched with upwards of ſixteen thouſand men to relieve the place. In his paſſage the king met him at *Yvry* with his forces, which were not above twelve thouſand men; the duke had no intention to engage, but he could not avoid it. The battle was fought on the 14th of *March*: the king's ſpeech is worth inſerting: "Children," ſaid he to his ſoldiers, "if you ſhould at any time loſe ſight of your colours, look "about for this, pointing to the white feather in his hat, "you'll find it in the way to victory and honour. God is "with us [w]." He expoſed himſelf extremely, was preſent when the count of *Egmont* was killed, and his *Walloon* horſe broke; the duke of *Mayenne* was entirely routed, loſt his baggage, his artillery (they were but four pieces), and, indeed, every thing he had to loſe [x]. At the cloſe of the engagement there was a great ſquare column of *Swiſs* troops, to whom ſome *French* infantry joined themſelves, and, tho' ſurrounded by the king's troops, remained firm. *Henry* ſent them a kind meſſage, that he ſhould be ſorry to put ſo many brave men to the ſword, and that their ſafety depended upon themſelves, upon which they threw down their arms, and entered into his ſervice [y]. There was about two thouſand five hundred killed; but the loſs of the leaguers, one way or other, was equal to that of the king's whole army. Marſhal *Biron*, who commanded the reſerve, never fought at all, and yet he was the great author of the victory, for he preſented his troops ſo opportunely wherever the enemy began to preſs, that he obliged them to retire in confuſion. After the victory, he made the king a compliment, that ſhewed he was as great a courtier as a captain, "Sire, ſaid he, you acted the part of "marſhal *Biron* to day, and acted it well, while I, for my "part, performed that of the king [z]." The duke of *Mayenne*, who had been totally loſt if he had not perſuaded the people of *Mante* that the king was killed, and thereby obtained a paſſage over the *Seine*, endeavoured to retard the motion of the victorious army by a negotiation; and the king was content to be amuſed, becauſe he could not move for want

The king defeats the Duc de Mayenne *at* Yvry.

[u] Memoires de la Ligue. tom. ix. p. 467.
[w] Jacob. Thuan. P. Dan. tom. ix. p. 479.
[x] Dupl. tom. v.
[y] P. Dan. tom. ix. p. 473.
[z] P. Matth. P. Daniel, tom. ix.

of

of money; however, by the eighth of *May*, he completely blocked up *Paris* [a].

On the ſame day, or, as ſome ſay, the next, died the cardinal *de Bourbon*, in his priſon, of a retention of urine, at the age of ſixty-ſeven [b]. He was very ſenſible that his royalty was a farce; and, after the death of *Henry* the third, made uſe of the phraſe, *the king my nephew*, indefinitely, but would never call him king of *Navarre*. The leaguers continued to coin their money with his effigies for five years after, and procured a decree of the *Sorbonne*, fortified by an arret of their parliament, againſt the title of *Henry de Bourbon* [c]. The duke *de Nemours* was governor of *Paris*, and diſcharged that office with great capacity. The legate formed a regiment of eccleſiaſtics, conſiſting of thirteen hundred men, and had his ſecretary killed by his ſide at his firſt review. The inhabitants ſuffered prodigiouſly by famine; and, notwithſtanding their ſolemn oaths to the contrary, were at laſt forced to treat [d]. The king might certainly have been maſter of his capital, if he had refuſed a paſſage to the old men, women, and children, who the duke of *Nemours* turned out. He was reproached for his ill-timed tenderneſs by ſome of his officers, and by his only ally [e]; but the king was one of thoſe princes who had rather bear all the reproaches in the world than thoſe of his own heart. At laſt the prince of *Parma*, in obedience to his Catholic majeſty's orders, and contrary to his own ſenſe of things, marched to the relief of *Paris*, and conducted his deſign ſo well (as he was, without doubt, one of the greateſt officers of that age), that, at the cloſe of the month of *Auguſt*, the king was conſtrained to raiſe his blockade, when the place was on the very point of falling into his hands [f]. He met, beſides this, with ſeveral other mortifications; the duke of *Savoy* took *Frejus* and *Antibes*, and was received in triumph at *Aix*, under the title of protector of *Provence* [g]. This turn of fortune induced ſome to quit the king's party, and go over to the league, while others pretended diſcontent on the ſcore of religion; but the worſt of all was the want of money, ſometimes to ſuch a degree, that the king was forced to go under colour of a viſit to other people's quarters, for want of a dinner at his own [h]. Another misfortune was, the death of pope *Sixtus* the fifth, at a time when he was on the point of breaking with the *Spaniards*, and making an attempt on the kingdom of *Naples*. He was

Death of the cardinal de Bourbon.

The king is obliged to raiſe the blockade of Paris.

[a] Memoires de Villeroi, tom. i. [b] Cayet, tom. i. [c] P. Dan. [d] Davila, liv. xi. [e] Hiſt. de France, tom. ix. [f] J. Thuan. [g] Bouche Hiſt. de Provence, tom. ii. liv. x. [h] P. Matth.

ſucceeded by *Urban* the ſeventh, who ſat but a little time, and then made room for *Gregory* the fourteenth, a ſubject of the
A. D. 1590. king of *Spain*, and the moſt determined enemy the king ever had. Before the cloſe of the year, the king made an attempt, by ſurprize, on *Paris*, and had ſucceeded, but that a *Jeſuit*, a lawyer, and a bookſeller, being upon duty, over-heard the troops that were about to ſcale the wall, ſhot the firſt perſon who entered, after he had mounted the ladder, and by giving the alarm obliged the king's forces to deſiſt [l].

As the taking of *Paris* was his great view, the king was not to be diſcouraged. On the 20th of *January* he ſent ſeveral waggons laden with corn, attended by ſixty determined officers, in the diſguiſe of peaſants, to ſeize the gate of *St. Honore*, not knowing that the leaguers had cauſed it to be walled up; ſo that, tho' admirably conducted, this deſign, ſtiled in *French*, *journee des farines*, alſo miſcarried [k]. The pope, being entirely in the hands of the *Spaniſh* faction, declared *Henry* a heretic relapſed, a perſecutor of the church, and as ſuch excommunicated, fallen from his dignities, and even from his patrimonial eſtates, requiring all eccleſiaſtics to quit his party, on pain of loſing their dignities and benefices, and laics alſo, under the higheſt penalties; which produced a great deal of confuſion [l]. However, the king having received a conſiderable ſum of money, and a great quantity of ammunition from the queen of *England* [m], recovered ſeveral places in *Normandy*. By the advice of the chancellor *Chiverny*, to whom he had reſtored the ſeals, he beſieged *Chartres*, and took it with great difficulty. Not long after a place of conſequence being ſurprized in *Normandy*, the biſhop of *Evreux*, a violent leaguer, was taken priſoner. There was found upon him a treatiſe he had written to juſtify the murder of *Henry* the third, and to prove the lawfulneſs of treating his ſucceſſor in the ſame way. Upon his refuſing to retract theſe treaſonable and atheiſtical opinions, he was condemned to perpetual impriſonment [n]. The parliament of *Chalons* declared all the pope's bulls and reſcripts againſt both kings null, abuſive, and ſeditious, ordered them to be burnt by the hand of the hangman, and offered a reward for apprehending the pope's nuncio [o]. On the 4th of *July*, the king publiſhed an edict at *Mante*, by which he revoked thoſe extorted from his predeceſſor by the leaguers, and eſtabliſhed liberty of conſcience throughout his dominions [p]. In the month of *Auguſt* he took *Nojon* in the ſight of the duke of *Mayenne*, and received the

The pope declares him a heretic relapſed.

He publiſhes an edict at Mante, *eſtabliſhing liberty of conſcience throughout his dominions.*

[l] Memoires de la Ligue. Dan. tom. ix. p. 522, 523. [k] Dupl. tom v. [l] P. Matth. [m] Camden's Annals of Queen Elizabeth. [n] J. Thuan. [o] P. Dan. [p] P. Matth.

acceptable

acceptable news that the viſcount *de Turenne* had procured a levy of ſixteen thouſand men for his ſervice in *Germany*.

WHILE he was employed in recruiting and augmenting his army, he was informed of the eſcape of the young duke of *Guiſe* from the caſtle of *Tours*; on which all he ſaid was, "The more enemies we have, the more pains we muſt take, "and the more honour it will be to beat them q." It was not long before he heard of another competitor, never thought of by himſelf or any body elſe, which was *Charles* cardinal of *Bourbon*, ſon to *Lewis* prince of *Condé*, who pretended that he was the neareſt Catholic of the houſe of *Bourbon*. As for the ſixteen, who had now recovered their power in *Paris*, they were for the duke of *Guiſe*, under the protection of the crown of *Spain*. The king was quickly appriſed of this; and being ſo fortunate as to ſeize their agent with their inſtructions, he ſent them to the duke of *Mayenne*, that he might ſee to what ſort of people he was become the tool r. He likewiſe conſented that the duke ſhould ſend preſident *Janin* into *Spain*, to diſcover the true ſentiments of *Philip* the ſecond. He knew the preſident to be a very honeſt man, and he made no doubt of his being diſguſted at the *Spaniſh* court. He was not miſtaken; for the preſident found *Philip* the ſecond ſo ſecure of being maſter of *France*, that, in ſpeaking to him, he always ſaid, *my town of Paris, Orleans, Rouen, &c.* s. He likewiſe heard of a queen of *France*, and a new king too, in her right. This was the Infanta to whom, in the opinion of her father, the crown belonged, as the neareſt relation of the late king, and he was content to give both her and it to the archduke *Erneſt*. The king having aſſembled an army of thirty-five thouſand men, formed the ſiege of *Rouen*. While he was thus employed, the ſixteen cauſed a citizen of *Paris* to be proceeded againſt before their parliament for writing a letter to a relation of his in the king's ſervice; but as there was nothing in it regarding public affairs, he was acquitted. Upon this *Buſſi*, *Louchart*, *le Normand*, and *Anroux*, four of the moſt furious of the ſixteen, ſeized the firſt preſident *Briſſon*, and the counſellors *Archer* and *Tardif*, condemned and hanged them in priſon t, on the 15th of *November*. The duke of *Mayenne* being informed of this, returned out of *Picardy* with a ſmall corps of horſe, held an aſſembly in the town-houſe, where he reprimanded thoſe who had been moſt buſy in the affair, and, by way of adjuſting matters, invited the ſixteen to ſupper, where,

Outrages committed by the council of ſixteen at Paris.

q P. DAN. Hiſtoire de France, tom. ix. p. 539. r D'AVILA, liv. xii. Memoires de la Ligue. s DUPL. Hiſtoire de France, tom. v. p. 52. t Memoires de la Ligue. JACOB. THUAN.

while they were very merry, he posted guards in proper places, and, after they were returned to their own houses, took four of them out of their beds, and hanged them in his hall. *Bassi le Clere* saved his life by delivering up the *Bastile*, but the soldiers plundered him of his wealth, and himself, retiring to *Brussels*, lived there for many years, in all the wretchedness of poverty and infamy [w]. *Henry*, who, with the assistance of a great body of *English* troops, under the command of the earl of *Essex* [x], was on the very point of taking *Rouen*, found himself obliged to raise the siege, by the arrival of the prince of *Parma* with a *Spanish* army, who in this, as in the relief of *Paris*, performed what he came to do, and then marched back again into the *Low Countries*, without suffering *Henry* to force him to a battle [y]. This was one of the greatest disappointments the king ever met with. However, he was in some measure consoled by the death of pope *Gregory* the fourteenth, who gave a monthly subsidy to the leaguers, and actually sent a body of troops to their assistance, though they proved of little service. His successor also, *Innocent* the ninth, who trod in his steps, followed him also into another world; and the duke of *Savoy* was soundly beaten by *la Valette*, notwithstanding he had added *Marseilles* to the places he had purloined from the crown of *France* [z]. The king had likewise the satisfaction of knowing that his own party in *Paris* was increasing every day, and was at least equal to the *Spanish* faction, and to that of the duke of *Mayenne*, who favoured them rather than the other.

The king obliged to raise the siege of Rouen.

He attacks the van of the army commanded by the duke of Parma, *but without effect.*

THE new republic of *Holland* sent, in the beginning of the year, a fleet of forty-five sail, with a succour of three thousand men on board, which was very acceptable to the king [a], who began to be more and more perplexed with the siege of *Rouen*. He had before it a much better army than he had ever commanded, falling very little, if at all, short of forty thousand men; but the place was very gallantly defended by *Andrew Brancas du Villars*, one of the bravest men, and by some esteemed the best officer, in the service of the league [b]. The army of the dukes, that is of *Parma* and *Mayenne*, did not consist of above twenty-four thousand men, had a long march

[w] P. DAN. Histoire de France, tom. ix. p. 547, 548. [x] DUPLEIX, tom. v. [x] Memoires de Du Plessis. MORNAI, tom. ii. Memoires du SULLI, tom. i. CAYET, tom. i. D'AVIL. liv. xii. [y] JACOB. THUAN. DUPL. tom. v. [z] Histoire de Lesdiguieres, liv. v. c. 2. GUICHENON. BOUCHE Hist. de Provence, tom. ii. liv. x. [a] JACOB. THUAN. DAVILA, liv. xii. P. DAN. Histoire de France, t. ix. p. 578. [b] D'AUBIGNY. MEZ.

to

to make; and through a country that would have embarraſſed any other commander than the duke of *Parma*. He marched continually in order of battle, his cavalry in the center, his infantry on the wings, with a thouſand waggons in three lines on each flank, his artillery in the rear. Himſelf, in an open carriage, unarmed, and at his eaſe, as if it had been no more than a journey of pleaſure, received intelligence, and gave his orders without emotion [c]. The king, not being able to credit the news he heard, and being deſirous to ſee with his own eyes how theſe ſuccours were conducted, advanced with a great corps of horſe towards the confederates, leaving marſhal *Biron* to command the ſiege. At *Aumale* he fell in with their van-guard, attacked and defeated ſome of the advanced corps, but quickly found himſelf obliged to make as quick a retreat as poſſible. It is allowed that he ſhewed great vivacity in this attack, much intrepidity in the time of greateſt danger, and great conduct in retiring, wounded as he was in the reins [d]. But it is ſaid the prudence of the duke of *Nevers*, who foreſaw his danger, and advanced with a good body of troops to favour his retreat, prevented his being killed or made priſoner. His addreſs was commended by the duke of *Parma*; his whole conduct ſeverely cenſured by marſhal *Biron*, who aſked him, when he intended to act like a king, inſtead of a captain of light-horſe? The dukes took *Neufchatel*; and, during the king's abſence, *Villars* made a ſally, with ſo much ſpirit and ſucceſs, that he ſcarce thought he ſtood in need of ſuccours [e]. The duke of *Parma*, after having thrown relief into *Rouen*, in the beginning of *March*, ſeparated his army, as if he had thought all over; but the king, having put his affairs in better order, preſſed *Rouen* ſo warmly, that *Villars* ſent to inform the dukes, that, unleſs he was effectually ſuccoured, he would ſurrender in a week. The duke of *Parma* ſuddenly aſſembled his forces, and appeared before the king's quarters the 20th of *April*. *Henry*, apprehending that his whole army might be deſtroyed, in caſe he was attacked by the dukes and the garriſon at the ſame time, raiſed the ſiege, after it had continued five months [f]. The duke of *Parma* would then have given battle, but the duke of *Mayenne*, who had been always beat, doubted of that meaſure, till it was too late. The confederates then beſieged *Caudebec*, where the duke of *Parma* had his arm ſhattered [g]. In the end, however, the place was taken. By this time the king had received ſuch reinforce-

[c] D'Avila, liv. xii. Dupleix, tom. v. [d] Cayet. Mez. P. Daniel. [e] J. Thuan. [f] Memoires de la Ligue. D'Avila, liv. xii. [g] J. Thuan. D'Avila, liv. xiii.

ments,

ments, that he began to preſs the dukes in his turn; and marſhal *Biron* having carried one of their quarters, his ſon demanded ſix thouſand horſe and foot, affirming that, with ſo ſmall a force, he would undertake to ruin their whole army; to which his father anſwered, "I believe you may; but then the war will "be at an end, and we ſhall be ſent to plant cabbages at *Bi*"*ron* [h]." The king, notwithſtanding, took ſuch meaſures, that the duke of *Parma* was entirely blocked up, having the king's army on every ſide, and the *Seine* a league broad at his back. In this ſituation the duke of *Parma*, in half a day, cauſed two forts to be erected on the oppoſite banks of the river, and, in a dark night, having aſſembled a great number of boats, which he covered in haſte with planks and beams. He paſſed firſt his artillery, then his baggage and army, ſo that, by the time the king was well apprized of his ſcheme, the army was on the other ſide, and their retreat ſo well covered by the fort and redoubts, that the royal army were little more than ſpectators [i]. The duke of *Parma* was ſo well pleaſed with this eſcape, that he is ſaid to have ſent a trumpet, to aſk king *Henry* what he thought of that retreat? The king was ſo much out of humour, that he could not help ſaying, he had no ſkill in retreats; and that, in his opinion, the beſt retreat in the world was little better than a flight [k]. The dukes continued their march with ſuch expedition, that in four days they reached *Charenton*, above *Paris*, from whence the duke of *Parma* returned, at his leiſure, to the *Low Countries*, and took *Eſpernai* in his paſſage [l]. In the mean time both parties negotiated in private; the king being deſirous to conclude a treaty with the duke of *Mayenne* [m], and the *Spaniards* not averſe to ſell a peace, upon high terms, to the king, to whom they offered to quit the party of the league, provided he would abandon to the crown of *Spain* the duchies of *Burgundy* and *Bretagne*.

The D. of Parma's maſterly retreat in the face of the king's army.

THINGS went but indifferently for the king elſewhere; the princes of *Conti* and *Dombes* beſieged *Craons*, on the frontiers of *Anjou*, to the relief of which the duke of *Mercœur* marched with all his forces, and had the good fortune to defeat their army totally [n]. This revived the hopes of the league; upon which the king ſent marſhal *d'Aumont* to command in *Bretagne*, and the prince of *Dombes*, now become duke of *Montpenſier*, by the death of his father, into *Normandy*, where

[h] P. DAN. Hiſtoire de France, tom. ix. p. 606. [i] DUPL. tom. v. JACOB. THUAN. MEZERAY. [k] P. DAN. tom. ix. p. 593. [l] D'AVILA, liv. xiii. [m] Memoires de Villeroi, tom. i. Memoires de du Pleſſis. MORNAI, tom. ii. [n] CAYET.

the

the king, having retaken *Caudebec*, and fortified the village of *Quillebœuf*, which the duke of *Mayenne* beſieged in vain, kept *Rouen* ſtill blocked up [o]. The king reſolved next to recover *Eſpernai*, which he compaſſed with little difficulty; but the old marſhal *de Biron*, going to view the place, loſt his head by a cannon ball [p]. *Brantome* is diſpleaſed at his being ſtiled the greateſt officer in *France*, becauſe, in his opinion, he was the firſt officer in *Europe*. His maſter owed him certainly great obligations, and yet it is believed he was not much regretted; for, finding he was not to be governor of *Rouen*, he ſuffered the ſiege to miſcarry, and had prevented his ſon from ruining the army of the duke of *Parma*. He was a man of letters, very polite, and had a vaſt capacity; but he had two great defects, he loved wine and he loved money. The leaguers commonly ſaid that they could have him at any time, if they had money enough to make the purchaſe. After the taking of *Eſpernai*, the king diſmiſſed the *German* troops, under the command of the prince of *Anhalt*, gave them all the money he was able, and ſtrong aſſurances of having the reſt of what was due to them; they were conducted back into their own country by the viſcount *de Turenne*, now become duke of *Bouillon*, by the marriage of the heireſs of the family of *la Marck*, which he owed to the king's favour, guided by his intereſt [q]. It was of great conſequence to have the principalities of *Bouillon* and *Sedan* in the hands of a friend; the ſons of the two dukes of *Lorrain* and *Nevers* had pretended to that princeſs; the former was the king's declared enemy, and his competitor, and he had not an entire confidence in the other. He was aſſiduous, therefore, to procure that heireſs for the viſcount *de Turenne*; and, ſoon after his marriage, he declared him marſhal of *France* [r]. At his return from conducting the *German* troops, he paid the king for his bâton by relieving *Beaumont*, where he defeated the marſhal of *Lorrain*, killed him, with ſeven hundred men, and took all his baggage and artillery; the king made him a preſent of the latter, reſerving one piece only, to put him in mind of the ſervice [s]. In *Languedoc* the duke *de Joyeuſe*, who commanded for the league, was entirely defeated by *Themmes*, who killed two thouſand men, took all the baggage and artillery, with twenty-two enſigns, and the duke himſelf was drowned in his flight [t]. The duke of *Savoy* was beat by *Leſdiguieres*,

Death of the D. of Biron.

Succeſſes of the king obtained by the viſcount de Turenne, *and* Themmes, *who defeats the D.* de Joyeuſe *in*

[o] Cayet, tom. ii. Mez. [p] D'Aubigny. D'Avila, liv. xiii. Jacob. Thuani. [q] Dupleix, tom. v. P. Dan. Hiſtoire de France, tom. ix. p. 551. [r] Mez. [s] Memoires de la Ligue. Hiſtoire de la Maiſon d'Auvergne, par M. Baluze, p. 793. [t] Dupl. tom. v.

who

Languedoc. A. D. 1592.

who followed him over the mountains, and made excurſions to the very gates of *Turin* [u]. The duke of *Eſpernon*, become governor of *Provence* by the death of his brother *la Valette*, recovered *Antibes*, and the *Spaniards* were baffled in an enterprize of theirs upon *Bayonne* [w].

We are now arrived at that point of time when things came abſolutely to a criſis, in reſpect as well to the league as the king. With regard to the latter the Catholics of his party gave him clearly to underſtand, that, though hitherto they had ſhewn ſo much complaiſance as to take in good part his apologies on the head of religion; it was abſolutely neceſſary that he ſhould now explain himſelf directly, which the king took in good part; and tho' he did not immediately comply with their requeſt, yet he gave them reaſon to be content, by a candid explanation of the motives which had induced him to act ſo indeciſively, in a point of ſuch importance. On the other hand, the duke of *Parma*, ſupporting the bigotted Catholics, had compelled the duke of *Mayenne* to come into a meaſure which hitherto he had aſſiduouſly avoided; and this was calling a general aſſembly of the ſtates, in order to elect a king. The *Spaniards* were deſirous that they ſhould meet either at *Soiſſons* or at *Rheims*, becauſe nearer to the frontiers of the *Low Countries*, and conſequently more convenient for the duke of *Parma*, who, on the part of his maſter, was to aſſiſt at this aſſembly: but tho' the duke of *Mayenne*, who had hitherto reſiſted all attempts of this ſort, found himſelf under the neceſſity of ſubmitting, yet he remained firm as to the place, and would have it at *Paris*; for knowing well that, under colour of ſupporting the reſolutions taken by the ſtates, the duke was preparing to bring an army with him, he was very apprehenſive of his ſeizing either of thoſe places. He carried his point ſo far; but it is highly probable he would have found it difficult, if not impoſſible, to have preſerved his influence, if that prince had actually come a third time into *France*;

Death of the D. of Parma.

but, while he was aſſembling his forces at *Arras*, death put an end to his fatigues [x], and, ſo far as they regarded him, to the perplexities of the duke of *Mayenne*, whom, as he moſt feared, of conſequence he moſt hated.

The D. of Mayenne aſſembles the ſtates at Paris,

As perplexed a ſituation as this was, and it is ſcarce poſſible to conceive one more ſo, the duke of *Mayenne* was much better qualified to extricate himſelf out of it, than to contend with his enemies in the field, tho' he did not want courage; but the caution ſo fatal to him in the latter was very favourable to

[u] Hiſtoire de Leſdiguieres, liv. iv. c. 6. [w] Hiſtoire du Duc d'Eſpernon, tom. i. liv. iv. [x] JACOB. THUAN. D'AVILA. DUPLEIX.

him

him in the former. The edict he publiſhed for calling the ſtates was dated on the 5th of *January*, penned with great elegance and gravity, as well as with the utmoſt art and circumſpection. In it he juſtified his own conduct, defended the title of *Charles* the tenth, reproached *Henry* of *Navarre* with his obſtinate adherence to hereſy, but in a manner that did not pleaſe the violent leaguers, or much diſpleaſe the king; appointing the 17th of the ſame month for their meeting, and inviting the Catholics in general to aſſiſt in ſettling the kingdom [c]. The cardinal legate likewiſe publiſhed a kind of mandate, filled with bitterneſs and paſſion, and which plainly expreſſed the intent of this meeting, of thoſe he called the ſtates, tho' the duke had carefully declined it, to be to proceed to the election of a king [d]. The ſtates did not meet till the 26th of *January*, when the duke opened the aſſembly with a round and florid ſpeech, in which he laid open the diſtreſs of the kingdom, and the neceſſity of having a king capable of reſtoring order. The firſt ſeſſions was ſpent in the uſual ceremonies. In the ſecond they came to the point. The cardinal legate moved, that, in the firſt place, the ſtates ſhould bind themſelves by an oath never to admit of a reconciliation with the king of *Navarre*, even if he embraced the Catholic religion. He was ſeconded by the whole *Spaniſh* faction [e]. The duke, who knew the importance of the debate, ſpoke vehemently and plainly againſt it, with the applauſe of the greateſt part of the aſſembly. The archbiſhop of *Lyons*, with great dexterity, defeated the legate at his own weapons, by ſhewing that, if they came to ſuch a reſolution, they ſhould bind the hands of the pope, which it was indecent to attempt, and not in their power to effect [f]. Before the next ſeſſions a trumpet from the king brought a paper [g], intituled, "Propoſitions of the "princes, prelates, officers of the crown, *&c.*" addreſſed to the count *de Belin*, in quality of governor of *Paris*, demanding a conference, to be managed by deputies on both ſides, in ſome place between *Paris* and *St. Denis*. The *Spaniſh* faction were for ſtifling this paper, but the duke of *Mayenne* ſent it to the ſtates, but adviſed them to defer deliberating upon it, till his return from his journey to meet the duke of *Feria*, whom the king of *Spain* had ſent to make his propoſitions to the ſtates.

and rejects the propoſition of the Spaniſh faction.

THE two dukes met and quarrelled at *Soiſſons*. The duke of *Feria* was for repealing the *Salique* law at once, and, that

He quarrels with

[c] D'AVILA, liv. xiii. [d] P. DAN. Hiſtoire de France, tom. ix. p. 635. [e] D'AVILA, liv. xiii. [f] JACOB. THUAN. DUPLEIX, tom. v. [g] Memoires de Villeroi. P. DAN. tom. ix. p. 636.

the D. of Feria, but afterwards acquieſces under the offers made him.

done, to declare the Infanta queen of *France*. The duke of *Mayenne* told him that it was impoſſible, and that he could not perſuade the deputies to come into any ſuch propoſitions, more eſpecially conſidering the *Spaniſh* army under count *Mansfield* conſiſted but of five thouſand men, and their pecuniary ſupplies were in the ſame proportion. The duke of *Feria* urged, that, when the thing was done, the king would march fifty thouſand foot and ten thouſand horſe in ſupport of his daughter's title, and would ſet open the floodgates of his treaſuries in favour of her adherents. The duke of *Mayenne* replied, that kingdoms were to be conquered by armies, or to be bought with money, and that to offer only promiſes was doing nothing. *Feria* told him, haughtily, that he was better inſtructed as to the temper of the deputies, and that they would do it without him. *Mayenne*, more haughtily, replied, that all the world could not do it without him; but that, in eight days, he could reconcile all the different intereſts in the kingdom, and then drive the *Spaniards*, and all their adherents, out of *France* [h]. The *Spaniſh* miniſters ſoon taught the duke of *Feria* another language, and, by their aſſiſtance, all things were reconciled. The duke of *Mayenne* was offered, in caſe he procured the election of the Infanta, the duchy of *Burgundy* in ſovereignty, the government of *Picardy* for life, the title and authority of lieutenant-general of the kingdom under the new queen, the payment of all his debts, twenty-five thouſand crowns in hard money, ſecurity for two hundred thouſand more, and the abſolute command of the *Spaniſh* troops [i]. He ſeemed to acquieſce, and the two dukes, as good friends, having taken the city of *Noyon*, returned together to *Paris*.

All the Spaniſh projects defeated in the ſtates.

All imaginable reſpect was paid to the duke of *Feria*, on his appearance in the aſſembly. But he quickly found that his own influence was much inferior to what he expected, and that of the duke of *Mayenne* much ſtronger than he could have imagined; and of this the moſt convincing proof appeared in the reſolution taken to conſent to the conferences propoſed on the part of the Catholics in the king's ſervice [k]. They were opened accordingly on the 29th of *April*, at *Sureune*, the archbiſhop of *Bourges* [l] being at the head of the king's commiſſioners, as the archbiſhop of *Lyons* was of thoſe of the league [m]. While theſe conferences continued, the king thought himſelf at liberty to form the ſiege of *Dreux* [n], and while he was thus employed, the duke of *Feria* was not idle at *Paris*. He

[h] D'Avila, liv. xiii. [i] Jacob. Thuan. P. Dan. [k] P. Matth. Cayet. Mez. [l] D'Avil. liv. xii. [m] Memoires de la Ligue. [n] D'Avil. liv. xii.

obſerved

obſerved that the faction of the ſixteen were extremely provoked at the conferences, and at the hopes given of the king's becoming a Catholic. He miſinterpreted this, as flowing from a blind devotion to the court of *Spain*; and thereupon roundly propoſed to the ſtates, that they ſhould declare the Infanta queen, and the archduke *Albert* of *Auſtria* king in her right, to whom her father was inclined to give her in marriage [o]. The very warmeſt of the ſixteen revolted at this propoſition, and declared poſitively that they could never think of admitting at once of two foreign ſovereigns. The duke of *Feria* then propoſed the Infanta, on condition that ſhe ſhould eſpouſe a prince of *France*, including the houſe of *Lorrain*, the choice of that prince to be left to his Catholic majeſty. This occaſioned debates and delays, and, in the mean time, they received a ſtroke from a quarter which they little expected; the parliament, by an arret [p], dated the 18th of *June*, declared againſt any treaty for transferring the crown to ſtrangers, as contrary to the *Salique* law, and to the fundamental principles of the government. The duke of *Mayenne* affected to be diſpleaſed with the firſt preſident *le Maitre*, notwithſtanding which it was generally believed that he was not ſo much ſurprized as he pretended [q]. The duke of *Feria* then propoſed the declaring the Infanta queen, upon an aſſurance that ſhe ſhould marry the duke of *Guiſe* [r]. If he had made this propoſal at firſt, it is not impoſſible he had carried his point; but now the duke of *Mayenne* ſcrupled his powers, and the duke of *Guiſe*, who foreſaw that his fortune was for ever ruined if he manifeſted an inclination in favour of this overture, and be defeated in his hopes, behaved with great coolneſs and prudence. But, while they were thus perplexed at *Paris*, the king took his reſolution, heard maſs [s] on the 28th of *July* at *St. Denis*, received abſolution from the archbiſhop of *Bourges*, in conſequence of which a truce [t] was proclaimed for three months, to commence from the firſt of *Auguſt*. This chagrined the determined leaguers exceedingly; and ſome of their angry preachers declared from the pulpit, that no credit was to be given to the king's converſion, tho' publiſhed by an angel from heaven.

The king's converſion and abſolution.

THE ſituation of the moſt outrageous leaguers being now a little unſafe, as at the time that *Henry* the third appeared before *Paris*, they thought it high time to have recourſe to their great expedient, to the ſucceſs of which ſome of their beſt

An attempt to aſſaſſinate the king.

[o] J. THUAN. DUPLEIX, tom. v. P. DAN. liv. xiii. DUPL. MEZERAY. LE GEND. [p] D'AVIL. [q] JACOB. THUAN. [r] D'AVIL. liv. xiii. [s] DUPLEIX, tom. v. P. DAN. MEZERAY. [t] CAYET, tom. iv.

for which the criminal ſuffers death.

beſt preachers devoted their oratory; neither was it without effect; for *Pierre Barrier*, a waterman on the *Loire*, and who had been alſo a ſoldier in their ſervice, moved by the exhortations of thoſe whom he took to be religious men, formed in his own mind [u] a ſtrong reſolution to kill the king, which he communicated to, and was encouraged in, by ſeveral eccleſiaſtics, particularly one of the pariſh prieſts at *Paris*. The laſt he conſulted was a *Dominican* friar at *Lyons*, whoſe name was *Seraphin Bianchi*; this worthy man directed him to come again the next day, at a certain hour, at which he appointed alſo *Brancaleon*, a gentleman belonging to the queen-dowager, whom he directed to take great notice of that man, and to make all the haſte he could to court, in order to apprize the king of his danger [w]. This gentleman, not finding it ſafe to travel, ſent the picture of the aſſaſſin to the king, who, by this means, knew him, as by chance he met him on the road one day; and, having occaſion to alight, gave him his horſe to hold, ſuppoſing him to have been a peaſant. At length *Brancaleon* arrived at *Meulan*, where the king then was, and ſeeing the fellow, ſoon after, in the ſtreet, cauſed him to be apprehended. He confeſſed his intention; named the perſons who had encouraged and exhorted him to fulfil it; and added, that, in caſe he was taken up, he was adviſed to throw the blame on the count of *Soiſſons*, as the perſon who firſt put it in his head. The count being preſent at this examination, and the man having no knowlege of him, rendered it plain that this was only an artifice to help out one villainy by another. *Barrier* was executed as a traitor on the laſt of *Auguſt* [x].

Succeſs of the royaliſts in the provinces, and the office of conſtable beſtowed on Montmorency.

THE marſhal *Matignon* acted with great vigour, and beſieged *Blaie*, to the relief of which the *Spaniards* ſent a fleet: the marſhal procured a ſmall ſquadron of *Dutch* ſhips that were at *Rochelle* to come to his aſſiſtance; and joining to theſe two or three *Engliſh* veſſels, he went on board them, engaged and beat the *Spaniards*, who returned, notwithſtanding, in a dark night, upon the coaſt, relieved and victualled the place, and then retired [y]. The marſhal having aſſembled as great a force as he was able, marched, in obedience to the king's orders, to join him. *Leſdiguieres* was ſtill ſucceſsful againſt the duke of *Savoy*, and was likewiſe ſo fortunate as to diſſipate three thouſand *Spaniards* on the frontiers, and to deſtroy the greateſt part of them [z]. In *Provence* the duke

[u] JAC. THUAN. [w] P. MATTH. Hiſtoire de Hen. IV. [x] JACOBI THUANI. DUPLEIX, tom. v. [y] Hiſtoire du Marechal de Matignon, liv. iii. [z] Hiſt. du Leſdiguieres. P. DAN. MEZ.

of

of *Epernon*, had rendered himſelf ſo odious, that the king found it neceſſary to ſend his orders to *Leſdiguieres* to aſſiſt the people in ridding themſelves of his tyranny [a]. In *Languedoc* all things were ſo prudently conducted by the marſhal *de Montmorency*, that the king, as the only ſuitable reward of his ſervices, conferred on him the high office of conſtable of *France* [b]. He alſo permitted an aſſembly of the Reformed, received from them a long memoir, conſiſting of upwards of fourſcore articles [c], gave them all the ſatisfaction in his power, and promiſed them ſtill greater marks of gratitude and favour, with which, however, they were not entirely content, and, on the other hand, the king was as much diſpleaſed.

The D. of Mayenne intrigues afreſh with the Spaniards, and impriſons his brother the D. of Nemours.

ACCORDING to the beſt lights that hiſtory affords us, the tranſactions at *Paris* had been chiefly governed by ſecret negotiations between the king and the duke of *Mayenne*, managed chiefly by the old ſecretary *Villeroi*, and the preſident *Jeannin*, who, tho' zealous Catholics, were true patriots, and ſincerely attached to the king's ſervice [d]. But the duke had other views than thoſe with which he intruſted them; he had procured the ſtates to renew the oath of union, and to eſtabliſh the council of *Trent* without reſtriction; but one of the deputies of the third eſtate deſired that a clauſe might be added, declaring that this was only ſo far to be regarded as ſhould be conſiſtent with the liberties of the *Gallican* church, which appeared ſo reaſonable, that it could not be refuſed, and which in effect repealed all the reſt. The king was not very well pleaſed with theſe proceedings, and much leſs when he detected him in freſh negotiations with the *Spaniards*, who were to furniſh him with twelve thouſand foot and ſix thouſand horſe [e]. The truth of the matter was, he delighted in his own authority, and ſtudied, by every means in the world, to keep it up. He was jealous of his brother, by the mother's ſide; the duke of *Nemours*, who had formed a deſign of marrying the Infanta, but had taken a firm reſolution to render himſelf independent in the city of *Lyons*, and in the country adjacent; with which view he had directed a couple of fortreſſes to be built, for briſling that great city. The duke of *Mayenne* ſuſpecting this, had no ſooner concluded a truce with the king, than he ſent the famous Dr. *Peter Eſpinac*, archbiſhop of *Lyons*, into his dioceſe, who ſo wrought upon the minds of the people,

[a] BOUCHE Hiſtoire de Provence, liv. x. Hiſtoire du Duc d'Eſpernon. Hiſt. du Leſdiguieres. P. DAN. [b] D'AVILA, liv. xiii. P. DANIEL, tom. ix. p. 697, 698. [c] THUAN. DUPLEIX. MEZERAY. [d] Memoires de Du Pleſſis. MORNAI. D'AVILA. MATTH. [e] J. THUAN. DUPLEIX. D'AVILA, liv. xiii.

that they practiſed upon *Nemours* the old device of the barricades; and, having firſt confined him in his houſe, transferred him from thence to *Pierre Enciſe*, where they kept him in priſon [f]. The duke of *Mayenne* was more excuſable for this than for treating afreſh with the court of *Madrid*, for the marriage of his own ſon with the Infanta; upon which he promiſed to reaſſemble the ſtates, now tacitly diſſolved, and to proceed to an immediate election [g]. The king, being well informed of all this, as well as with the conduct of his agent at the court of *Rome*, repreſented it in ſuch ſtrong terms to Monſieur *de Villeroi*, that, to juſtify the uprightneſs of his own conduct, he ſoon after quitted the duke of *Mayenne*, and retired, with all his family, to *Pontois*, of which his ſon was governor [h]. He was, at this time, reputed one of the ableſt heads in *France*.

The marquis de Vitri puts Meaux into the hands of the king.

By this time five months had elapſed ſince the king's going openly to maſs, without ſo much as a ſingle place, at leaſt of any conſequence, declaring in his favour; which was the more extraordinary, as perſons of diſtinction from all the adjacent places, had been to ſee and pay their reſpects to him; and, in general, all the kingdom over: in the quarters of the league they began to drop the epithet of *Navarre*, and to call him ſimply the king [i]. This behaviour was owing to three cauſes; ſome were for making terms, and ſelling loyalty as dear as they could; many expected the pope's deciſion, as to the validity of the king's abſolution; and not a few hoped that the duke of *Mayenne* would put a ſpeedy and effectual end to the troubles by making a general peace [k]. At length an event happened, which contributed not a little to draw the inhabitants of *France* out of their lethargy. *Lewis de l'Hoſpital*, marquis *de Vitri*, was the only man of rank who followed the example of the duke of *Eſpernon*, in quitting the king on the death of his predeceſſor; but he went farther than the duke, entering into the ſervice of the league, by whom he was made governor of *Meaux*. He had often ſollicited the duke of *Mayenne*, as the cauſe of the war was at an end, to make his peace with the king; but receiving no ſatisfaction from the duke, he reſolved to follow the dictates of his conſcience. On *Chriſtmas*-eve he ordered his garriſon to evacuate the town, and, having aſſembled the magiſtrates, he delivered them the keys. "Gentlemen," ſaid he, "I ſcorn to ſteal a place, or to make a "fortune at other men's expence. I am going to pay my

[f] Thuan. Mez. [g] Cayet. Memoires de Beauvais Nangis. D'Avil. liv. xiv. [h] Dupl. P. Dan. [i] Memoires de la Ligue. D'Avil. liv. xiv. Dupl. [k] J. Thuan.

"duty

"duty to the king, and I leave it in your power to act as you "please[l]." After he had quitted the room, the magistrates, on a short deliberation, broke up their assembly, and, as they went, cried out, *Vive le Roy:* the people soon catched the acclamation, and the next day, being *Sunday*, they posted a guard on the marchioness of *Estrees* and her children, till they sent a deputation to the king to make their submission, and to desire that he would send back their governor[m]. At their audience the deputies were so confounded, that they could say nothing, only they threw themselves at the king's feet. *Henry* having considered them for some moments, burst into tears; then raising them up, "Do not come as enemies "to ask pardon, but as children to a father, who is always "ready to receive them with open arms[n]" At their request he sent back the marquis *de Vitri*. This reception affected the league more than the greatest defeat could have done. The king, having lost all opinion of the duke of *Mayenne*'s sincerity, at the close of the year declared the truce void[o], of which, more especially of late, the leaguers made a very ill use. A. D. 1593.

Pope Clement VIII. *acts very ambiguously, and uses all possible care to make choice of the strongest side.*

It is now time to say something of the conduct of the court of *Rome*. The king, somewhat more than a year before, had sent cardinal *Gondi* and the marquis *Pisani*, to negotiate with the pontif, notwithstanding the extreme ill usage the duke of *Luxemburgh*, who had been sent by the Catholics adhering to the king, had met with from his predecessors; but the pope would not suffer them to come to *Rome*, so that they were obliged to remain, one in the territories of the grand duke of *Tuscany*, and the other in those of the state of *Venice*. This was out of fear of the *Spaniards*, and to save appearances with the league[p]. *Seraphino Olivieri*, auditor of the rota, took the liberty of giving the pope a little good counsel; "*Clement* the "seventh, Holy Father," said he, "lost *England* to gratify "*Charles* the fifth; *Clement* the eighth is about to lose *France* "in complaisance to *Philip* the second[q]." After his declaring himself, the king sent a letter of submission to the pope by *Clielle*, who went thro' all the political discipline of the papal dissimulation with infinite patience. The pope had one *James Sannesio* about him, a man of slow parts, but honest and secret; through him he instructed *Arnold d'Ossat*, who had occasionally acted as a kind of agent for the queen-dowager of *France*, and from him *Clielle* received proper hints[r]. At length the

[l] P. Matth. D'Avila. Dupl. Cayet. [m] Jac. Thuani. [n] Memoires pour servir à l'Histoire de France, tom. ii. p. 163. [o] D'Avil. liv. xiv. [p] Duplrix, tom. v. [q] D'Avil. liv. xiv. [r] Thuan. Mez.

duke of *Nevers* was ſent, with two eccleſiaſtics of rank, as the king's ambaſſador. He was alſo treated with a ſtrange kind of myſterious inſolence, received as duke of *Nevers*, not as the ambaſſador of a heretic prince; and tho', at one of his audiences, he fell at the pope's feet, and beſought him to put an end to the miſeries of *France*, with an effuſion of tears, yet it was to no purpoſe. The pope, ſays the hiſtorian [s], was moved but not ſoftened; but the duke of *Nevers*, by changing his language, made more impreſſion. He repreſented to *Clement*, that he had been abuſed by the *Spaniards*, and deceived by his legate; that the league was declining; that the *Spaniards* were not able to ſupport it; that *Henry* was already maſter of two-thirds of the kingdom; and that, as the greateſt part of the nobility adhered to him, there was no doubt of his conquering the reſt. This was to the point; the pope now began to ſee ſincerity in the king's converſion; and, tho' he did not immediately alter his behaviour, yet he gave the duke to underſtand, that he need not regard it; and that, though he treated him like a dog, and his maſter as a relapſed excommunicated heretic, yet all in good time, that is, in proportion as the king's affairs mended they might both hope for better uſage. The pope, it ſeems, was pioufly inclined to abandon the *French* rebels, as ſoon as it ſhould be a clear caſe that they could not ſupport themſelves.

Several great cities and ſome provinces quit the league, and ſubmit to the king.

THE king thought it neceſſary, in the beginning of the year, to go in perſon to *Meaux*, where he did for the people all they could poſſibly expect, confirmed all the magiſtrates in their poſts, remitted their taxes for nine years, and not only confirmed the government of the marquis *de Vitri*, but granted the ſurvivance to his ſon, without burthening them with any greater garriſon than their governor's troop of gens d'arms [t]. The marquis *de Vitri* publiſhed a manifeſto to juſtify his own conduct, addreſſed to the nobility and gentry of *France*; the magiſtrates of *Meaux* did the like, addreſſing their diſcourſes to the inhabitants of *Paris* [u]. The garriſon of *St. Denis* ſurprized *Charenton*, the king reduced *l'Ferté-Milon* [w], ſo that *Paris* was again in a manner blocked up, and its inhabitants every day alarmed with unwelcome news. The people of *Lyons*, having intelligence that the *Spaniards* were about to march a body of troops to ſecure their city, thought proper to ſecure it themſelves; and, having ſent for colonel *Alphonſo Ornano* to ſupport them, revolted, and declared for the

[s] P. DANIEL, Hiſtoire de France, tom. ix. p. 674——686.
[t] THUAN. CAYET, tom. ii. [u] P. DAN. tom. ix. p. 708. [w] D'AVIL. liv. xiv.

king,

king [x], to the no ſmall grief of their archbiſhop; not that he was much offended at the change, but that he miſſed the credit of making it, and thereby the opportunity of ſecuring, at a proper time, the king's recommendation for a cardinal's hat, his paſſionate deſire of which had been one principal cauſe of the troubles. The Sieur *de la Chaſtre*, intruſted with the government of the provinces of *Orleanois* and *Berri*, after having applied in vain to the duke of *Mayenne*, thought it high time to make peace for himſelf; and having explained his ſentiments to the magiſtrates of *Orleans*, they very readily concurred with him [y], ſo that, in the middle of *February*, all theſe provinces were detached from the league. The king confirmed *la Chaſtre* in his government, and in his dignity of marſhal of *France*. He was one of the four created by the duke of *Mayenne*, at the opening of the ſtates; upon which Monſ. *Chanvalon*, a friend of his, ſaid pleaſantly to the duke, "You are begetting "baſtards, who will legitimate themſelves at your expence." By the advice of his father the Sieur *de Villeroi*, who retired for that purpoſe to *Pontoiſe*, Monſieur *d'Alincourt* delivered up that important place to the king [z]. *Henry* was now intent upon the ceremony of his coronation, which he reſolved ſhould be performed at *Chartres*, *Rheims* being ſtill in the hands of the league. It was performed, with great ſolemnity, on *Sunday* the 27th of *February*, by *Nicholas de Thou*, aſſiſted by five other prelates, who repreſented eccleſiaſtical peers, as the prince of *Conti*, the count of *Soiſſons*, the duke *de Montpenſier*, the dukes of *Luxemburgh*, *Rhetz*, and *Ventadour*, held the places of the antient lay peers. As ſome ſcruple was raiſed about the holy oil, the king ſent for that of St. *Martin*, kept in the abbey of *Marmoutier* at *Tours*, which ſatisfied the people full as well [a]. The cardinal legate, either out of zeal for the league, or preſſed to it by his friends, the faction of the ſixteen, publiſhed a letter [b], addreſſed to all good Catholics, in which he aſſured them, that the pope had not acknowleged the duke of *Nevers* as ambaſſador of *France*, and was reſolved never to give abſolution to the king. From this letter great effects were expected, and much greater followed, but of a very different kind than thoſe which the legate intended; for as there were no reaſons aſſigned, it was conſidered merely as an artifice of the *Spaniards* to perpetuate the war, upon which num-

[x] J. DE SERRES. Memoires du Duc de Nevers, tom. ii. DUPL. [y] CAYET, tom. ii. Memoires du Duc de Nevers. [z] Memoires pour ſervir à l'Hiſtoire de France, tom. ii. D'AVIL. MEZ. [a] THUAN. Memoires pour ſervir á l'Hiſtoire de France, tom. ii. p. 186. [b] Memoires de Villeroi, tom. i.

bers of gentlemen quitted the quarters of the league, and retired into thoſe of the king. This cardinal, biſhop of *Plaiſance*, was a zealous leaguer, and by birth a ſubject of the crown of *Spain*.

The D. of Mayenne *quits* Paris, *and leaves the* C. de Briſac *governor.*

THE duke of *Mayenne*, as it may be naturally ſuppoſed, grew every day more uneaſy, as, in effect, his ſituation grew every day more hazardous. He had of late, from motives that hiſtorians do not explain, liſtened more than ever to the propoſals of the court of *Spain*, of which the king had authentic proofs. This loſt that duke many of his old friends in *Paris*, and gained him very few new ones. The faction of the ſixteen were irreconcilable; the politics of the king's party abhorred his falſhood, and he was ſtill ſuſpected by the *Spaniards* [c]. At length, not knowing well which way to turn, he retired with his family to *Soiſſons*, leaving the government of *Paris*, and the command of the *French* garriſon, for there was alſo a *Spaniſh*, to the count *de Briſac*, from whom he exacted the ſtrongeſt ſecurities that words could give that he would uſe all imaginable care to preſerve the place [d]. The count *de Briſac*, when he came to examine things to the bottom, conceived this to be impoſſible, there being by this time a great majority of the beſt families intirely devoted to the king; ſo that, to avoid being borne down ſome time or other by the torrent, he held it beſt to go along with the ſtream. The provoſt of the merchants, *Lullier*, and the ſheriff *Langlois*, were of the king's party, and it was with them, the preſident *le Maitre*, and the attorney general *Molé*, that he concerted every thing [e]. In order to communicate things with the king ſafely, he pretended to refer a family difference with his brother-in-law *St. Luc* to ſome perſons of diſtinction in the law; upon which they met at the abbey of *St. Anthony*, where, having privately ſettled every thing, they had in public a great quarrel, and parted, in all appearance, open enemies [f]. At his return to the court, *St. Luc* ſpoke with all bitterneſs of his brother, and the king, in public, treated *Briſac* as a man devoted to the *Spaniards*. The new gate, which had been for ſome time blocked up, was the moſt convenient for the entrance of the royal troops; the count obſerved this in public, and that it might be eaſily opened, for which reaſon he gave orders it ſhould be walled; in order to which it was unſtopped of courſe. He poſted there, for greater ſecurity, and at the port of *St. Denis*, ſtrong guards, under the command of the ſheriffs *Neret* and *Langlois*.

[c] D'AVIL. liv. xiv. [d] J. THUAN. DUP. tom. v. [e] CAYET, tom. iij. D'AUBIG. Memoires de SULLI. [f] J. THUAN.

THE

THE day fixed for letting in the king's troops was the 22d of *March* [d]. The duke of *Feria* and Don *Diego d'Ibarra*, had ſome intelligence, with ſtrong ſuſpicions, upon which they ſent for the count of *Briſac*; he told them he believed there was nothing in it, but, for their ſatisfaction he would go the rounds that night in perſon; which he did at two o'clock, taking with him ſome *Spaniſh* captains, who had orders from the duke of *Feria*, upon the leaſt commotion, to diſpatch the count. Out of pure complaiſance he attended them back to their quarters, where, between jeſt and earneſt, he rallied the duke of *Feria* upon his being too eaſily alarmed; but, when he retired, he gave orders to the next *French* guard to fire upon the *Spaniards*, if they offered to ſtir [e]. The king's troops were introduced without noiſe; and by five o'clock the king himſelf entered at the new gate, with the corps de reſerve, commanded by the duke of *Rhetz*: he was met by the count *de Briſac*, who threw over his ſhoulders a fine embroidered ſcarf; the king gave him his own in exchange, embraced, and declared him marſhal of *France* [f]. The whole was performed with very little ſtir; a corps of *Lanſquenets*, conſiſting of about ſixty men, who refuſed to cry *Vive le Roy*, were cut to pieces; and two or three leaguers, who attempted to raiſe the populace, were knocked on the head. Cardinal *de Pelevé*, archbiſhop of *Rheims*, the great incendiary of the league, lying ſick in his bed, hearing that the city was taken, and the king in quiet poſſeſſion, turned himſelf about, and without ſaying a word breathed his laſt [g]. At noon the king heard maſs, and cauſed *Te Deum* to be ſung at *Notre Dame*. He dined in the *Louvre*, and in the afternoon went to the gate of *St. Denis*, to ſee the *Spaniards* march out: they were in number about three thouſand men, and the king allowed them the honours of war. The duke of *Feria*, Don *Diego d'Ibarra*, and Don *Juan Baptiſta Taxis*, ſaluted him with profound reſpect as they paſſed. The king returned the ſalute, and ſaid, laughing, "My compliments, gentlemen, to your maſ-"ter; but don't come back any more [h]." By this time all the ſhops were open, and the city as quiet as if nothing had happened. The king rewarded every perſon who had any ſhare in this event, exiled only a few of the obſtinate leaguers, and more eſpecially the clergy [i]. On the 30th of *March*, the

The king's troops enter Paris, and the Spaniards are expelled.

[d] D'AVIL. liv. xiv. [e] CAYET. D'AUBIGNY. Memoires pour ſervir à l'Hiſtoire de France, tom. ii. p. 195. [f] J. THUAN. Memoires pour ſervir à l'Hiſtoire de France, tom. ii. p. 199. [g] DUPL. tom. v. Memoires pour ſervir à l'Hiſtoire de France, tom. ii. p. 204, 205. [h] J. DE SERRES. P. DAN. tom. x. p. 11. [i] DUPL. MEZ.

parliament of *Paris*, now complete by the union of *Chalons* and *Tours*, declared null every thing that had been done against the royal authority from the last year of the late reign to that time. The rector of the university came and humbled himself to the king's pardon; the faculty of divinity retracted all their censures in favour of the league: and thus the quiet of the capital was entirely re-established [k].

Rouen and many other places of consequence follow the example of Paris, and submit to the king.

VILLARS, who had so gallantly defended *Rouen* for the league, and on whom the duke of *Mayenne*, for that service, had conferred the title of admiral of *France*, treated with the king for the surrender of that place, and the baron *de Rhosny* was sent to conclude with him. He demanded four hundred thousand crowns, a pension of sixteen thousand livres, to be continued in his government, and three articles besides, which were harder than all these; that his government should be for three years independent of that of *Normandy*; that he should be confirmed in the office of admiral; and that *Fescamp*, which had long before yielded to the king, should be annexed to his government. *Henry* consented to them all, pacified the duke of *Montpensier*, who was governor of the province, raised *Biron* to the rank of marshal of *France*, and indemnified the governor of *Fescamp*, so desirous was he to be master of that important place [l]. A multitude of other places either made terms, or opened their gates without stipulating for any. The duke of *Elbeuf*, of the house of *Lorrain*, who had seized the government of *Poitou* [m], without the consent of the duke of *Mayenne*, declared for the king. Marshal *d'Aumont*, with the assistance of an *English* fleet, commanded by Sir *Martin Forbisher* [n], beat the leaguers and the *Spaniards*, and recovered a great part of *Bretagne* out of the hands of the duke of *Mercœur*.

THE Sieur *de St. Pol*, whom the duke of *Mayenne* had created marshal of *France*, held the government of *Champagne*, and treated the duke of *Guise*, who had pretensions upon it, with disrespect [o]. The duke, a young prince of great spirit, expostulating with him in the streets of *Rheims*, in favour of the people whom he oppressed, he not only gave him a surly answer, but laid his hand upon his sword, upon which the duke drew, and killed him upon the spot. The people, in whose quarrel it was done, and who were otherwise well affected to the duke, owned him for their governor. He treated immediately with the king; and, though he refused him all his

[k] D'AVIL. liv. xiv. CAYET. Memoires pour servir à l'Histoire de France, tom. ii. [l] Memoires de SULLI. [m] THUAN. [n] D'AVIL. liv. xiv. P. DAN. tom. x. p. 35. [o] DUPLEIX. MEZ.

demands,

demands, he accepted the propoſitions made on behalf of his majeſty, and ſurrendered the province [p]. The city of *Aix*, having declared for the king, *Leſdiguieres*, by his orders, turned the duke of *Eſpernon* out of *Provence* [q], the government of which, contrary to the advice of *Chiverny* the chancellor, and moſt of the council, the king conferred upon the duke of *Guiſe* [r]. In the autumn the king beſieged and took *Laon*; upon which *Amiens*, and a great part of *Picardy* declared for him [s]. The pope ſtill continued to act the ſame double part; and, after having obliged the duke of *Nevers* to leave *Rome*, and received the agents of the league with kindneſs and reſpect, he gave aſſurances to *d'Oſſat*, that he had the beſt intentions in the world towards the king, and would not fail, at a proper time, to diſcover them. The duke of *Lorrain* very wiſely made his peace; and *Baligny*, the baſtard of *Montluc*, biſhop of *Valence*, who ſtill held the principality of *Cambray*, ſubmitted to the king [t], and was confirmed in his poſt of marſhal of *France*, beſtowed upon him by the duke of *Mayenne*.

HENRY, irritated by the behaviour of the *Spaniards*, and having a better opinion of his own power than formerly, was inclined to declare war againſt *Philip*, and to attack the *Low Countries*. He had certainly good, or at leaſt plauſible, reaſon for this; but he was chiefly inſtigated by thoſe who had their own ends in view. His miſtreſs *Gabriella d'Eſtrees* was deſirous of having a principality for her ſon. *Balagny*, the moſt avaricious man living, hoped to plunder. The duke of *Bouillon* had more extended views. His conſort, the heireſs of the great family of *la Marck*, was dead without iſſue, however he held her dominions, under colour of their being legally bequeathed to him by will; he thought to enlarge them, and at the ſame time to make a diverſion in favour of the prince of *Orange*, to whoſe ſiſter he was contracted. The king reliſhed the project, but reſolved to be well adviſed [u]. He returned from *Picardy* to *Paris*, and the ſame day, which was the 26th of *December* [w] (others [x] ſay the 27th), being in a chamber of the *Louvre*, and two noblemen coming in, as he went to embrace one of them, he received a ſtroke of a knife in his lip with ſuch force, that it beat out one of his teeth [y]. Some writers [z] of good authority ſay it was his upper lip, and

The king is ſtabbed in the mouth by John Chaſtel.

[p] D'AVIL. liv. xiv. [q] DUPL. Hiſt. du Leſdiguieres. BOUCHE Hiſt. de Provence. [r] D'AVIL. MEZ. P. DAN. [s] Memoires pour ſervir à l'Hiſtoire de France, tom. ii. [t] J. THUAN. [u] DUPLEIX. [w] Memoires de SULLI. [x] P. MATTH. [y] JACOB. THUAN. liv. cxi. [z] P. MATTHIEU.

others

others [a] of equal authority ſay the lower; but, which-ever it was, the aſſaſſin intended it for his throat, and his ſtooping ſuddenly prevented it. The count of *Soiſſons*, who ſtood before the king, ſeeing a young man by him change colour, and endeavour to ſlip away, laid hold of him: "Friend," ſaid he, "either you or I have wounded the king." Preſently after, the knife was found upon the floor. At firſt he denied, but ſoon after confeſſed it [b]. His name was *John Chaſtell*, in the nineteenth year of his age, the ſon of *Peter Chaſtell*, a draper, and a rich man. The youth was ſilly and very debauched, he had fallen into a fit of deſpair, in which had occurred to him, from the monſtrous doctrines of thoſe times, that he might expiate all his ſins by killing the king. He had been educated amongſt the Jeſuits, and had picked up theſe principles amongſt them [c]. This occaſioned a ſtrict inquiry into their conduct; and, in the chamber of *John Guignard*, one of the fathers of the ſociety, there was found a treatiſe, written in his own hand, in which *Henry* the third was ſtiled the *Nero* and *Sardinapalus* of *France*; his murder juſtified and commended; and, in reſpect to *Henry* the fourth, it was ſaid, that, though he had abjured his hereſy, he would meet with milder treatment than he deſerved, if he was depoſed and confined to a convent for his life. The parliament, by an arret, condemned *John Chaſtel* to ſuffer as a traitor, his father to be baniſhed *Paris* for ever, and the kingdom for many years, becauſe his ſon had revealed to him his deſign, for which, though he had reprimanded him ſeverely, he had not either diſcovered it or confined him [d]. Father *John Guerit*, under whom he had ſtudied, was baniſhed for life; and Father *Guignard* condemned to be hanged [e], not for compoſing thoſe treaſonable pieces, but for having them in his cuſtody, after an arret forbidding the keeping of any ſuch flagitious treatiſes, on pain of capital puniſhment. A pyramid of infamy was erected where the houſe of *Chaſtel* ſtood, and
A. D. 1594. the Jeſuits baniſhed [f]. The other parliaments of the kingdom followed the example of *Paris*, except thoſe of *Bourdeaux* and *Thouloufe*; and thus this affair ended: but the Jeſuits, nine years after, were recalled, though the parliament oppoſed it, and ſome of the ableſt lawyers in the kingdom wrote againſt them.

[a] Dupl. tom. v. Mez. tom. vi. p. 127. [b] Memoires de Sulli. [c] Thuan. P. Matth. tom. ii. liv. i. Cayet, liv. vi. p. 432. [d] Memoires de Sulli. Chalons. Le Gend. [e] Memoires pour ſervir à l'Hiſtoire de France, tom. ii. [f] Dupl. tom. v.

In

In the beginning of the year the king made a great promotion of knights of the order, with a view to attach the nobility more particularly to his ſervice. He declared war againſt *Spain*; and, that he might carry it on with a better effect, he took into his pay the troops of *Lorrain*, conſiſting of about ſix thouſand men [g]. The duke of *Mayenne* was ſtill maſter of *Burgundy*, and of ſome ſtrong places in *Picardy*, which were very troubleſome; but, in the beginning of *February*, *Baune* revolted from him, called in marſhal *Biron*, who ſecured it for the king. The duke of *Nemours*, who had made his eſcape out of *Pierre Enciſe*, had ſeized *Vienne*, and, with ſome *Swiſs* troops ſent him by the duke of *Savoy*, endeavoured to block up *Lyons* [h]. Marſhal *Montmorenci* marching thither with a conſiderable body of troops, not only relieved the laſt but recovered the firſt-mentioned city, the loſs of which affected *Nemours* to ſuch a degree that it broke his heart, though others ſay he was poiſoned. About the middle of *May* [i] *Autun* opened its gates to marſhal *Biron*. The inhabitants of *Dijon*, the capital of *Burgundy*, encouraged by this example, expelled the viſcount *Tavannes*, and declared for the king, who ſoon after repaired into *Burgundy*, in order to command his army in perſon [k]. Before his departure he committed the frontier of *Picardy* to the care of the duke of *Nevers*, the count *de St. Pol*, the duke *de Bouillon*, and the admiral *de Villars*, and declared the prince of *Conti* head of the council he left at *Paris*, which extremely offended the count *de Soiſſons*, who was never much in the king's favour [l]. The true deſign of the king's expedition was to gratify the ambition of his miſtreſs, by the conqueſt of *Franche Compte*, which he propoſed to beſtow upon his ſon *Cæſar*, reſerving the ſovereignty not to himſelf but to the *Swiſs* cantons, to prevent their being jealous of this conqueſt, and to engage them to protect this new prince, in caſe he ſhould die without lawful iſſue. A ſtrange enterprize in itſelf, and which, notwithſtanding, he proſecuted with ſuch eagerneſs as was very near coſting him his life, in which, the circumſtances of *France* conſidered, he ſhewed himſelf a better father than a king, ſince his death, at this time, muſt have created a freſh civil war.

Henry IV. *declares war againſt* Spain, *and attempts the conqueſt of* Franche Compté.

The king made his entry into *Troyes* on the 30th of *May*, and from thence continued his march into *Burgundy*, where he had the news that *Velaſco* conſtable of *Caſtile* had entered *Franche Compte*, with an army of fifteen thouſand men, and was

Henry, *by a fortunate temerity, baf-*

[g] J. Thuan. Dupl. tom. v. D'Avil.
[h] D'Avil. liv. xiv.
[i] Mez. P. Dan.
[k] P. Matth.
[l] Jacobi Thuani.

After the deſigns of the Spaniards, and engages the duke of Mayenne to quit them and retire to Chalons.

was joined by the duke of *Mayenne* [m]. The king, apprehending that they intended the relief of the caſtles of *Dijon* and *Talan*, ordered them both to be beſieged; and, in the mean time, reſolved, with a corps of cavalry, to harraſs the enemies army, in order to give time for the reduction of thoſe places. This corps did not conſiſt of above five hundred men. He had ordered his troops to rendezvous between *Lux* and *Fontaine Francoiſe*, fully determined to give the enemy battle; but continuing to advance, that he might the better inform himſelf of their ſtrength, he fell in with their van-guard, charged them, and gave the higheſt proofs of his courage, at the expence of his prudence and conduct [n]. The troops he engaged and diſperſed were thoſe of the duke of *Mayenne*, who rode up immediately to the conſtable, and intreated him not to loſe ſo great an advantage. The *Spaniard* anſwered with great gravity, *that he knew what he had to do*, and, as a proof of it, would not advance at all. The duke then intreated him to ſpare fifteen hundred horſe, but in vain [o]. The king, all this time, maintained the fight, till at length a body of eight hundred of his forces appeared in ſight; upon which the conſtable recalled his cavalry and retired [p]. Some writers [q] have from hence affected to ſay, that the king, with two hundred horſe, meaning the ſquadrons he immediately commanded, defeated an army of fifteen thouſand men; which is very far from the truth. The fact is, that by this happy temerity he carried his point, and, the two caſtles being taken, was in a condition to have given the *Spaniards* battle. On the other hand, the duke of *Mayenne*, not being able to engage the conſtable to do any thing for his ſervice, and having but two places of conſequence left, was on the point of retiring into *Savoy*. In theſe circumſtances, the king, with great generoſity, ſent him word, that, if he would go to *Chalons*, he would grant him a truce of three months, in which they might treat of peace; which offer he very readily accepted [r], and, under pretence of ſecuring what he had ſtill left, ſeparated from the *Spaniſh* army, and marched to *Chalons*.

He proceeds to Lyons, but is drawn from thence by the ſubmiſſion.

AFTER ravaging *Franche Compte*, which, after all, the *Swiſs* cantons would not permit him to conquer, the king thought it neceſſary to go to *Lyons*, where he had many things of great importance to tranſact. He made his entry with great magnificence, and was received by the archbiſhop, who had been ſtiled the ſoul of the league, with all poſſible marks of duty and

[m] THUAN. DUPL. tom. vi. p. 134. [n] D'AVIL. liv. xiv. [o] MEZ. [p] CAYET, tom. iii. [q] DUP. LE GEND. [r] D'AVIL. P. DAN.

ſubmiſſion [s]. Mr. *Bois-Dauphin*, who held ſome places in *Anjou* and *Maine*, concluded a treaty with the king, by which he ſurrendered them. He was one of the duke of *Mayenne*'s marſhals, but the king would not permit him to make uſe of that title; yet, after he had ſigned and came to pay his duty, the king, as a mark of his favour, reſtored him the bâton [t]. He was in hopes of concluding a treaty alſo with the duke of *Savoy*, but it ended only in a truce [u]. *Leſdiguieres* came thither to pay his reſpects and to receive his commands, which chiefly regarded the expulſion of the duke of *Eſpernon* out of *Provence*, who was more troubleſome there than ever, and who, in return to a meſſage that the king had ſent him to quit the province, with an intimation, if he did not, he would come and drive him out, he anſwered rudely, "Let him come, I ſhall "be his harbinger, not to prepare him quarters, but to lay "every place in aſhes where he is to paſs [w]." The king was much leſs affected with this, than with the diſcovery which he received from various hand, that the duke, notwithſtanding all his profeſſions, had in reality ſold himſelf to *Spain*, and received from his catholic majeſty a great penſion, paid him in hard money every month [x]. It was, however, ſome conſolation, that, after infinite pains and infinite patience, the pope was pleaſed, tho' not in the moſt gracious manner, to abſolve the king on the 17th of *September*, in the perſons of his two agents *du Perron* [y] and *d'Oſſat*, both afterwards honoured with the purple. But while, on the ſcore of this and ſome other favourable pieces of intelligence, the king feaſted with his fair miſtreſs, and amuſed himſelf agreeably in thoſe parts, things changed their appearance in *Picardy*, where the *Spaniards* ſeemed deſirous of ſhewing how much better they could make war for themſelves than in ſupport of their allies, whom they ſometimes relieved indeed, but never cordially aſſiſted.

ceſs of the Spaniards in Picardy.

AT the very entrance of the campaign the duke of *Longueville* [z] was killed by a muſket ball, that happened to be by chance in the piece of a foot-ſoldier of the guard who ſaluted him at his entrance into *Dourlens*. Don *Pedro de Guſman*, conde *de Fuentes*, with an army of fifteen thouſand men, and a good train of artillery, beſieged *Catelet*; and, while he was thus employed, Monſieur *Humieres* laid a plan for the ſurprizal of *Ham*, a very ſtrong place, where the *Spaniards* had

The conde Fuentes takes Dourlens and Cambray.

[s] CAYET, tom. iii. [t] P. DAN. tom. x. p. 92. [u] DUPL.
[w] Hiſtoire de Leſdiguieres, liv. v. BOUCHE Hiſtoire de Provence, liv. x. P. DAN. [x] Lettres du Card. D'OSSAT, tom. ii. p. 26.
[y] D'AVILA, liv. xiv. P. MATTH. MEZ. Lettres du Cardinal D'OSSAT, tom. i. p. 478—492. [z] CAYET, tom. iii.

a garriſon of ſixteen hundred men in the town, excluſive of the duke of *Aumale*'s troops in the caſtle. This enterprize ſucceeded, but at the expence of its author, Monſieur *d'Humieres*, and ſeveral other brave officers, killed in the attack, which ſo incenſed the *French*, that they gave no quarter to the garriſon [a]. *Catelet* having ſurrendered, the count *de Fuentes* inveſted *Dourlens*, aſſiſted by the Sieur *de Roſne*, to whom the king had refuſed the confirmation of his title of marſhal of *France*, which he had the greateſt reaſon afterwards to repent. The duke of *Nevers* intended to have aſſembled an army for the relief of the place; but the marſhal *de Bouillon*, the count *de St. Pol*, and admiral *Villars*, who had no mind to be commanded by him, undertook to do what he propoſed before his arrival. But when they came to execute it, they quarrelled amongſt themſelves, which ruined the affair, and the admiral and Mr. *de Seſſeval* were taken priſoners, and, in cold blood, murdered, becauſe they had formerly deſerted the league. *Dourlens* was ſoon after taken. The parliament, irritated at the ſhare the duke of *Aumale* had in this tranſaction, declared him guilty of high treaſon, and cauſed his effigies, dreſſed in a *Spaniſh* habit, and with a red ſcarf and garters, to be beheaded and quartered by the common hangman [b]. The *Conde Fuentes* next attacked *Cambray*, and partly by force, partly by the aſſiſtance of the inhabitants, made himſelf maſter both of the place and of the citadel. *Henry*, on the firſt news of this ſiege, ſet out for the frontiers, having ordered his forces to aſſemble for their relief; but being met by the duke *de Nevers* on the road, he adviſed him to deſiſt, looking upon the attempt as impracticable. As the king was a man of a quick temper, he made him ſo briſk an anſwer, that the duke immediately retired, took his bed, and died in a few days [c], after having refuſed a viſit, which the king propoſed to have made him. He was looked upon as one of the braveſt, and, beyond compariſon, a man of the greateſt probity of his rank in *France*. With the forces that were intended for the relief of *Cambray*, the king inveſted, or rather blocked up, *La Fere*, and while his forces were thus employed, he found no ſmall trouble in adjuſting the demands made upon him by his new friends of *Rome*, and by his old ones the Hugonots.

A. D. 1595.

The king grants very advantageous terms to

In the beginning of the year the king finiſhed his treaty with the duke of *Mayenne*, fortified by an edict dated at *Folembray* in the month of *January*; in this edict [d] the king ſpeaks very reſpectfully of the duke, promiſes an entire oblivion for what was paſt, diſcharges him from any account for

[a] Jacob. Thuan. [b] Dupl. tom. v. [c] P. Matthieu. [d] D'Avila, liv. xv.

the

the public money he had received, reſtores him and his adherents to their eſtates, declares him and all the princes and princeſſes of his houſe to ſtand uncharged with reſpect to the murder of the late king, grants him the towns of *Seure*, *Chalons*, and *Soiſſons*, for his ſecurity, gives the government of the former to his ſon, for ſix years, independent of that of *Burgundy*, charges himſelf with the payment of three hundred and fifty thouſand crowns, due from the duke to private perſons, and transfers all his public debts of whatever nature upon the crown. This agreement ſeemed too favourable to many, and not a little ſtrange to all, more eſpecially as the king treated with him expreſsly as the chief of his party, and promiſed oblivion and his favour to all who would embrace it in quality of adherents to the duke. Some aſcribe this to the interceſſion of *Gabrielle d'Etrees*, but it ſeems more probable that it was owing to ſome other cauſes. As great as theſe conditions were, the duke might have obtained ſtill more advantageous, if he had treated in time; but he always declared that he would wait for the pope's abſolution, that he would treat as the head of a party, and that all his public and private engagements ſhould be fulfilled. He remained firm to theſe, and his firmneſs recommended him to the king. He was perſuaded that the duke had a perfect knowlege of the affairs and intereſts of the kingdom, foreign and domeſtic; and he felt ſo many inconveniences from the rancorous reſentment of the duke of *Aumale* and the Sieur *de Roſne*, that he was reſolved not to force a man of the duke of *Mayenne*'s wiſdom and weight to throw himſelf into the arms of *Spain*. He conſidered that, from the beginning of the war, the duke of *Mayenne* had manifeſted a conſtant reſpect for his perſon, and, what errors ſoever he had committed, had fairly ſaved his crown, by preventing the aſſembly of the eſtates from proceeding to an election, which muſt have been attended with a long, hazardous, and perhaps diſaſtrous war[e]. The duke came ſoon after to *Monceaux*, which, with the title of a duchy, he had given to *Gabrielle d'Etrees*, to kiſs the king's hand, and met with ſuch a reception, as attached him entirely to this monarch's ſervice for the remainder of his life.

the D. of Mayenne, which are cenſured.

ABOUT this time one *Francis de la Ramee* appeared at *Rheims*, and endeavoured to get himſelf crowned king of *France*. He pretended to be the ſon of *Charles* the ninth and *Elizabeth* of *Auſtria*, and that he had been expoſed by order of the queen-mother, and bred up by the gentleman for whoſe ſon he was taken. Some people of diſtinction believed this ſtrange ſtory, and relieved him. He appears to have been

Francis de la Ramee *pretends to be the ſon of* Charles IX. *for which he*

[e] P. MATTH. MEZ. P. DAN.

an

is condemned and executed.

an enthuſiaſt as much as an impoſtor; however, he was convicted, condemned to be hanged, and ſuffered [f]. The duke of *Joyeuſe*, who, upon the death of his brother, had quitted his convent, and the name of friar *Hugh*, to put himſelf at the head of one of the armies of the league, made his peace, ſurrendered *Toulouſe*, and was created marſhal of *France*. The new duke of *Nemours* took the ſame method, and was very kindly treated [g]. The duke of *Guiſe* found himſelf very little at eaſe in his new government. He had the *Spaniards*, the leaguers, the duke of *Savoy*, and the duke of *Eſpernon*, to deal with; little money and very few troops. In this perplexed ſituation he meditated the ſurprizal of *Marſeilles*, tho' there was a *Spaniſh* fleet in the harbour; he was ſo fortunate as to effect this, by the aſſiſtance of *Peter de Libertat*, a *Corſican*, and with the hazard of his own perſon. When the news came to *Henry* the fourth, he could not help crying out, *At length then I am a king* [h]. The duke of *Guiſe*, in a ſhort time after, drove *Eſpernon* to ſuch difficulties, that he ſeemed inclined to retire, and the provincials were ſo deſirous to be rid of him, that they preſented him with a free gift of fifty thouſand crowns, and added thirty thouſand more to content his officers. He went, notwithſtanding all this, to court, and obtained from the king the government of the *Limouſin* by way of an equivalent [i]. In that juncture, *Henry* beſtowed rather from apprehenſion than inclination.

The cardinal archduke Albert *makes a ſucceſsful irruption into* France.

THE blockade of *La Fere*, which had now laſted all the winter, was turned into a ſiege, which the king commanded in perſon. The cardinal, archduke *Albert*, had aſſumed the government of the *Low Countries*, and had brought with him ſuch ſupplies of men and money, as, excluſive of the forces that acted againſt the ſtates of *Holland*, left it in his power to aſſemble twenty thouſand men, with a good train of artillery, with which he reſolved to carry the war vigorouſly into *France*, and a very ſtrange accident put it in his power to do more than he ever expected. *Henry*, for very particular reaſons, had refuſed to include the Sieur *Roſne* in his treaty with the duke of *Mayenne*. One of thoſe reaſons was, that he had begun to practiſe with *Roſne* himſelf, who, on the firſt propoſition, anſwered roundly, "Tell the king that I am in debt twenty "thouſand crowns, let him enable me to pay that, and get "out of this country (he was then at *Bruſſels*), and I ſhall "with great joy throw myſelf at his feet [k]." By ſome in-

[f] JACOB. THUAN. tom. v. p. 699. [g] D'AVILA, liv. xv. P. DAN. tom. x. [h] DUPL. tom. v. [i] Hiſtoire du Duc d'Eſpernon, liv. iv. [k] Hiſtoire de France, tom. x. p. 143.

diſcretion

diſcretion in thoſe whom the king had employed, this was diſcovered to the *Spaniards*, who immediately ſent for *Roſne*, and as he went to the council he received a note, in which were theſe words, *Save yourſelf or you are undone.* He tore it immediately, went on, entered the council with an aſſured countenance, and told them, that, when they ſent for him, he was coming to make them a propoſal of importance. He was thereupon ordered to withdraw Don *Diego d'Ibarra*, who hated the duke of *Mayenne*, and all that belonged to him, was for puniſhing without hearing him; but the *Conde Fuentes*, aſſerting that *Roſne* had done great ſervice the laſt campaign, was a very able officer, and capable of great things, it was reſolved to hear him [1]. *Roſne* immediately propoſed the taking of *Calais*, and ſhewed that it was not only poſſible, but eaſy. The archduke was charmed with his plan; and this man, who had entered the council a criminal, came out a favourite. The whole direction of affairs was left to him; and before the king was well apprized of its danger, the principal poſts were forced, and the town taken. The ſtormy weather prevented the *Dutch*; and, it is ſaid, the *Engliſh*, who had it in their power to ſave it, declined that ſervice (B). The

[1] Jacob. Thuan. Dupl. P. Dan.

(B) The loſs of *Calais* was not only great in itſelf, but brought much diſcredit on the king's affairs. Its fortifications were in a miſerable condition, and thoſe intruſted with the defence of it very negligent, which probably was owing to their having no apprehenſions from *England*, and the bad ſtate of the king's finances. But, after all, there were other circumſtances which contributed not a little to its being ſo quickly taken. *Roſne*, whoſe life and fortune depended upon the ſucceſs of the expedition, ſurprized the bridge of *Nieule*, and the fort of the *Riſbanc*, before the governor, the garriſon, or the inhabitants, were recovered from their firſt conſternation. The king ſhewed his activity and his courage, in embarking himſelf with a handful of men, in hopes of entering the port; but the weather was ſo bad, that the execution of this deſign proved impracticable to him. and to the *Dutch*, who had alſo made an embarkation with the ſame view. After all, the *French* endeavoured to throw the blame entirely upon queen *Elizabeth*. They ſay that the earl of *Eſſex* was then in the channel with a fleet and army; and, that if he had but made a ſhew of landing, the *Spaniards* muſt have raiſed their ſiege. Monſ. *de Sanci*, then in *England*, preſſed queen *Elizabeth* extremely upon this head, to which ſhe anſwered, "I ſee that "*Calais* is loſt, if I don't un- "dertake its defence; and I "will, provided the king will "leave it in my hands. Madam, "replied *Sanci*, the king is at "hand to prevent its being loſt, "or to retake it if it ſhould."

The king, who had advanced with a body of cavalry into its neighbourhood, returned to the ſiege of *La Fere*. *Calais* was taken the 22d of *April*[m]. *La Fere* ſurrendered to the

[m] Mezeray. P. Daniel.

But if you muſt, returned the queen, had not you rather it were in my hands, than in thoſe of the *Spaniards*. We would not have it, anſwered *Sanci*, in the hands of either; but, if this muſt happen, we had rather it ſhould be in the hands of the *Spaniards* than yours. To this the queen anſwered with ſome warmth, I cannot believe, Sir, that you have your maſter's orders to talk to me in this ſtrain. No, madam, replied *Sanci*, the king never gave me any orders of this kind, becauſe he could never have imagined, his affairs being in ſuch circumſtances, you could have formed ſuch a demand. The king ſets ſo high a value upon your friendſhip, that he conceives nothing could repair the loſs of it. But if you were in poſſeſſion of *Calais*, you muſt become his enemy of conſequence; for the *French* cannot endure thoſe who deſpoil them of their beſt places. We know what time and trouble it coſt us to expel the *Engliſh*. If the *Spaniards* ſhould take it, they will not be able to keep it long; and we perſuade ourſelves, madam, you would join your forces to ours, in order to drive them out. The queen ſaid, that ſhe would acquaint the king, her brother, with her intentions, by her embaſſador; and accordingly lord *Sidney* informed him, that, tho' the queen had affairs of great importance to the common cauſe upon her hands, yet ſhe was content to relieve *Calais*, provided ſhe might retain it as a ſecurity for the large ſums ſhe had lent him. But the king turning his back, ſaid, that, if it muſt be torn, he had rather it ſhould be by a lion than by a lioneſs. Our own writers, in what they ſay, agree perfectly well in this account; the fleet then preparing was for the expedition againſt *Cadiz*, but it was not in ſuch readineſs as the *French* authors affirm. On the contrary, when the news came of the danger of *Calais*, the queen on the 9th of *April*, which was *Good Friday*, iſſued her orders to the mayor and aldermen of *London* to preſs a thouſand men for that ſervice, who were ready before night, and being furniſhed with all neceſſaries, might have marched the next morning for *Dover*; but on *Saturday* afternoon they were all diſcharged. Yet on *Eaſter-Day*, about ten in the morning, the ſame orders were given, and the church doors being ſhut, a thouſand men were preſſed by noon, the beſt part of them ſent away that night, and the reſt the next morning towards *Dover*, and other corps reſorted from different parts to the ſame place; but in a week's time they returned, *Calais* being taken. The reaſon aſſigned was, that the *French* were more inclined to let it fall into the hands of the *Spaniards* than into thoſe of the *Engliſh*; and *Henry* is reported to have made uſe of this expreſſion on the occaſion; We are old enemies, and but new friends.

king

king on the 22d of *May* [n]; it was a place of very great conſequence; but the loſs of *Ardes*, which was taken the very next day by the Sieur *de Roſne*, againſt the opinion of the *Spaniards* themſelves, chagrined the king extremely. *Roſne* did not enjoy his reputation long, being killed the ſame year by a cannon-ſhot at the ſiege of *Hulſt* [o].

CARDINAL *de Medicis*, whom the pope had ſent legate into *France*, made his entry into *Paris* on the 25th of *July*; the king had juſt reaſon to be pleaſed with his conduct. He treated with contempt ſome endeavours to excite new diſputes with the court of *Rome*, and did all that was in his power to promote peace [p]. The king, notwithſtanding, found his affairs very much embarraſſed; the duke of *Mercœur* ſtill ſupported himſelf in *Bretagne*, by the aſſiſtance of the *Spaniards*, and amuſed the king with a very inſincere negotiation, notwithſtanding he had permitted his ſiſter, the queen-dowager, to make him a viſit, and to offer him all that he could deſire. The Hugonots, prompted by the dukes of *Bouillon* and *Trimouille*, were on the point of taking dangerous reſolutions, which the king had much ado to prevent [q]. His finances were in ſuch diſorder, that in the camp before *La Fere* he wanted the common neceſſaries of life [r]. *Henry*, however, kept up his ſpirits; he ſent marſhal *Liron* into *Artois*, where he treated the country in the ſame manner the *Spaniards* had treated *France*. His affairs requiring it, he concluded an alliance, offenſive and defenſive, with *England* and *Holland* [s]; and, in order to ſettle his domeſtic concerns, he called an aſſembly of the notables at *Rouen*, an epidemic diſeaſe prevailing at *Paris*, where many good regulations were made, and ſome ſteps taken to pacify the Hugonots [t]. The queen of *England*, as a mark of her ſincere reconciliation, ſent him the order of the garter [u].

Public affairs in great perplexity.

A. D. 1596.

THE Hugonots, who had transferred their firſt aſſembly at *Laudon* to *Vendoſme*, and from thence to *Chattleraut*, continued to give the king infinite diſquiet, notwithſtanding all the methods he could poſſibly take to make them eaſy [w]. He ſuſpected, and with good reaſon, that there was more of faction and intrigue, than of concern for religion, in their manner of behaviour: for, while the kingdom was in this diſtreſs, they fortified and garriſoned their own places, inſtead of ſending troops to his aſſiſtance. To ſupply their ex-

Amiens ſurprized by the Spaniards.

[n] JACOB. THUAN. MEZ. [o] CAYET. P. DANIEL.
[p] SERRES. [q] DUPL. tom. v. [r] P. DAN. tom. x.
p. 160, 161. [s] JACOB. THUAN. [t] Memoires
de SULLY. [u] CAMDENI Annales Elizabeth, p. 732.
[w] D'AVILA.

pences, they ſeized the public money; and, in their addreſſes to him, took ſuch freedoms as chagrined the king the more, becauſe the zealous Catholics teſtified a malignant joy at theſe proceedings, and the dukes of *Savoy* and *Mercœur* inſiſted upon higher terms than formerly, and ſeemed leſs diſpoſed than ever to peace. While things were in this ſituation, an event happened which threw the king and kingdom into abſolute confuſion [x]. Don *Ferdinand Tello de Portocarrero*, who commanded the *Spaniſh* garriſon in *Dourlens*, formed a deſign of ſurprizing *Amiens*. The king, who ſaw that place was expoſed, would have put a corps of *Swiſs* troops into it; but the inhabitants, who had opened their gates to the king, were averſe to it, and the king, on that account, was unwilling to give them any juſt cauſe of diſcontent. *Portocarrero*, that he might the better know how to take his meaſures, went thither ſeveral times, ſometimes in one diſguiſe, ſometimes in another. At length he brought his deſign to bear; and, with very little effuſion of blood, made himſelf maſter of the place on the 11th of *March* [y].

Henry exceedingly affected with his misfortunes, and is luckily ſupported by Rhoſny.

THE news of this misfortune affected the king more than any thing that had ever happened to him. He ſent for the baron *de Rhoſny*, and complained to him paſſionately, that he was ſurrounded with difficulties and dangers, and entirely deſtitute of the means to defend himſelf; that the Hugonots were ready to revolt on one ſide; that the *Spaniards* puſhed him hard on the other; that the ſmall number of troops he had about him could ſcarce be called an army; and that his want of money, tho' extreme, was not greater than his want of reſources and credit. *Rhoſny* gave him the beſt comfort he could, and undertook to form a ſcheme for delivering him out of his diſtreſs. In a few hours he brought him a memoir, which raiſed the king's ſpirits; he copied it with his own hand, and reſolved to take the honour of it to himſelf, not to leſſen the merit of the baron's ſervice, but to give it the greater weight in his council. This had the deſired effect. He raiſed, by a voluntary loan, by engaging his faith for repayment in two years, with intereſt, ſix hundred thouſand crowns; he raiſed the Gabelle; and to ſtop all enquiries into their ill management, he drew from thoſe intruſted with the receipt of his revenues, in a very ſhort time, two millions and a half, by way of contribution; and, that they might be better managed for the future, he put the baron at the head of the finances [z]. Theſe acts of prudence and vigour put it in his power to beſiege *Amiens*.

[x] J. THUAN. [y] CAYET, tom. iii. [z] Memoires de SULLI.

WHILE

WHILE the neceſſary preparations were making for this purpoſe, the king was obliged to go to *Paris*, on account of a diſtemper which was the effects of his debauches, and there it was he ſpent in his chamber the moſt melancholy three weeks of his life; for, having good intelligence from ſome about him, who would not on any terms conceal the truth, he underſtood the real ſtate of his affairs, which were never in a worſe condition. The loſs of *Amiens* had cooled that ſpirit which before prevailed of imploring his clemency, and expiating paſt faults, by preſent aſſiſtance. It was a wind that fanned the dying aſhes of the league; and the duke of *Mercœur*, having perſiſted in his revolt in hopes of ſome ſuch turn, received with open arms ſuch as retired into *Bretagne*, and encouraged all who were capable of cauſing little caſtles or villages to revolt, who were near him [a]. The duke of *Savoy* carried the war on briſkly, and would certainly have made great impreſſions on *France*, if *Leſdiguieres*, without any aſſiſtance, had not baffled all his projects [b]. Even the duke of *Florence*, who had acknowleged the king ſo early, and had done him ſo many ſervices, thought him now in ſo weak a condition, that he ſeized the iſland and caſtle of *If*, which, in ſome meaſure, commanded the port of *Marſeilles*, without troubling himſelf about an excuſe [c]. But what affected the king more than all the reſt, and forced from him complaints that were not ſuitable to his character, were the attempts made by the three dukes of *Montpenſier*, *Bouillon*, and *Trimouille*, to eſtabliſh a third party, under the title of *Bons-Francois*, or *True Patriots*, under the protection of the queen of *England*; and in conſequence of this ſtrange deſign, the refuſal of the Hugonots to march any troops to his aſſiſtance, under pretence that they were afraid of a new *St. Bartholomew* in the field; the very thought of which the king abhorred. In this diſtreſs he ſought the aſſiſtance of the parliament, in a manner very different from that in which he had treated them, when he forced them to regiſter the edict in favour of the duke of *Mayenne*. However, he had much better fortune than his predeceſſor; his misfortunes operated in his favour, his old friends ſtuck faſt by him, and his new ones exerted themſelves in a manner that he did not expect [d], and which juſtified his former conduct towards them.

Becomes more uneaſy at Paris, *which excites a general ſpirit in his friends to aſſiſt him, and to recover* Amiens.

THE baron *de Rhoſny* reproached the Hugonots for their behaviour, and ſhewed them the folly of forming a faction againſt a prince, who was inclined to do for them all they could reaſonably aſk. *Leſdiguieres*, upon whom they had

The cardinal archduke marches to

[a] SERRES. Memoires de SULLI. [b] Hiſt. de Savoye.
[c] JACOB. THUAN. [d] P. DANIEL.

its reliefs, fails, and Amiens is recovered.

great dependence, gave them to underſtand, that he not only diſapproved their conduct, but that, if they perſiſted in their deſigns, he would turn his forces againſt them. At length, by dint of *Rhoſny*'s influence, *Leſdiguieres*'s menaces, and the king's granting them all that they aſked, they were prevailed upon to be quiet, and the third party came to nothing [e]. The duke of *Mayenne* made a great ſtir. He told his old friends that the only way to ſhew they had formerly acted upon principle, was not to ſpare either their perſons or their purſes for the king: the queen of *England* ſent over a body of four thouſand good foot; and when the king came in perſon to the ſiege of *Amiens*, he quickly increaſed his army to thirty thouſand men [f]. But while he had been taking his meaſures, the *Spaniards* had fortified the place, in which they had a numerous garriſon, compoſed of their beſt troops, commanded by *Portocarrero*, who made continual ſallies, till, very luckily for the *French*, he was killed by a cannon ſhot [g]. The garriſon then choſe for their governor Don *Jerom Caraffa*, marquis of *Montenegro*, a man of cool but determined courage, who proſecuted his predeceſſor's plan, retrenched himſelf within the town, and gave the archduke time to march to his relief, with twenty-five thouſand men, all old troops, and by much the beſt in the *Spaniſh* ſervice. On their approach, there aroſe great debates among the king's council. Marſhal *Biron*. adviſed the king to give the enemy battle in the field; the duke of *Mayenne* vehemently oppoſed this; the king ſaid coolly, *What then is to be done?* "Sire, replied the duke, you came hither to recover *Amiens*, "and not to gain a victory. To fight, is to ſtake your "kingdom upon the fortune of a day, againſt an army equal "in number, and compoſed of excellent troops. Remain "in your lines; I know the *Spaniards*, they are ſlow and "cautious, and will not be forward to force you [h]." The king took his advice. The archduke, with his army, advanced towards the lines. The troops in the trenches fell into a panic, and ran away. The duke of *Mayenne* kept a continual diſcharge of his artillery, that the ſmoke might conceal the misfortune, and marched in perſon to repair it. The archduke, thro' his caution, loſt his opportunity. He advanced a ſecond time to attack the weakeſt part of the intrenchments. The duke of *Mayenne* poſted ſix pieces of cannon ſo opportunely, and they did ſuch terrible execution, that the *Spaniſh* forces retired. If they had advanced briſkly two hundred yards farther, they had done their buſineſs. The

[e] Dupl. [f] Mez. tom. vi. p. 173. [g] Serres.
[h] D'Avila, liv. xv.

duke

duke cauſed that weak part to be fortified, and on a third attempt they were repulſed with loſs, upon which the archduke retired, and the place ſurrendered on the 25th of *September*, on honourable terms [j]. The king would needs carry the news to *Arras*, where the archduke lay ſick; and, having advanced with his army pretty near the walls, he ſaluted them with a diſcharge of his artillery, and reſolved to conclude the campaign with the ſiege of *Dourlens*, that the enemy might be removed to a greater diſtance from his frontiers; but the bad ſeaſon of the year, and the fatigue of his troops, conſtrained him to deſiſt from that deſign [k]; which, for that reaſon, it had been better he had never undertaken.

Amazing change of the king's affairs, and happy eſcape from ſecret conſpiracies.

THE king was received at *Paris*, on his return from the campaign of *Amiens*, with all poſſible marks of loyalty and reſpect. The face of his affairs was entirely changed; and he ſaw himſelf now on the point of becoming entirely maſter of his kingdom [l]. *Leſdiguieres*, tho' conſtrained to raiſe money upon his own credit, and by what other methods he could deviſe, had diſappointed all the views of the duke of *Savoy*, notwithſtanding the aſſiſtances he received from *Spain*, had taken from him five or ſix places, had repulſed his army with loſs, when attacked in his intrenchments, and more than once beat his troops in the field. Inſomuch that the duke, quite tired out by this *Fox* of *Dauphine*, as he called him, who was never to be out-witted, began to think ſeriouſly [m] of peace; the rather, becauſe he underſtood that his Catholic majeſty intended, by the mediation of the pope, to put an end to the war without delay. *Henry* was far from being averſe to either of theſe treaties, tho' he had diſcovered that the court of *Madrid* had ſtill ſome partizans in *Paris*, who, under the beloved title of *the council of ſixteen*, had begun to hold private meetings after the taking of *Amiens*. But being diſcovered and ſecured, ſeven of them were hanged, and others baniſhed; two advocates, one of *Beauvois* and the other of *Paris*, by whoſe aſſiſtance the duke of *Mercœur* carried on a correſpondence with the archduke in *Flanders*, were, by an arret of the parliament, condemned to be broke alive upon the wheel at the *Greve*, which ſentence was executed with the utmoſt ſeverity. But the king ſpared the life of *Peter Owen*, a *Carthuſian* monk, and a native of *Bretagne*, with whom the *Spaniards* had treated to procure a perſon to attempt the king's life, becauſe, before it was diſcovered, it appeared that he repented of his deſign; and the man being dead with whom he had tampered, refuſed to proceed any

[j] DUPLEIX. P. DANIEL. [k] MEZ. tom. vi. p. 179.
[l] LE GEND. tom. v. [m] GUICH. Hiſt. de Savoye.

further [n]. The king conſented likewiſe that marſhal *de Briſac*, who commanded for him in *Bretagne*, ſhould conclude a truce with the duke *de Mercœur* for the remainder of the year, to take place from the middle of *October*; and he ſent M. *de Villeroy* to the frontiers, to ſettle with Mr. *Richardot*, the miniſter of the cardinal archduke, the place and time for opening the conferences for the concluſion of a general peace [o]. The duke of *Luxemburgh*, who had been twice there before, was the king's miniſter at *Rome*, and very well received; but the ſecret remained with *Arnold d'Oſſat*, one of the ableſt and one of the honeſteſt miniſters in the king's ſervice; and yet he was more fortunate in this reſpect than moſt of his predeceſſors [p]. For in no period the *French* monarchy ever produced better officers or abler ſtateſmen than under this reign.

A. D. 1597.

Bretagne reduced, and the duke de Mercœur's *daughter married to the king's natural ſon.*

The king, while his miniſters were treating of a peace with *Spain*, meditated an expedition, which he thought might reſtore at once the interior quiet of the kingdom. In order to this, having ſent the conſtable to command in *Picardy* with a ſmall corps of troops, knowing well that the *Spaniards* had not inclination or force to give him much diſturbance, he ordered the marſhal *de Briſac* to renew the war in *Bretagne*, and not to liſten to any propoſitions whatever. The marſhal purſued his inſtructions with ſpirit and ſucceſs. In the beginning of *February* the king began his march with two thouſand horſe, and ten thouſand foot, directly towards *Bretagne*. On his approach, ſix or ſeven of the principal nobility of that duchy rendered their fortreſſes, and made their peace with the king [q]. The duke of *Mercœur* was ſo aſtoniſhed, that he gave all for loſt, and reſolved to make his peace alſo on the beſt terms he could. He was indeed the dupe of his own politics, and this to the very laſt; for at the beginning, he had flattered himſelf with the hopes of keeping the duchy of *Bretagne*, in right of his wife, ſo, at this very juncture, he ſcarce made any doubt that he ſhould have been comprized in the general peace, as an ally of *Spain*. But finding himſelf on the point of being attacked by a royal army, and at the ſame time on the brink of being deſerted by moſt of his dependents, he was obliged to have recourſe to an expedient, which, tho' it operated much better than he could expect, was a reſource not very pleaſing to himſelf, and extremely mortifying to his ducheſs, the heireſs of the houſe of *Penthievre*, and one of the proudeſt women in *France*. What

[n] Dupleix, tom. v. p. 224. Mez. [o] Memoires de Sulli. [p] Jacob. Thuan. P. Daniel. [q] Memoires de Sulli.

made

made it ſtill more afflicting to her was, the untoward circumſtance of being obliged to go in perſon as a ſuppliant to *Angiers*, where the king was, and to make the propoſition herſelf[r]. This was to give their only daughter to the king's natural ſon, whom the courtiers, to pleaſe his father and flatter his mother, called *Cæſar-Monſieur*. This was accepted, and the king gave his ſon the duchy of *Vendoſme*, with that of *Beaufort*, after the deceaſe of his mother; on the other hand, the young princeſs was to have the duchies of *Eſtampes*, *Penthievre*, and *Mercœur*. The duke was likewiſe obliged to reſign, in favour of his ſon in-law, the government of *Bretagne*; and the king, to make all things ſure, cauſed the young couple to be immediately contracted, and ſoon after married by the cardinal *de Joyeuſe*, with as much pomp as if he had been his lawful and not his legitimated ſon[s]. The king went afterwards to *Rheims*, to hold the ſtates of *Bretagne*, and from thence to *Nantes*. In the ſpace of two months, which the king ſpent in this country, he amaſſed twelve hundred thouſand crowns in ready money, two thirds of which aroſe from the free gift of the ſtates, and was a very ſeaſonable ſupply for his coffers, which were in a great meaſure emptied by the expence of the war, and the vaſt ſums which the ſettlement of his ſon had coſt him, and by which he was rendered the richeſt prince in *France*.

The king, by the famous edict of Nantes, *ſecures to the reformed all they could reaſonably expect.*

By this time the Hugonots alſo had altered their manner of thinking, and were very ſollicitous to have their affairs once for all ſettled, upon which ſubject they had followed the king from *Blois* to *Nantes*, and there it was that they at length procured the famous edict[t], bearing the name of that place, dated the laſt of *April*, which for a while procured him quiet, and ought to have ſecured to them a perpetual and ſolid eſtabliſhment in *France*. The commiſſioners on the part of the king were the Sieurs *de Schomberg*, *de Thou*, *de Calignon*, and *Jeanin*; and the deputies from the Proteſtants were the Sieurs *de Conſians*, *de la Motha*, *de Casès*, and *Chamier*. This laſt was miniſter of *Montelimar*, and one of the ableſt and worthieſt perſons in that communion. According to ſome[u], it was he who drew the edict, which was well conſidered, and highly favourable to the reformed. It is certain there was at leaſt as much of policy and apprehenſion, as of gratitude or inclination, in what the king did for them. On one hand he was much eſtranged by their behaviour, and by the ingratitude of their chiefs, who ſought chiefly to render themſelves formidable by a pretended zeal for religion. On

[r] Dupl. tom. v. [s] Memoires de Sully. [t] P. Matth. [u] Varillas.

the

the other, the lords of the Catholic league had lately rendered him very important ſervices, and profeſſed themſelves zealouſly attached to his perſon and government. But the fear he had, that, if the Hugonots took arms, they might not only draw foreigners again into their kingdom, but alſo retard the peace with *Spain*, and afford a pretence for reviving the Catholic league, made him willing to grant them favourable terms; but, above all, his deſire of peace, that he might have an opportunity of remedying the diſorders and extinguiſhing the grievances of which his ſubjects of all ranks complained, induced him to grant this edict, and to maintain it, after it was granted, with that firmneſs which became a king, conſcious that he had acted from no other motive, and that what he had done could have no other tendency, than promoting the general tranquillity and public good (C). *Henry*, when

(C) This famous edict bore date at *Nantes*, *April* 13th, 1598, and beſides re-eſtabliſhing in a moſt ſolid and effectual manner all the favours that ever had been granted to the reformed by other princes, and particularly by his predeceſſor, there were added ſome which had not been either imagined or demanded before; particularly the granting them a free admiſſion to all employments of truſt, profit, and honour, the eſtabliſhing chambers in which the members of the two religions were equal, and the permitting their children to be educated without conſtraint in any of the univerſities. The Proteſtants were ſo well ſatisfied with this edict, that they appointed deputies to attend the king, with their thanks, and ordered public prayers to be made for his proſperity. His illuſtrious hiſtorian, who was alſo a firm and zealous Proteſtant, applauds the temper, moderation, and ſteadineſs, with which *Henry* made and adhered to this edict. He gives us a full account of the circumſtances of his maſter at the time he granted it, and from thence ſhews that he was extremely willing to extinguiſh religious as well as civil feuds amongſt his ſubjects, for which he applauds him highly. We learn alſo from him, that the edict was no ſooner ſigned than he reſolved to make the duke of *Bouillon* acquainted with his real ſentiments. The duke had the gout at the time, and was confined to his room. The king made him a viſit, ordered every body to retire, and, when the room was cleared, told that great lord he muſt hear him without interruption. He then entered into a long detail of the favours he had heaped upon him, of the ſtrange returns he had made, of his immeaſurable ambition, of all the intrigues into which he had entered, and of the meaſures he had purſued to excite jealouſies of him amongſt the Proteſtants. In vain the duke offered to make excuſes; the king told him there needed none, for that as an old friend, and one equally ſenſible of and grateful for paſt ſervices, theſe were both forgiven

when he was ſecure as to the rectitude of his meaſures, was equally eloquent and firm in their ſupport.

THE conferences for the peace with *Spain* were carried on very ſucceſsfully at *Vervins*, under the mediation of the cardinal of *Florence*, the pope's legate, and *Francis Gonzaga*, biſhop of *Mantua*, who had the title of nuncio; the plenipotentiaries were Meſſieurs *de Bellievre* and *Sillery*, ſuc- *By the peace of Vervins the king obtains*

forgiven and forgot; but that, for the future, if he trod in his old paths, and made it his buſineſs to throw the cloak of religion over pernicious practices, inſtead of expoſtulating with him as he did now with the freedom of an old acquaintance, he ſhould treat him with the language that became his maſter and his king. He diſcourſed with the like freedom to his parliaments; and, as he ſpoke well, he was commonly well heard, and what he ſaid made a great impreſſion. He told the parliament of *Paris*, who had made very warm remonſtrances upon his directing them to regiſter this edict, that he was ſurprized to find they doubted his being a Catholic, when the pope and the king of *Spain* were convinced of it. He owned to them that neceſſity was the parent of this edict; but not ſuch a neceſſity as ſome of them imagined. He avowed the neceſſity he meant to be that of a general and ſolid peace. He told them the ſtate of the kingdom, and the ſafety of the Catholic religion required this; that in point of religion there was nothing to be done by violence; that when he was himſelf a Proteſtant, and at the head of the Proteſtants, that he had always found perſecution did them ſervice; that by driving men of conſcience and conſtancy to extremities, it furniſhed the Proteſtants with troops that were invincible, even by defeats; that it was idle to think of beating men out of their faith; and that if they had really a mind to convert the Proteſtants, they muſt amend their lives, and render their actions conformable to their doctrines. He added, that he was a Catholic king; but that he was a ſhepherd as well as a king, and would not ſacrifice one part of his flock to pleaſe the other. He expatiated on the pains he had taken to unite and quiet all parties, by granting them whatever they could reaſonably deſire, notwithſtanding any offences he might have received. He told them farther, that it was not through weakneſs or fear that he made uſe of this language, for that he knew where to find twenty thouſand men who would make his will the law; but that this would be acting like a tyrant, which he deſpiſed and abhorred. He told them that he was always ready to hear their remonſtrances, and not theirs only, but thoſe of the meaneſt of his ſubjects. He concluded with adviſing them to have for the future no other emulation than who ſhould appear the beſt Chriſtians and the beſt ſubjects. His advice was received as it deſerved, and the edict was verified, as will be ſhewn in the text.

ceſſively

that tranquillity neceſſary to reſtore the public welfare.

ceſſively chancellors of *France*; and on the part of the archduke (for the king of *Spain* would treat no otherwiſe than thro' him) were, the preſident *Richardot*, the commander *de Taxis*, and the Sieur *Verreiken*, who had a high office in the adminiſtration of the *Low Countries* [w]. As both parties were eager for the peace, it had been very ſoon concluded, but for the reſpect due to their allies. Queen *Elizabeth* ſent over Sir *Robert Cecil*, and the ſtates employed count *Juſtin* of *Naſſau*, to perſuade the king not to conclude, and even to offer him a new alliance, by which the maritime powers were to furniſh him with a numerous corps of troops to augment his army, and to maintain them at their own expence [x]. The influence of the court of *Rome*, and the advantages the king promiſed himſelf from the peace, induced him to reject theſe offers, and to endeavour by all the arguments poſſible (in which, however, it has been doubted whether he was ſincere) to engage them to concur with him in his views, and to accommodate their differences with *Spain*. But they declared flatly againſt that meaſure, not that the queen herſelf was ſo much againſt this meaſure, but that ſhe was determined not to ſeparate her intereſts from thoſe of the republic; and the ſtates having intercepted ſome of king *Philip*'s letters, were but too well apprized of the ſentiments of the court of *Madrid* to think of making peace [y]. On the other hand, the *Spaniards* had as much to do with the duke of *Savoy*, who would not hear of the reſtitution of the marquiſate of *Saluces*, tho' taken from the crown of *France* in a time of full peace. At length an expedient being propoſed to leave that matter to the deciſion of the pope, it was agreed to. The treaty of *Vervins* was ſigned on the 2d of *May* [z]; but it was not to be publiſhed till the 12th of *June*, in order to afford ſome kind of ſatisfaction to the queen of *England* and the ſtates, who, notwithſtanding, highly diſapproved the king's conduct, with which the latter had the leaſt reaſon to be ſatisfied, and with which, notwithſtanding, the former ſeemed to be the moſt offended. All theſe great affairs being concluded in four months time, gave the king very high pleaſure, tho' it ſuffered ſome abatement from the reproaches he met with from the queen of *England*, ſo much the more cutting as he owed her infinite obligations [a]. The archduke ſent to *Paris* the duke of *Arſcot* and the admiral of *Arragon*, to aſſiſt at the ceremony of the king's ſwearing to the performance of the treaty at *Notre Dame*. On the other hand, the king, in the month of *July*,

[w] Dupleix, tom. v. P. Matth. Silleri. [x] Memoires de [y] Mez. P. Dan. [z] D'Avila, liv. xv. [a] Memoires de Sulli.

ſent

ſent Monſieur *Biron*, whom he had lately created duke and peer of *France*, together with Meſſieurs *Bellievre* and *Sillery*, to *Bruſſels*, to be preſent at the like ceremony on the part of the cardinal archduke [b]. A circumſtance that would not have been found in this hiſtory, if there had not been good grounds to ſuppoſe that this journey gave a beginning to thoſe intrigues that coſt *France* ſo dear, and at length brought the unfortunate marſhal duke *de Biron* to the block; for the *Spaniſh* miniſters had been ſo long and deeply immerſed in treaſons, that they could not lay them aſide.

THIS year likewiſe the king, by the negotiation of *Arnold d'Oſſat*, concluded a treaty with the great duke of *Tuſcany*, which was attended with ſingular complaiſance on both ſides. The king had diſcovered ſome intrigues of the grand duke in *Provence*, but thought fit to diſſemble them, in remembrance of the kindneſſes he had received from that prince, when his affairs were in a deſperate ſituation. On the other hand, the grand duke having conſented to evacuate the iſlands that he held on the coaſt of *Provence*, upon the king's confeſſing a debt of two hundred thouſand crowns, and giving him twelve ſuch hoſtages as he ſhould name for the payment of it in four years; he, by a letter to *Henry*, renounced this laſt conceſſion, merely becauſe he underſtood it was very diſagreeable to him. This treaty was concluded [c] within the ſame period of time, and by the execution of it, together with that of *Vervins*, put the king in full poſſeſſion of all the territories belonging to the crown of *France*. Before the cloſe of the year the king made many excellent regulations in his finances, diſbanded a great part of his troops, provided againſt the accidents this might have occaſioned, ſatisfied the clergy of *France* on their remonſtrances, and eſcaped from a dangerous fever that brought him to the brink of the grave, about the ſame time that his old antagoniſt, *Philip* the ſecond, actually ſunk into it, and thereby ſecured the continuance of that peace which had been lately made; for his ſon was not of a temper to undertake the revival of a war, which had almoſt exhauſted his dominions [d]; and if it had not been for ſome of his father's old miniſters, the duke of *Lerma* was inclined to leave the reſt of *Europe* in quiet.

Obtains the reſtitution of what had been ſurprized on the coaſt of Provence *by the D. of* Florence.

A. D. 1598.

AT the opening of the year, the king, by the advice of the baron *de Rhoſny*, remitted the taxes that were due, to the amount of twenty millions [e]. The miniſter very wiſely obſerved, that the king might as well have the credit of giving what could never be paid, and at the ſame time make it an

A ſhort account of the baron de Rhoſny's adminiſ-

[b] Memoires de Silleri. P. DAN. [c] J. THUAN. Hiſt. P. MATTH. [d] MEZ. [e] DUPL. tom. v.

argument

ſtration of the finances.

argument for his frugality, in the maintenance of his court, and in the gratifications of his favourites. It was the maxim of *Rhoſny*, that, in the management of the treaſury, there was not ſo much need of a great genius and long experience, as of a clear head and an honeſt heart. He practiſed every method poſſible to bring his maſter out of debt, and to maintain the ſtate honourably, without oppreſſing the people [f]. It was the great commendation of the king that theſe talents made his miniſter acceptable to him; for he was truly the father of his people. He was very tender in taking from them, and had the higheſt ſatisfaction at ſeeing them thrive. The baron *de Rhoſny* was not content with being a good œconomiſt, and doing his duty with the utmoſt fidelity; he would go ſtill farther, and make the king maſter of his own affairs; and this, notwithſtanding the quickneſs of his temper, which would not allow him to attend to any thing long [g]. *Rhoſny* digeſted the whole ſyſtem of the finances into tables, by the help of which the king ſaw, in a very narrow compaſs, all the different branches of his revenue and of his expence. It is inconceivable in how ſhort a time this able man drew exact order out of that chaos in which theſe affairs had been involved by his predeceſſors. He levied the revenue in the ſhorteſt and leaſt expenſive manner poſſible; for he held that every perſon ſo employed was a man loſt to the public, and yet maintained by the public. He reduced all the expences of the government; but at the ſame time he paid every body punctually, and took care that the king ſhould have ſuch a reſerve, as not to be obliged on any emergency to have recourſe either to new impoſitions upon his people, or to make uſe of credit [h]. This is a ſuccinct repreſentation of this great miniſter's adminiſtration, to which we ſhall add but one circumſtance more, that, inſtead of making his miniſtry uſeful to himſelf, by gaining friends, he never heſitated at making himſelf enemies, by ſtanding between his maſter and thoſe importunate courtiers who were perpetually craving, in a degree out of all proportion to their merit [i]. Under the reign of *Henry*, his enemies were unable to hurt him. In the next, they had credit enough to remove him from his employment, in conſequence of which the finances ſoon fell back into the ſame perplexity and confuſion out of which he had brought them.

The king marries his ſiſter to Bar,

THE marriage of the archduke *Albert*, to the Infanta, induced the king to haſten that of his ſiſter with the duke of *Bar*, which, however, was attended with ſome difficulties,

[f] P. MATTH. [g] MEZERAY. P. DAN. [h] J. THUAN. [i] DUPLEIX, tom. v.

on

on account of the difference of religion, which had induced the pope to write to the duke againſt it, and prevented the obtaining a diſpenſation, notwithſtanding which the king cauſed it to be celebrated by their natural brother *Charles de Bourbon*, archbiſhop of *Rouen*. The princeſs, however, notwithſtanding this marriage, and her promiſe to be inſtructed, lived and died a zealous and ſincere Proteſtant, without iſſue, and without felicity. Before ſhe left *France*, ſhe preſſed the king extremely to procure the verification of the edict of *Nantes*, in favour of the Proteſtants [k]. It had been delayed till the departure of the pope's legate, and this delay had given time to ſome warm ſpirits amongſt the clergy to raiſe a vehement oppoſition againſt it, more eſpecially to one of the clauſes, which permitted the Proteſtants to invite what ſtrangers they thought proper to aſſiſt at their ſynods, without demanding any permiſſion from the crown, which had been put in to gratify the duke *de Bouillon*, and was penned in ſuch a manner as gave the popiſh clergy but too much advantage. The king therefore cauſed it to be modified, with the conſent of the Proteſtants, many of whom diſliked it at the time, and, with a few other reſtrictions, obliged the parliament to regiſter it, in the ſame manner he had done the edict in relation to the duke of *Mayenne*. But tho' his commands were peremptory, the reaſons he gave for them were concluſive, and ſuch as, in the ſentiments of impartial perſons, rendered it evident he had not the gratification of the Proteſtants more in view, than the peace and welfare of his ſubjects in general [l]. Some hiſtorians ſay [m], that his ſiſter would not leave *Paris* till ſhe had ſeen this great work accompliſhed, which it was in the month of *February*. The king was not ſo ſucceſsful in reſpect to his divorce and marriage, which he had for ſome time meditated, and which, in reality, were rather the ſchemes of the man than of the king. He was deſirous of obtaining from the pope the diſſolution of his marriage with *Margaret*, ſiſter to the late king, to which that princeſs was not at all averſe, and to which ſhe afterwards conſented. But at preſent, being informed that the king deſigned to replace her by marrying the ducheſs of *Beaufort*, ſhe poſitively declared that ſhe would give it all the oppoſition in her power. The pope likewiſe expreſſed an extreme averſion to ſo ſtrange, and, in ſome reſpects, ſo abſurd a project, from which, however, the king never departed, till he was releaſed from the importunities of the lady, by her unfortunate death [n], which he deplored with great violence; but, like all things violent,

the D. of Barr, and inclines to marry the ducheſs of Beaufort himſelf.

[k] Memoires de Sully. [l] J. Thuan. Hiſt. Dupl. tom. v. Mez. [m] P. Matte. [n] D'Aubigne.

his

his grief was but of ſhort duration (D). His courtiers, out of complaiſance, approved what the meaneſt of his faithful ſubjects had ſenſe enough to deplore.

It

(D) It was the great foible of *Henry* the fourth, that his intrigues had ſuch an influence upon his conduct, that it is impoſſible to render the hiſtory of his reign, in any tolerable degree, intelligible, without entering in to that of his amours. This lady, of whom we are to ſpeak in the preſent note, was the daughter of *Anthony d'Eſtrees*, Seigneur *de Cœuvres lez Soiſſons*, maſter of the artillery (or, as we ſtile them, maſter of the ordnance), and of *Frances Babou de la Bourdaciere*. Monſ. *d'Eſtrees* was a man of honour, and was extremely ſhocked at the ill conduct of his wife, who had an intrigue with the marquis *d'Alegre Millan*, governor of *Iſſoire* in *Auvergne*, and was murdered in a tumult raiſed againſt her gallant. The ſiſter of madame *d'Eſtrees*, whoſe name was *Iſabel*, eſpouſed the marquis *de Sourdis*, and, in the life-time of her huſband, was the declared miſtreſs of the chancellor Monſieur *de Chiverni*: as for the fair *Gabrielle* her niece, the king's amour with her commenced in the year 1591, to which her father oppoſed his authority as far as it was in his power; but the young lady's inclinations, and the counſels of her aunt madame *de Sourdis*, ſoon put her in the king's power, who is ſaid to have run ſtrange hazards for her ſake, and whoſe paſſion certainly brought his perſon ſometimes into danger, his authority more frequently, and his reputation always. We find her mentioned by ſo many names in the *French* hiſtory, that an ordinary reader may be eaſily confounded: ſometimes ſhe is called *La belle Gabrielle*, or *The fair Gabrielle*, in reſpect to her beauty; ſometimes mademoiſelle *de Cœuvre*, from her father's title, more frequently madame *de Liencourt*, and madame *de la Roche Guyon*, on account of her marriage with *Nicholas d'Amerval* Seigneur *de Liencourt*, and *de la Roche Guyon*, afterwards marchioneſs *de Monceaux*, and ducheſs *de Beaufort*, titles beſtowed upon her by the king. According to ſome writers ſhe had a great ſhare in *Henry*'s converſion; it is certain that ſhe was preſent at it, which was very indecent. The league had thoughts of making uſe of this lady to remove the king, even after his converſion, and, on this ſcore, one of their preachers was reprimanded for declaiming againſt the king's ſcandalous life with her. *Henry* was ſo little maſter of himſelf and of his paſſions, that he ſent for her to the ſiege of *Amiens*; but the clamours of the army, and the bold remonſtrances of the marſhal *de Biron*, obliged him to remove her. On the death of Monſieur *St. Luk* ſhe procured for her father the poſt of maſter of the ordnance, but with great difficulty, becauſe the king intended it for the baron *de Rhoſny*. We are told by this great man, that the king reſiſted her careſſes and tears, but, upon her threatening to go into a convent, he yielded; but he does not tell us, which, nevertheleſs,

It is abſolutely neceſſary, how little ſoever it may correſpond with the dignity of hiſtory, to proceed in our account of the

He obtains a divorce

theleſs, is true, that the father of Monſieur *d'Eſtrees* had that office, which he diſcharged very honourably, and that the conferring it upon his ſon was univerſally applauded. She was extremely ambitious of being queen; and this is ſuppoſed to have been one great motive for her preſſing the king to become a Catholic, becauſe, without the interpoſition of the pope's authority, and that too in ſeveral points, it was abſolutely impoſſible. The king himſelf was much bent upon it. He mentioned it to cardinal *de Medicis*, when legate in *France*; but he heard it ſo coolly, that, when the king ſent Monſieur *de Sillery* to *Rome* to preſs his divorce, he was particularly inſtructed not to mention it to this cardinal. When the king was taken ill at her houſe at *Monceaux*, ſhe preſſed him exceedingly, and obtained ſuch aſſurances, that it appears from her diſcourſes with madame *de Rhoſny*, that ſhe conſidered it as a thing certain. Her death was as remarkable as her life; ſhe had accompanied the king to *Fontainbleau*, and paſſed with him there the greateſt part of Lent, being at that time big with child; but the king, conſidering the ſcandal that would attend her remaining with him during paſſion week, prevailed upon her to return to *Paris*: the reaſon of the thing induced her to conſent, and the king conducted her as far as *Melun*; but, when ſhe came to part with him, ſhe recommended her children, her domeſtics, and all that belonged to her, with ſuch earneſtneſs, as if ſhe had known ſhe ſhould never ſee him more. On her arrival at *Paris* ſhe went to the houſe of *Sebaſtian Zamet*, a native of *Lucca*, who had been long employed in the finances, and, for his pleaſant temper, was in great favour with the king. It is a feature of the times worth knowing, that when this man married his daughter, and the notary came to draw the contract, he aſked him how he wrote himſelf, lord of——? "As for "that matter," anſwered *Zamet*, who on the ſide of family had nothing to boaſt, "write me "lord of ſeventeen hundred "thouſand crowns," by which ſurname he went ever after. She was treated at his houſe with all poſſible attention, and every thing provided for her that ſhe had been obſerved to like. One day, eating a citron after dinner, ſhe felt herſelf extremely ill; however, becoming ſomething better, ſhe went to veſpers, but, at her return, walking in the garden, ſhe had a ſtroke of an apoplexy. As ſoon as ſhe came a little to herſelf, ſhe deſired to be carried to the houſe of her aunt madame *de Scurdis*, where ſhe died in violent convulſions in the month of *April*. The populace, and even ſome who ſhould have been wiſer, becauſe her face was twiſted in a very ſtrange manner, and her body became a moſt hideous ſpectacle as ſoon as ſhe was dead, concluded that ſhe was ſtrangled by the devil. *Mezeray* and other writers intimate that ſhe was poiſoned;

from queen Margaret.

the king's amours, becauſe the effects of them produced ſome of the moſt remarkable events in his reign. In three weeks after the deceaſe of the ducheſs of *Beaufort*, which delivered him out of one of the greateſt perplexities he had ever known, he ran himſelf into freſh difficulties, by commencing an intrigue with *Henrietta Balſac d'Etragues*, the daughter of the famous madame *Touchet*, who became the mother of the count *d'Auvergne* by *Charles* the ninth. In order to obtain this lady, he gave her a promiſe of marriage; and, which is ſtill ſtranger, he ſhewed this promiſe, before he delivered it, to Monſieur *de Rhoſny*, who, without much ceremony, tore it. The king aſked him if he was turned fool? "If I am, Sir," ſaid he, "you have ſhewn in writing that you are a greater. "I have done what it became your faithful ſervant to do; "and you do, Sire, what it does not become a great king to "do[o]." Notwithſtanding this, the king wrote and gave her another promiſe; and, from his countenance for ſome days, *Rhoſny* looked upon himſelf as diſgraced, and was of that opinion when the king ſurprized him, by adding to his former employments that of maſter of the ordnance [p]. In the mean time the buſineſs of the divorce went on as well as the king could wiſh it at *Rome*; queen *Margaret*, on the death of the ducheſs of *Beaufort*, having done all that the king could deſire to forward it, and the pope having directed a commiſſion to his nuncio and two other prelates, they, upon the queen's declaring that ſhe was violently compelled by the

[o] P. Dan. tom. x. p. 253. de Sulli.

[p] P. Matth. Memoires

ſoned; *Clement* the eighth aſcribed her death to a particular providence in his own prayers, foreſeeing the miſeries of *France* in caſe the king had married her, and inſiſted on the legitimation of his children by her, which was indeed one of the ſtrangeſt projects that ever came into a wiſe man's head. She is ſaid to have had many amiable qualities, and not to have been ſo generally hated as modern writers report. As to her marriage to Monſieur *de Liencourt*, a man of great quality and very rich, but withal very deformed, it was an artifice of the king's to get her out of the power of her father; but this marriage was never conſummated, and was afterwards diſſolved. She was far from being a woman of great capacity, was exceedingly addicted to aſtrology, though continually tormented with the apprehenſion of thoſe miſeries that were foretold her. The king had by her *Cæſar* duke *de Vendoſme*, born in *June* 1594, and who died at *Paris*, *October* 22d, 1665. *Alexander*, grand prior of *France*, who died in 1629. *Catherine Henrietta*, who eſpouſed *Charles* of *Lorrain*, duke *d'Elbœuf*, and died in 1663.

king

...r to eſpouſe the then king of *Navarre*, to ...ve her conſent, the marriage was declared ...permitted to marry again [q]. *Arnold* ...urple, and Monſieur *de Silleri*, ne... ...wards the marriage of the king ...e great duke of *Tuſcany* [r]. It ...ed; but, when he found ...d grace, and declared, ...his ſubjects, he was ...ls us, that this ...could not affright, ...leſs than three monks ...d at the thoughts of do- A. D. ...ſame time, purſued a conduct 1599. ...e them.

...re at preſent about the king, and had in his confidence, were the chancellor ...vre, to whom the king had given the ſeals of Monſieur *de Chiverni*, a man of extenſive incorruptible probity; Monſ. *Silleri*, whom he had ...o *Rome*; the preſident *Jeannin*, and the baron *de* ...*ſſy*; men every way equal to the king's intention of re- ſtoring order and juſtice through all parts of his dominions, repairing all the ravages which were cauſed by the civil war, and aboliſhing all thoſe innovations that had been made either to the prejudice of the prerogative of the crown, or the welfare of the people. Theſe ſchemes, how juſt, how neceſſary ſoever in themſelves, were not acceptable to all the world, and were more eſpecially diſpleaſing to thoſe great lords who did not care to be put in mind that there was ſuch a thing as duty, or that they had any ſuperior. Amongſt theſe might be reckoned the conſtable *Montmorency*, the marſhal duke *de Bouillon*, the dukes of *Tremouille* and *Montpenſier*. But the duke of *Eſpernon* exceeded them all in his diſcontents, and was himſelf exceeded by the marſhal duke *de Biron*, whoſe head was ſo turned with vanity, that he could no longer endure the thoughts of being a ſubject; and there is the leſs reaſon to wonder that he loſt part of the reverence due to his king, when he made no difficulty of preferring his own military ſkill and valour to thoſe of *Alexander* and *Cæſar*.

His ſcheme of reformation diſguſts many of the great nobility.

THE agents of the duke of *Savoy* had acquainted their maſter with all that paſſed, and more eſpecially with theſe appearances of diſcontent amongſt the grandees, that he might avail

The D. of Savoy comes to

[q] Lettres du Cardinal D'OSSAT, tom. iii. P. DAN. tom. x. p. 242, 243. [r] JACOB THUAN. Hiſt. DUPLEIX. Memoires de SULLI.

the French court.

himſelf of their miſunderſtandings. The duke, who had already treated the pope in ſuch a manner as obliged him to lay aſide the character of arbitrator, with which he was inveſted by the treaty of *Vervins*, in regard to the marquiſate of *Saluces*, took a ſudden reſolution to make a tour to the court of *France*, in which he had two great points in view; the firſt was to try if he could cajole the king and his miniſters, ſo as to obtain from them the country in diſpute, with which, at all events, he was determined never to part; and the other to form a party amongſt the malecontents in *France*, in caſe his firſt deſign failed [s]. *Henry* would willingly have avoided this viſit; but the duke piqued himſelf ſo much upon his ſkill in negotiation, and flattered himſelf ſo much with the hopes of making partizans in the *French* court, that nothing could divert him from his project. He was received with all poſſible marks of reſpect, treated with the utmoſt politeneſs and magnificence, and the duke, on his ſide, exceeded in all reſpects the notions that had been entertained of him [t]. He made his court to the king with equal addreſs and aſſiduity, without the leaſt intermixture of meanneſs or of flattery; he converſed with all the great men about the court with much eaſe and affability, without departing from his dignity; he made preſents to the value of four hundred thouſand crowns; and, in ſhort, omitted nothing that was poſſible for him to do towards carrying his point, and yet without advancing it at all. He was a full month at court before the king mentioned any thing of buſineſs; and at length, when they came to treat, he told him plainly, that the reſtitution of the marquiſate of *Saluces* was what he expected, or an equivalent [u]. This ſeemed to pleaſe the duke beſt; and he propoſed firſt one, and then another. At length a treaty was ſigned at *Paris*, about the middle of *February*, by which the duke ſtipulated to reſtore the marquiſate of *Saluces*, or to yield to the king the equivalent therein expreſſed, and to make his option by the firſt of *June* [w]. As for the manner of this negotiation, the king and his miniſters had very little reaſon to expect that the duke would carry it into execution: there wanted not ſome who adviſed *Henry* to ſecure that prince's perſon, as the moſt effectual means of procuring the marquiſate of *Saluces* without a war. But the king declared that he would imitate the conduct of *Francis* the firſt, and not break his faith for the ſake of any advantage. He gave the duke to underſtand as much; who

[s] Jacobi Thuan. Hiſt. Dupleix. Guichenon Hiſtoire de Savoye. [t] Memoires de Sulli. P. Matth. [u] D'Aubigne. Mez. P. Dan. [w] Lettres du Cardinal d'Oſſat, tom. iv. Guichenon.

thereupon

thereupon laid aſide all thoughts of making his eſcape, and, in the beginning of *March*, ſet out for his dominions, the king and the whole court accompanying him as far as the bridge of *Charenton*, and ſending the baron *de Lux* to wait on him to the frontiers [x]. On his arrival at *Bourg* in *Breſſes*, which was then a part of his dominions, he wrote a letter of thanks to his majeſty, and then continued his journey to *Chamberry*, where he remained till the 20th of *March*, and then went to *Turin* [y], where he promiſed to give the king's miniſters their definitive anſwer.

THE duke who, while he was at the court of *France*, had laboured to perſuade the king and his miniſters that he was intirely detached from *Spain*, and had even inſinuated, that he ſhould not be averſe to ſee *Henry* revive his pretenſions to the duchy of *Milan*, no ſooner returned home than he ſent his chancellor to *Madrid*, to demand the protection of *Philip* the third, and his aſſiſtance, in caſe of a rupture [z]. At firſt he was coldly treated, and had ſome broad hints given him of the overtures made by his maſter while at *Paris*; but, upon his denying them, the *Spaniſh* miniſtry altered their language, gave him ſtrong aſſurances of ſupport, and ſent the neceſſary orders for that purpoſe to the conde *Fuentes*, governor of *Milan*. In conſequence of this the duke demanded firſt a delay, when ſummoned to make his option, and at length declared that the treaty of *Paris* was too hard, and that he could not think of carrying it into execution [a]. The king, who had taken his meaſures in the mean time, cauſed *Breſſe*, *Savoy*, and the county of *Nice*, to be attacked all at a time. The firſt of theſe countries was entirely reduced by the marſhal duke *de Biron*, except the citadel of *Bourg* [b]. *Chamberry* and the beſt part of *Savoy* was likewiſe carried without much reſiſtance. But the duke of *Guiſe* failed in his attempt to ſurprize the caſtle of *Nice*. All theſe tranſactions happened within the compaſs of the month of *Auguſt*. In the beginning of *September* the king took *Miolans*. *Leſdiguieres* made himſelf maſter of *Conflans*, which opened a paſſage into the *Tarentaiſe* and of *Charbonneris* [c], which gave him an entrance into the valley of *Maurienne*, both of which he reduced, and was then recalled, to ſatisfy the jealouſy of the marſhal *de Biron*; but what aſtoniſhed the duke moſt was the reduction of *Montmelian*, which he looked upon to be impregnable: but the baron

makes war on the D. of Savoy.

[x] Memoires de SULLI. D'AUBIGNE, tom. iii. liv. v. c. 3. JACOBI THUANI, Hiſt. [y] GUICHENON. P. DAN. Memoires de SULLI. [z] GUICHENON Hiſtoire de Savoye. [a] P. MATTH. J. THUANI. Memoires du SULLI. [b] DUPL. tom. v. MEZ. tom. vi. [c] Hiſtoire de Leſdiguieres, liv. vi.

de Rhoſny, whom the king had aſſured of this, upon his telling him, in jeſt, that the new caſt cannon he ſaw was for the ſiege of that place, found means to carry ſix of them to the top of what had been thought an impracticable mountain, from whence he battered the place, which ſo amazed the governor, that he promiſed to ſurrender, if he was not relieved in a certain time. The duke marched with a body of fifteen thouſand good troops to relieve the place, and the king likewiſe marched to give him battle; but the ſnow falling, prevented it, and the place ſurrendered [d]. This was followed by a freſh misfortune; marſhal *Biron*, in the depth of winter, took fort *St. Catherine*, another of the duke's impregnable places, which he had fortified, at an immenſe expence, in order to bridle the city of *Geneva*, and which, at the requeſt of the inhabitants of that city, the king cauſed to be demoliſhed [e]. This chagrined the duke exceedingly; however, as he had entered raſhly into the war, he was conſtrained to think in earneſt of getting out of it, for which he was indebted to the mediation of the pope.

He marries the princeſs Mary de Medicis, *niece of the D. of* Florence.

AFTER the reduction of fort *St. Catherine*, the king reſolved to go to *Lyons*, where the princeſs of *Florence* had waited for him a week [f]. *Bellegarde*, maſter of the horſe, and a great favourite of the king's, had been ſent to demand her at *Florence*; he carried with him the king's powers to the grand duke to eſpouſe his niece, as the king's proxy, which he did on the 5th of *October*. After prodigious rejoicings, and a great diſplay of magnificence, the gallies of *Florence*, the pope, and the order of *Malta*, brought the queen to *Marſeilles*, where ſhe landed on the 3d of *November*, accompanied by the grand ducheſs of *Florence* her aunt, the ducheſs of *Mantua* her ſiſter, Don *Antonio de Medicis* her brother, and ſeveral other perſons of high quality; ſhe was received there by the conſtable, the chancellor, the dukes of *Nemours* and *Ventadour*, with the duke of *Guiſe*, as governor of the province, four cardinals, and many princeſſes and ladies of the court, who accompanied her to *Aix*, from thence to *Avignon*, and then, by the way of *Vienne*, to *Lyons*, where, on the king's arrival, the marriage was celebrated by the cardinal legate *Aldobrandi* [g]. But in the midſt of all the pleaſures and diverſions that attended a ceremony of this kind, in reſpect to which, tho' naturally frugal, the king

[d] JACOB. THUAN. DUPLEIX, tom. v. Memoires de SULLI. [e] P. MATTH. MEZ. P. DAN. [f] DUPLEIX. [g] Sir R. WINWOOD's Memorials of Affairs of State, in the Reigns of Queen Elizabeth and King James the Firſt, vol. i. p. 265, 266, 267. 276, 277. 283, 284.

ſuffered

suffered no expence to be spared, the great affairs of state went on, and particularly the treaty with the duke of *Savoy*, which was chiefly negotiated by the cardinal legate. The king was desirous of peace, which was absolutely necessary to the duke, and the pope also had his reasons to have it concluded without delay, which, notwithstanding, they were all inclined to dissemble [h]. The address with which they acted their several parts caused at length the whole negotiation to be suspended; but, by the skill of the baron *de Rhosny*, it was again revived, and brought to such a conclusion as the king desired [i]. A. D. 1600.

In the whole *French* history there is scarce any instance of a war undertaken with more spirit, prosecuted with greater skill, or ended with more success; and it was, in a great measure, owing to this, that it was the last foreign war in this reign. But there is a secret as well as a public history of these transactions, necessary to make them thoroughly understood, since from a bare detail of events it should seem that the duke of *Savoy*, contrary to his character of being one of the ablest and shrewdest politicians of his time, entered into it rashly, conducted it weakly, and consequently was easily vanquished, which, in reality, was far from being the case. We have mentioned the reasons which induced him to make a tour to the *French* court, he mentioned them himself a little too plainly, when he said he came thither not to reap but to sow [k]. He did indeed sow, and had the prospect of a fair harvest, tho' it deceived his hopes. He saw but few troops, and the difficulty made of shewing him arsenals and magazines induced him to conclude them empty; and besides, from the parsimony of *Rhosny*, he entertained a notion that the treasury must be exhausted. From an enemy in this situation, he thought, there was little to fear. He was thoroughly informed of the factions in *France*, and, from the vivacity of their chiefs, he took it for granted, that, if a war broke out abroad, it would produce various insurrections at home. He relied upon the strength of his own places, well fortified, abundantly provided, and filled with numerous garrisons. Besides, he depended much on the impression made by his liberality. It was scarce to be believed, and yet so it proved, that he was deceived in every one of them, by the vigilance and activity chiefly of the baron *de Rhosny*, who, in his character of a minister, advised the war, and, as master of the ordnance, conducted the sieges [l]. *Causes and consequences of the war in Savoy.*

[h] P. Matth. Memoires du Cardinal de Bentivoglio. Dupl. Guichenon. Mez. [i] Memoires de Sulli. P. Daniel. [k] P. Matth. P. Daniel. [l] Jacobi Thuani. Duplein.

Marſhal *Biron* was in his intereſt, and at firſt endeavoured to ſerve him; but, when once in arms, his vanity prompted him to make conqueſts. His friends were continually about the king, and did for him all they could: but *Henry* underſtood the trade of war better than any of them; and *Leſdiguieres* and *Rhoſny* ſerved him with ſuch ſpirit and fidelity as baffled all their attempts. At the very opening of the war, there was a woman propoſed to a great prince of the blood, whoſe diſcontents ran very high, to poiſon the king; but, inſtead of encouraging, he diſcloſed the treaſon, for which ſhe was burnt alive [m]. The *Spaniards* likewiſe, tho' they promiſed much, performed little; and, after all, the power of the duke was by no means equal to his project, and could not at all bear him out after ſo many diſappointments. His great loſſes determined him to make a diſadvantageous peace, and his chagrin on this engaged him to continue his intrigues, in hopes of recovering by them what he had loſt by the war. The good fortune of *Henry* inſpired him with freſh courage, ſo that he applied himſelf, with greater aſſiduity than ever, to put his affairs in a good poſture at home, and to ſupport the honour of the crown he wore, in ſuch a manner as might ſecure him reſpect abroad. He knew that upon this depended not only his grandeur but his ſafety.

Henry goes to Calais to awe the archduke, who was beſieging Oſtend.

AN inſult offered to the count *de la Rochepot* at *Valladolid* embroiled him with the court of *Spain*; but the pope ſeaſonably interpoſed, and procured ſuch ſatisfaction as the king deſired. The count *de Fuentes* had ſome correſpondencies at *Marſeilles*, which, being diſcovered, were prevented. The archduke *Albert*, notwithſtanding his placid character, had likewiſe entered into ſome intrigues for ſurpriſing *Metz*, which met with the like fate [n]. On that prince's beſieging *Oſtend*, the king thought fit to make a tour to *Calais*, that it might appear he was ready to defend his frontiers in caſe of any new attempt. This was in the month of *Auguſt*; and it happened that queen *Elizabeth* was then at *Dover*, from whence ſhe ſent Sir *Thomas Edmonds* to compliment him, and by Sir *Thomas* a letter, with which he was extremely pleaſed [o]. He ſent over the baron *de Rhoſny*, not in a public character, but as if he had taken that ſtep out of curioſity; but, however, this gave him an opportunity of ſeeing and diſcourſing with the queen, whoſe abilities made a great impreſſion on him, and to whom he ſaid all that could be ſaid to confirm her friendſhip for his

[m] P. MATTH. [n] Sir RALPH WINWOOD's Memorials, vol. i. p. 342. Lettres du Cardinal D OSSAT, tom. iv. JACOBI THUANI. DUPLEIX. [o] P. MATTH.

maſter.

maſter [p]. Some writers [q] ſay that ſhe was very deſirous of an interview with the king himſelf; which, however, conſidering her great age, and the ſtate of her affairs at that juncture, is not very probable.

THE king alſo ſent over marſhal *Biron*, with a train of one hundred and fifty noblemen and gentlemen, to expreſs the ſenſe he had of the queen's attention and reſpect. At the time of his arrival the queen was gone to *Baſing*, whither he followed her, and met with a moſt gracious reception. Amongſt thoſe perſons of diſtinction who were with him, ſhe took particular notice of the count *de Auvergne* and Monſieur *Crequi*, the ſon-in-law of *Leſdiguieres* [r]. She had a very long, and, if what is reported of it be true, a very ſingular, conference with the marſhal himſelf, to whom ſhe ſpoke at large of the inſolence of the earl of *Eſſex*, who had been executed in the month of *February* preceding; adding, at the ſame time, that her brother *Henry* would do well, on a like occaſion, to imitate her firmneſs, and not to riſque his ſafety or his authority by an ill-timed clemency [s]: as to what ſome writers [t] report, that the queen ſhould ſhew him the head of *Eſſex* either in her cloſet or in the tower, it is altogether idle and ridiculous, ſince it is very certain that the earl's head was buried with his body. It is juſtly obſerved by *Camden* [u], that the queen might enter into ſome particulars regarding the earl of *Eſſex*, with an intention to divert the marſhal from perſiſting in thoſe dangerous intrigues, which, in a few months after, brought the like fate upon himſelf. At his return the marſhal found the king at *Fontainbleau*, where, on the 27th of *September*, the queen was delivered of the Dauphin [w], to whom the pope, being ſponſor, gave the name of *Louis*. The propenſity to aſtrology was ſo ſtrong at this time in *France*, that the king engaged his principal phyſician *La Riviere* to calculate his ſon's nativity, upon which he pronounced a very myſterious and unintelligible judgment. The duke of *Savoy* had been engaged in the war that was ſo fatal to him by his credulity in this very point, which was ſtill more fatal to the marſhal duke *de Biron*, and from which even the wiſe and great duke of *Sulli* was not wholly free [x]. The birth of the young prince occaſioned great joy in *France*, where they had not

Marſhal Biron *ſent over to compliment the Q. of* England.

[p] Memoires de SULLI. [q] P. DANIEL tom. vi. p. 291. [r] JACOB. THUAN. Hiſtoire du Condeſtable de Leſdiguieres, liv. viii. c. 3. p. 423. [s] JACOB. THUAN. liv. cxxvi. p. 943. [t] P. MATTH. CAYET. MEZ. tom. vi. p. 246. [u] Hiſt. Elizabeth, p. 877. [w] P. MATTH. JACOB. THUANI. Sir RALPH WINWOOD's Memorials, vol. i. p. 346. [x] DUPLEIX, tom. v. MEZERAY. P. DAN.

ſeen

ſeen a Dauphin born for fourſcore years [y]. It was alſo of very great importance to the king's affairs; and, by fixing the ſucceſſion, gave them, in a manner, a new face both at home and abroad, but at the ſame time it quickened the conſpirators in their meaſures, and their precipitancy expoſed them to thoſe diſcoveries which were very ſoon after made. It is alſo remarkable that *Anne* of *Auſtria*, daughter to *Philip* the third, who became the conſort of *Lewis*, was born but five days before him. *Henry* made his queen a preſent of *Monceaux* upon this occaſion, and the city of *Paris* gave her likewiſe a fine ſuit of tapeſtry, both being promiſed in caſe ſhe brought a ſon [z].

The royal chamber of inquiry, and arrival of the Turkiſh *envoy.*

THE king cauſed a royal chamber to be erected for making a ſtrict enquiry into the miſmanagement of ſuch officers as had been intruſted with the receipt of his revenue, which raiſed great expectations, and performed very little. The baron *de Rhoſny*, afterwards duke *de Sulli*, attributes this to their not being at liberty to puniſh otherwiſe than by fine. But another hiſtorian aſſures us, that not only the guilty paid largely, but the innocent alſo, and for this reaſon he puts it upon the ſame foot with an inquiſition of the like kind in the reign of *Henry* the third; and adds, that it was likewiſe copied in the ſucceeding reign [a]. The Grand Signor *Mahammed* the third ſent over a *French* renegado, whom ſome hiſtorians dignify with the title of an ambaſſador, who was inſtructed to demand three things; firſt, That the king would not enter into the league which the pope was endeavouring to form amongſt the Chriſtian princes againſt the *Porte*. The ſecond, To uſe his intereſt with the emperor, in order to diſpoſe him to a truce: and the third, That he would recall his vaſſal the duke of *Mercœur*, who commanded the armies of the emperor in *Hungary*. The king gave general anſwers to the two firſt points; and, with reſpect to the laſt, declared it was out of his power; for tho' the duke of *Mercœur* was his vaſſal, he was likewiſe the vaſſal of the emperor, who from thence derived a right to his ſervice [b]. It is highly probable that the duke of *Mercœur* was not very well pleaſed with his ſituation in *France*, and was therefore glad of ſo honourable an occaſion of ſhewing his courage and military ſkill againſt the Infidels, where he gained a very high reputation. He was accompanied in this expedition by the duke of *Nevers*, and died the year following at *Nuremburg* [c], in his way to

[y] P. MATTH. DUPLEIX, tom. v. Memoires de SULLI.
[z] JACOB. THUAN. MEZ. P. DAN. [a] DUPL. tom. v.
[b] CAYET ſous l'ANN. 1601. [c] P. MATTHIEU. MEZERAY.

France, where he was coming to recruit his forces. At this juncture the young nobility in *France* were of ſo martial a diſpoſition, and ſo deſirous of learning the art of war, that many of the Proteſtants went into the army of the ſtates, and the prince *de Joinville* did the like in the army of the archduke [d]. It is not impoſſible that this was looked upon in a favourable light at court, as it employed thoſe warm ſpirits that might have been otherwiſe troubleſome at home. A. D. 1601.

Marſhal Biron ſent to renew the alliance, with the Swiſs cantons.

We have before mentioned the ſtrange diſpoſition of marſhal *Biron*, his diſcontent, and his intrigues, which were better known to the baron *de Rhoſny* than to any other of the king's miniſters. After the war of *Savoy* the marſhal demanded of the king a gratification of thirty thouſand crowns, which was very frankly given. When he came to conſult with *Rhoſny* the manner of receiving it, for the ſtate of the treaſury was ſuch that it could not be paid at once, the miniſter paid him half in ready money, and aſſured him of the remainder in a year. The marſhal ſeemed to be very well ſatisfied, but turned all his gratitude towards the miniſter who paid, and not to the prince from whom it came. *Rhoſny* inſtead of accepting his compliments, endeavoured to ſet him right in his judgment, which, in appearance, the marſhal ſeemed to receive very well; but from this converſation *Rhoſny* entertained ſuch an idea of him, that he thought it his duty to acquaint the king with the neceſſity there was of his being upon his guard againſt a man of the marſhal's turn, whom no obligations could reſtrain, and whoſe talents rendered him very capable of executing whatever his reſentments, well or ill founded, might dictate. The king told him that he thought he knew *Biron* better than any man; that his great foible was vanity; and that, tho' very capable of lip treaſon, yet, in the midſt of his extravagancies, he would be as ready and as zealous in his ſervice as ever. That inſtead, therefore, of diſgracing or eſtranging this malecontent from buſineſs, the only way to keep him out of miſchief was to employ him [e]. It was with this view that the king ſent him over to *England* the laſt year, and it was with the like view that he employed him in another negotiation at the beginning of this; a negotiation of infinite conſequence to the *French* monarchy, and which hitherto had not been very far advanced even by the ableſt negotiator. It was renewing the alliance with the *Swiſs* cantons, which, from the difficulty that attended it, the king was very deſirous of put-

[d] Jacob. Thuan. Dupl. P. Dan.

[e] Memoires de Sulli.

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ting upon a new baſis, and to ſtipulate not only for his own time, but for the reign of the Dauphin [f]. The conſequence and the difficulty of the buſineſs were equally great, more eſpecially as it was known that the traverſing of this alliance was the capital point both of the king of *Spain*, and of the duke of *Savoy*, the former a very potent, the latter the moſt politic prince, at this time. The ſtateſmen hitherto employed had, with all their reaſonings, made no great progreſs; the ſending *Biron* ſhewed the king's penetration, and that he really knew him better than any body, perhaps better than he knew himſelf. His martial diſpoſition, his open artleſs manner of talking, his frankneſs, generoſity, and magnificence, wrought upon the *Swiſs*, and gave ſuch weight to his arguments, that they could refuſe him nothing. In ſhort, he carried his point, the terms of the treaty were ſettled, the reducing it into form was to be left to others. This, as the *French* hiſtorians [g] truly ſay, was the laſt, but not the leaſt important, ſervice that *Biron* rendered the king, and, which is ſtill more, the crown of *France*; therefore we need not be ſurprized that, having thus ſpent the ſpring, it ſeems a little hard and ungrateful that the king ſhould cauſe the head of this great man to be ſtruck off a little after midſummer. But, to judge rationally, we muſt conſider facts, and, at the ſame time, take into our view the circumſtances attending them.

The ſtrange diſorder of public affairs, and the cauſes of this embarraſſment.

AT a time when, through the good intentions of the king, and the intenſe application of his miniſter, it might have been expected that public affairs ſhould have worn a favourable aſpect, it was evident, even to vulgar eyes, that they never were either more obſcured, or more embarraſſed [h]. Indiſtinct rumours prevailed through the provinces, the king loſt his uſual good humour, the court had nothing in it of gaiety; councils met often, and were long aſſembled, without people's knowing the true cauſes, which gave occaſion to a variety of rumours that heightened the general perplexity [i]. All this did not ariſe from the ſame motives; the king met with freſh ſources of uneaſineſs, which ever way he turned. Several of the great lords retired, ſome to their governments, ſome to their eſtates. The clergy complained that biſhopricks and benefices were beſtowed at the recommendation of women, and ſometimes upon children; the nobility and gentry that they were little conſidered, and that, ſince the ſettlement of the kingdom, the men of the long robe had engroſſed all em-

[f] P. Matth. Jacob. Thuan. D'Aubigne. Mez. P. Dan. Chalons. Le Gend. [g] Dupl. [h] Sir Ralph Winwood's Memorials, vol. i. p. 385. 403, 404. [i] Memoires de Sulli. Cayet.

ployments,

ployments, and with them the king's favour. The Hugonots were as much diſcontented as any. They thought that the king was eſtranged from them, and that whatever reſpect was ſhewn them aroſe more from fear than inclination. The bulk of the people began to murmur. Amongſt other impoſitions laid by the aſſembly at *Rouen*, there was one called the pancart, which was held in univerſal execration [k]. It conſiſted in levying a ſous in the livre upon all kinds of proviſions that entered into cities and great towns, and a pancart, or table, ſhewing after what rate theſe ſums were to be collected, was hung up at every gate. Inſurrections happened in ſeveral places; the king went to *Blois*, and from thence to *Poictiers*, that he might put an end to theſe murmurs. His preſence and ſome acts of ſeverity had that effect; the new impoſition was every-where levied, and immediately upon this an edict iſſued, in which, after acknowleging and applauding his ſubjects ſubmiſſion, the king aboliſhed the tax [l]. He was rather to be pitied than cenſured for impoſing it. His debts were immenſe; his revenue did not much exceed a million ſterling [m]: demands came from every quarter, and the king was treated as falſe and ungrateful for not doing what was not in his power to do, and which his endeavouring to do had raiſed this general diſcontent. But, beſides, he was appriſed of the intrigues carried on by *Spaniſh* emiſſaries in ſeveral provinces; he ſaw ſuſpicious armaments by land and ſea, and his allies were alſo diſſatisfied. He was convinced that ſeveral of his own ſubjects had conſpired againſt his perſon and government; and, when he came to look more cloſely into it, he ſaw reaſon to doubt whether he had a friend left, the liſt of the malecontents was ſo numerous [n], and the baron *de Rhoſny*'s name ſtood there amongſt the reſt. In the midſt of all theſe troubles, that which he feared moſt fell upon him; a domeſtic quarrel [o], which once roſe ſo high, that he had thoughts of parting with the queen, or at leaſt of obliging her to diſcard all her *Italians*, people equally hateful and hated in *France*. He was diſſuaded from this by the baron *de Rhoſny*, and, at the time he gave him the advice, *Henry* told him he would repent it.

IT was at *Poictiers* that things came to ſuch extremities, and from thence, upon ſome freſh diſcoveries, the king ſuddenly re- *At length the king*

[k] DUPL. MEZ. LE GEND. JACOB. THUAN. P. DANIEL [l] Memoires de SULLI. [m] Sir RALPH WINWOOD's Memorials, vol. i. [n] Memoires de SULLI. Sir RALPH WINWOOD's Memorials, vol i. p. 385. DUPL. [o] Sir RALPH WINWOOD's Memorials, vol. i. p. 406, 407. Memoires de SULLI.

turned

gains an exact account of the conſpiracy, and reſolves to ſeize on Biron.

turned to *Fontainbleau*, fully reſolved to extricate himſelf out of theſe difficulties and dangers by ſome ſtroke of vigour; and how neceſſary this was, and with what reluctancy he took that determination, appeared evidently from the general concurrence of the beſt informed writers of thoſe times, and is put beyond all doubt by the diſpatches of the *Engliſh* miniſters at his court, in which he is treated as a ſuſpicious, timid, mutable prince, much inclined to fear, and whoſe anger was not much to be feared [p]. A ſtrange character of *Henry* the fourth! But, if we conſider, that thoſe who gave it muſt have been governed entirely by appearances, and that they could not poſſibly have the lights we have now, it will appear ſomewhat leſs ſtrange. On the other hand, the king and his miniſters were not without their faults, the diſſolute life that he led (it would be well if princes would conſider this) of neceſſity rendered him contemptible; but while kings are men, what they do as men will affect their characters as kings. The baron *de Rhoſny* was a great miniſter and an honeſt man, but he was auſtere in his temper, haughty in his manners, and had too little complaiſance either to his maſter or to his ſubjects. Beſides all this, the grievances before mentioned were far from being imaginary; and however neceſſary taxes may be, they are nevertheleſs burthenſome to thoſe who feel them. The duke of *Bouillon* told the king this upon his expoſtulating with him, being one of thoſe of whom he had the moſt ſuſpicion. The king, for this reaſon, preſſed him to remain at court for ſome time; he, with great dexterity, offered to go and put his private affairs in order, that he might remain continually about his perſon, and under this pretence he got out of his reach [q]. The duke *d'Eſpernon* acted a wiſer and greater part. When the king made him the ſame propoſition, he cloſed with it readily; and, without making any compliment, ſaid he would ſtay with his majeſty ſix months; and that if, in this ſpace, the proſpect did not clear, he would leave his two ſons as hoſtages for his behaviour: the king was ſatisfied, and the duke performed punctually what he promiſed [r]. The great point was to get the marſhal *Biron* into his hands, of whoſe treaſons he had abundant evidence; *La Fin*, who had been the principal inſtrument in conducting them, having made his peace by an ample diſcovery, the truth of which he juſtified by producing original papers in the duke's own hand [s], which had been committed to his care, that they might remain ſafe.

[p] Sir RALPH WINWOOD's Memorials, vol. i. p. 407. 411.
[q] P. MATTH. JACOB. THUAN. [r] Hiſtoire de Duc d'Eſpernon. P. DAN. [s] Sir RALPH WINWOOD's Memorials, vol. i. p. 403. 421.

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The duke had another agent at court, the baron *de Lux*, who was very faithful to him, and whom the king took care to amuſe, as *La Fin* likewiſe did, by aſſuring him that he had impoſed upon the miniſters by falſe informations, and that the marſhal had nothing to do but to make uſe of the time he had gained to put his affairs into ſuch a condition, as that, notwithſtanding the king's ſuſpicions, he might have nothing to fear [t]. This was the ſituation of the king, who, notwithſtanding, was very far from determining in his own mind the deſtruction of a man who had entered into meaſures for deſtroying him.

Marſhal Biron comes to court and is arreſted.

THE marſhal duke *de Biron*, at his return from *Switzerland*, retired into his government of *Burgundy*, having put into moſt of the ſtrong places governors upon whom he thought he might depend. The king, who could no longer bear that ſtate of uncertainty in which he lived, ſent him an order to come to court, which he declined, under pretence that the *Spaniards* intending to march a great body of troops through *Franche Compte* into the *Low Countries*, his preſence was abſolutely neceſſary in *Burgundy* [u]. The king, diſliking this excuſe, ſent to him the preſident *Jeannin*, and the baron *de Lux*, who was in his ſecrets and in his intereſt, whom the king had taken pains to deceive, by throwing out kind expreſſions of the marſhal in his hearing. At the requeſt of theſe two perſons the marſhal reſolved to go to *Fontainbleau*, through a perſuaſion that the king held him innocent, or at leaſt had only ſuſpicions [w]. One circumſtance that had great weight with him, was the finding his fortreſſes defenceleſs, through the dexterity of *Rhoſny*, who, in quality of maſter of the ordnance, had concerted with him the recaſting all the artillery in thoſe places, and had deſired that he would ſend his agent to *Lyons*, to ſee the new pieces embarked the ſame day the old ones were ſent out of *Burgundy*; but cauſing the former to be ſtopped on the road, the marſhal found himſelf diſarmed, for which he ſwore revenge againſt *Rhoſny* [x]. When he drew near the court he was met by a perſon of confidence from the duke of *Eſpernon*, who told him that it was his maſter's advice, if he knew himſelf faulty, to have recourſe to the king's clemency. He looked upon this as a reproach, laid his hand upon his ſword, and threatened deſtruction to his accuſers. He arrived on the 13th of *June* at *Fontainbleau*. He was received, in appearance, very kindly by the king, who

[t] JACOBI THUANI. P. MATTH. DUPL. MEZ. P. DAN. [u] Sir RALPH WINWOOD's Memorials. vol. i. p. 407. 409. P. DANIEL. [w] DUPLEIX, tom. v. MEZERAY. [x] Memoires de SULLI. LE GENDRE.

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preſſed him thrice that day to deal ingenuouſly with him, and ſent the baron *de Rhoſny* and the count *de Soiſſons*, but to no purpoſe [y]. *Henry* was extremely unwilling to make a perſon who had ſerved him ſo well and ſo lately the victim of theſe intrigues; but the marſhal inſiſting on his innocence, demanding the names of his accuſers, and at length mingling threats with his proteſtations, determined, after he had laid his proofs before his council, to cauſe him and the count *d'Auvergne* to be arreſted. At their laſt conference he ſaid to the marſhal, "You know what I have told you; adieu "baron *de Biron*." As he retired out of the king's cabinet he was arreſted by *Vitry* captain of the king's guard, as the count *d'Auvergne* was in another part of the palace, both being prepared to make their eſcape that night, in conſequence of repeated hints from their friends of the danger they were in [z].

His proceſs formed before the parliament, is condemned and executed.

THEY were immediately conveyed by water to the *Baſtile*, and the king came to *Paris* the ſame day. On the 18th of *July* the king directed a commiſſion to the parliament to make the marſhal's proceſs. He behaved wildly before the committee that examined him, ſometimes denying all, ſometimes acknowleging more than could be proved. When the Sieur *de la Fin* was firſt produced, he acknowledged him for a man of honour, his friend, and his relation; but when he heard his depoſition, he charged him, truly enough, with crimes the moſt infamous [a]. He ſaid, however, that if the ſecretary of this man had been living, whom the old duke of *Savoy* had ſeized, and, as he thought, put to death, he would have juſtified his innocence and *La Fin*'s guilt. Upon this that very ſecretary, who had made his eſcape out of a dungeon, was produced, which diſconcerted the marſhal extremely, who concluded from thence that he was betrayed by the king of *Spain* and the duke of *Savoy* [b]. His own ſecretary *Attehert*, and a multitude of papers in his own hand-writing were alſo produced. On the 27th of the ſame month he appeared before all the chambers of the parliament aſſembled, of whom there were an hundred and twenty judges preſent; but, tho' they had been twice ſummoned, yet none of the peers would aſſiſt. The marſhal had now recollected himſelf, and behaved quite otherwiſe than he had hitherto done. He made a long and eloquent ſpeech, in which he ſet forth his

[y] Hiſtoire de la Vie du Duc d'Eſpernon, tom. ii. Memoires de SULLI. P. DAN. [z] PEREFIXE Hiſtoire du Roy Henry IV. DUPLEIX, tom. v. P. MATTH. [a] CAYET Chronologie Septenaire. DUPL. tom. v. Memoires de SULLI. [b] P. MATTH.

ſervices,

ſervices, inſiſted that theſe were realities, whereas what he was charged with were only haſty expreſſions, ambitious dreams, and political vapours, that had never manifeſted themſelves in facts [c]. His diſcourſe was ſo moving, that the firſt preſident and many of the judges wept. If they had proceeded to the vote that evening, many believe that his life would have been ſaved; but, being late, it was deferred, and on the 29th, which was the next ſitting, becauſe *Sunday* intervened, they unanimouſly adjudged him to death [d]. He ſuffered on the laſt day of the month, within the *Baſtille*, in great confuſion, and without ſhewing any thing of that intrepidity for which he had been ſo highly and ſo juſtly famous [e] (E).

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[c] Sir RALPH WINWOOD's Memorials, vol. i. p. 423, & ſeq. CAYET Chronologie Septenaire. DUPL. [d] Sir R. WINWOOD's Memorials, vol. i. p. 427. CAYET Chronologie Septenaire. P. MATTH. [e] PEREFIXE Hiſtoire du Roi Henry IV. Suite de la Chronique du Sieur DU TILLET. DUPLEIX, tom. v.

(E) It may, probably, gratify the curioſity, and, at the ſame time, communicate ſome neceſſary information to the reader, if we enter here into the perſonal hiſtory of a man ſo remarkable both in proſperous and adverſe fortune. *Charles de Gontaut*, baron *de Biron*, was the eldeſt ſon of *Armand de Biron*, marſhal of *France*, deſcended from an antient and noble, though not a very illuſtrious or princely, family. In his perſon he was by no means agreeable; he was not tall, but very fat; his head little, his eyes ſunk deep, and ſomething very piercing and malignant in his look. It is not true that he was illiterate, tho' it is owned that he was no great friend to letters. He had read, and was well acquainted not only with *French* and *Latin*, but with the *Greek* hiſtorians. Yet, though naturally vain, he choſe rather to diſſemble than to diſplay his knowlege. He was a great officer in all reſpects, and as much diſtinguiſhed by his judicious conduct as for his amazing intrepidity. He had ſerved *Henry* ſince his acceſſion to the throne with equal ſpirit and ſucceſs, more eſpecially at the ſiege of *Amiens*, where he ſurpaſſed all that he had before done, and all that his maſter expected of him. As his honours were the effects of *Henry*'s gratitude, ſo that gratitude proved *Biron*'s deſtruction. When the king returned in triumph to *Paris*, after raiſing the ſiege of *Amiens*, he ſaid to ſome perſons about him, "There is "a great general," pointing to *Biron*, "this is the man I preſent "to my friends and to my ene-"mies." The king did not reward him only with praiſe, he made him marſhal, duke, and peer of *France*, gave him eſtates, penſions, occaſional gratifications, the important govern[illegible] of *Burgundy*, with large a[illegible] ments. But it was im[illegible]

The baron *de Fontenelle* was broke alive upon the wheel as his accomplice: the count *d'Auvergne*, through the intreaties

content him, becauſe it was impoſſible to keep him out of neceſſity. His foible was play, at which he loſt five hundred thouſand crowns within the compaſs of one year. His vanity was ſo extreme, that the whole tenor of his diſcourſe was either the abuſe of others or the praiſe of himſelf; ſo that, except amongſt his creatures or his confederates, he was univerſally hated. He was, however, very ſober, ſlept little, attended cloſely to affairs, managed them with great dexterity, and, in general, with great ſucceſs. The king looked upon his worſt qualities rather as foibles than vices, had a ſincere affection for, and ſpoke extremely well of, him upon all occaſions. On the contrary, *Biron* treated the king with the utmoſt diſreſpect; and, not content with magnifying his own ſervices, which might have been ſpared, ſince, by the king's command, they were enumerated in his patent (in which it was ſaid he had thirty five ſcars viſible upon his body), he ſpoke of the king with diſtaſte and contempt. He ſaid that he was pitifully narrow in things that were abſolutely neceſſary, and ſcandalouſly profuſe in his amours. He taxed him with negligence in his affairs, want of ſteadineſs in his reſolutions, and forgetting the ſervices of his friends. After being pardoned by the king, he ſaid publicly, "Let him take "care how he offends me; I "know how to make kings, "and emperors too, feel my re- "ſentment." The king, notwithſtanding all this, was very deſirous of ſaving him, and would rather have had any other victim. The marſhal talked in this ſtrain himſelf, when it was too late; he ſaid often to thoſe who ſaw him, "There are many as "guilty, though there are none "ſo miſerable, as I." He was ſtrangely addicted to aſtrology, and yet did not deſiſt from his intrigues, though his ruin was foretold him, rather from the ſagacity of his diviners than from their fallacious ſcience. He behaved meanly under his misfortunes, beſeeching the chancellor and every body that came near him to intercede with the king, deſiring to be immured between four walls, and to paſs the remainder of his days in chains, ſo he might live. But after all he accuſed nobody, only endeavoured to ſhift his crimes upon *La Fin*, who he ſaid was a ſorcerer, and had bewitched him. At his death he was under forty. In ſuffering the ſeverity of the law to paſs upon *Biron* the king did an act of juſtice againſt his will, and loſt the advantage he propoſed, of drawing a full account of the conſpiracy from that unfortunate nobleman. But this was repaired by the coming in of the baron *de Lux*, who was maſter of the whole detail of the conſpiracy, and who was two full hours in relating it to the king. He certainly juſtified what *Biron* had advanced, that there were many as guilty as he. But it put all thoughts of puniſhing out of the king's head; for the number and the quality of the

malecontents

ties of his ſiſter, madame *d'Entragues*, and on account of his being the laſt male of the houſe of *Valois*, was pardoned and reſtored to favour. The baron *de Lux*, who was in all *Biron*'s ſecrets, ſurrendered after his death, and made ſuch diſcoveries as the king took care to conceal, that the number of thoſe who had tampered with the courts of *Spain* and *Savoy* might not be rendered deſperate [f]. The queen of *England* and the king of *Scots* ſent ambaſſadors to compliment the king on his eſcape from ſo dangerous a conſpiracy. The king of *Spain* and the duke of *Savoy* did the like, but their ambaſſadors met with a very different reception. The king took all the precautions neceſſary for his own ſafety, and ſent a body of troops, under the command of marſhal *Lavardin*, into *Burgundy*, of which province he appointed the Dauphin governor, and made the duke *de Bellegarde* his lieutenant [g].

In the month of *September* arrived a ſolemn embaſſy from the *Swiſs* cantons, and the league of the *Griſons*; it was compoſed of forty-two deputies, who were received with the ut- *The Swiſs cantons ſend a ſo-*

[f] Cayet Chronologie Septenaire. P. Matth. Sir Ralph Winwood's Memorials, vol. i. p. 445. [g] Cayet Chronologie Septenaire. Dupl. tom. v.

malecontents were ſo great, that even *Sulli* durſt not commit their names to paper; and the king, not knowing in whom to confide, did not barely think it prudent, but found it abſolutely neceſſary to diſſemble. Our ſtateſmen were unacquainted with this ſecret, when they taxed *Henry* with irreſolution and timidity, except the baron *de Rboſny*, and he too was accuſed; the king had not, perhaps, a thorough friend in his court and in his council: no wonder if, in ſuch a ſituation, he was irreſolute. It was on this foundation that the king founded his averſion to the houſe of *Auſtria*, and, as we ſhall ſee hereafter, he met with many incidents, in the courſe of his reign, to confirm him in that averſion (a). He found they were his irreconcileable enemies; that they purſued ſteadily their ſcheme of debauching the nobility, in order to divide his dominions; and therefore he very wiſely determined to deſtroy that exorbitant power, in the neighbourhood of which it was impoſſible for any other power to be ſafe; but it was neceſſary for him to conceal this ſcheme as much as he poſſibly could, that he might acquire the means of carrying it into execution. This was the iſſue of *Biron*'s conſpiracy, and the turn it gave to the policy of *Henry* the Great; and attending to this will render what remains very intelligible.

(a) *See a multitude of curious letters on this ſubject in Winwood's Memorials.*

them embaſſy to Paris.

moſt reſpect, and treated with all the kindneſs and eſteem poſſible: they made three demands; firſt the augmentation of their annual ſubſidy of four hundred thouſand crowns; next the renewal of their privileges; and laſtly, two declarations that had been promiſed them, one permitting the five leſſer cantons to execute their treaty with *Milan* and *Savoy*, and the ſecond importing, that the levies made in the Proteſtant cantons ſhould never be conſtrained to act againſt the Proteſtants in *France*. The king excuſed himſelf as to the firſt, on account of the low ſtate of his finances; the two laſt were granted [h]. On the 20th of *October* the treaties were ſolemnly ſworn to in the church of *Notre Dame*, firſt by the deputies, then by the king. At their departure they were each of them preſented with a gold chain, with a large medal of the ſame metal, out of a mine that had been diſcovered in *la Breſſe* [i].

A. D. 1602.

This year there were many edicts made for the public benefit, and amongſt the reſt one againſt duels, by which all diſputes of honour were referred to the judgment of the conſtable and marſhals of *France*, at the marble table; and thoſe who, in contempt of this edict, attempted to do themſelves juſtice, were declared guilty of high treaſon [k]. It was more than time, certainly, that ſuch a law ſhould be made, ſince, in one year, more than four thouſand gentlemen had fallen in ſuch quarrels. But after all it had little effect, for which the king was deſervedly blamed, as having ſpoke with ſome ſlight of ſuch as had refuſed challenges after it was made [l].

Henry *interpoſes in favour of the* Geneveſe, *and introduces the culture of ſilk into* France.

THE duke of *Savoy* having made an attempt to ſurprize the city of *Geneva*, in which he was aſſiſted by the count *de Fuentes*, governor of *Milan*, in which, however, he was diſappointed, by the preſence of mind and intrepidity of the inhabitants, *Henry* found himſelf obliged to take ſome ſhare in the quarrel, and he acted therein with ſuch ſpirit and ſucceſs, that the pope was forced to interpoſe, to prevent the king of *Spain*'s taking part on the other ſide, and exciting thereby a new war in *Italy*; ſo that a negotiation enſued, which ended in a peace [m]. At the opening of the year the king took the firſt ſteps in favour of ſettling the ſilk trade in his dominions;

[h] Sir R. WINWOOD's Memorials, vol. i. p. 441. DUPLEIX, tom. v. P. MATTH. [i] CAYET Chronologie Septenaire. PERRIXE Hiſtoire du Roi Henry IV. Hiſtoire de la Vie du Duc d'Eſpernon, tom. ii. Suite de la Chronique du Sieur DU TILLET. [k] CAYET Chronologie Septenaire. DUPLEIX, tom. v. P. MATTH. [l] Suite de la Chronique du Sieur DU TILLET. Hiſtoire de la Vie du Duc d'Eſpernon. P. DANIEL. [m] Memoires de SULLI. CAYET Chronologie Septenaire.

and,

and, to his immortal honour, this was entirely due to his own judgment and penetration, his great miniſter *Rhoſny* having oppoſed it with the utmoſt vehemence, by arguments worthy of that ignorance which will be always the fruit of a limited education, even of the beſt kind, and altogether unworthy of a true genius and an extenſive capacity [n]. The king's love for his people in general rendered him a ſuperior politician. He did not reſtrain his cares to this or that body of his ſubjects, but made the happineſs of them all his capital ſtudy. His argument to the baron *de Rhoſny* was, that the common people in *France* were idle, and therefore miſerable; he thought it his duty, therefore, to introduce induſtry, and that particular kind of induſtry that was likely to reward them moſt effectually; for *Henry* was one of thoſe few princes that deſired to ſee all his ſubjects live at their eaſe, or, as he expreſſed it himſelf with great warmth, he wiſhed to ſee the day when every peaſant in *France* could have a capon on his ſpit or in his pot. *Henry*'s honeſt intentions were crowned with ſucceſs; and he had the ſatisfaction of ſeeing the ſilk manufacture, in his own time, bring more money into his kingdom, than almoſt all that were ſtiled ſtaple commodities put together [o].

His journey to Metz, *alliance with* Great Britain, *recalls the Jeſuits, promotes commerce and manufactures.*

In the ſpring the king made a tour to *Metz*, of which the duke of *Eſpernon* was governor, and had put in two lieutenants, one of the citadel, and the other of the city, who miſerably oppreſſed the people, and were equally wanting in gratitude to the duke and in duty to the king. *Henry* removed them both, and ſubſtituted officers of his own, which ſeemed to be the principal point he had in view. He was viſited there by ſeveral *German* princes, whom he treated with great kindneſs and reſpect, omitting nothing that was requiſite to gain their confidence [p]. It was in this journey that he received the Jeſuits into his favour, and promiſed to procure their return into *France*, though that was not ſo eaſily brought about. He went from *Metz* to *Nancy* in *Lorrain*, to viſit his ſiſter the ducheſs of *Bar*; he had remained longer in thoſe parts, but for the news of the death of queen *Elizabeth*, which affected him extremely. He was very near following her, for, in the beginning of the month of *May*, he was ſeized with a retention of urine, which reduced him to the laſt ex-

[n] Hiſtoire de la Vie du Duc d'Eſpernon. Sir George Carew's Relation of the State of France under King Henry IV. Cayet Chronologie Septenaire. [o] Sir George Carew's Relation of the State of France, &c. P. Matth. P. Daniel. [p] Cayet Chronologie Septenaire. Suite de la Chronique du Sieur Du Tillet. Dupleix, tom. v.

tremity; however, by the ſtrength of nature, and the ſkill of his phyſicians, he happily recovered [q]. He ſent over his great miniſter the baron, now marquis, *de Rhoſny* to negotiate with king *James*, which he did very effectually, ſince, in the ſpace of a very few weeks, he ſettled a treaty, which was ſigned at *Hampton Court* on the 30th of *July*, for the ſuccour of the ſtates, as well as for the reciprocal aſſiſtance of the two kings, in caſe either of their dominions ſhould be attacked [r]. At his return *Rhoſny* found his conduct arraigned by the count *de Soiſſons*, but the king defended him, and was extremely pleaſed with the iſſue of his negotiations [s]. In order to ſhew his attachment to the church, and even to the court, of *Rome*, of which, however, many doubted, he procured two great things; the firſt was the ſtriking out of the article in the Proteſtants confeſſion of faith, declaring the pope antichriſt, which was obtained in a ſynod held at *Gap*, not without difficulty [t]. The other was the return of the Jeſuits, warmly ſolicited by the pope, which the king himſelf had promiſed to the order, but which ſome of his miniſters, and even the parliament of *Paris*, ſtrongly oppoſed; but the king, who had a mind, not ſo much, perhaps, out of affection as apprehenſion, to be well with that powerful ſociety, at length, but not without exerting his royal authority, brought it to bear [u]. This year he granted letters patent for the eſtabliſhment of *Canada*, in which he again differed with *Rhoſny*, who declared roundly that all ſettlements above the fortieth degree of latitude could be of no utility, and that all the pretended advantages inſiſted upon in their favour were but ſo many commercial chimeras [w]. Here again the monarch was right and the miniſter wrong, as we know by experience. The canal of *Briare* was likewiſe begun this year for uniting the *Loire* with the *Seine* [x]. It is really amazing how, in the midſt of ſo many great and perplexing affairs, *Henry* could turn his thoughts to things of this nature, diſcern their utility, and reſolve to break in upon his great ſcheme of ſaving, not for his own pleaſure or conveniency, but for the common benefit of his ſubjects [y].

[q] Memoires de Sulli. Cayet Chronologie Septenaire. P. Matth. [r] Perefixe Hiſtoire du Roi Henry IV. Dupleix, tom. v. Memoires de Sulli. P. Dan. tom. x. [s] Memoires de Sulli. Cayet. Dupl. tom. v. [t] Memoires de Sulli. Mez. P. Dan. [u] Cayet. Memoires de Sulli. Dupl. tom. ii. [w] Perefixe Hiſtoire du Roy Henry IV. Dupl. tom. v. P. Daniel. [x] Memoires de Sulli. Perefixe. Mezeray. [y] Memoires de Sulli. Sir George Carew's Relation of the State of France, &c. Dupleix, tom. v.

Upon

Upon this principle likewiſe the neceſſary aſſiſtance was given for ſetting on foot a manufacture of chryſtal glaſs, and for encouraging ſtrangers, who were to be employed in this and other works of the ſame kind [a].

CATHERINE ducheſs of *Bar*, the king's ſiſter, died at the beginning of this year, after paſſing her days very uncomfortably with her huſband. The king expreſſed great concern upon this occaſion, and his Proteſtant ſubjects ſtill more, for ſhe remained firm to her religion, and they were ſure of an advocate in her ſo long as ſhe lived. The pope had juſt granted a diſpenſation to the duke her huſband to live with her, tho' of a different religion; but it did not arrive till after her deceaſe [a]. This was the laſt ſervice performed at *Rome* by cardinal *d'Oſſat*, whom moſt of the *French* hiſtorians commend as a perſon of wonderful talents and incorruptible integrity; the former raiſed him to, and the latter above his dignity. Some, however, have inſinuated, that this cardinal was ſo thorough an eccleſiaſtic, that he laboured to the utmoſt to revive in the council of *Henry* the fourth the ſentiments of the league, that is, he ſought to appeaſe the king with reſpect to the *Spaniards*, to render him ſubmiſſive to the court of *Rome*, and to lead him, by ſlow and imperceptible degrees, back to the old ſyſtem of the houſe of *Valois*, the fundamental maxim of which was the extinction of hereſy, or, in plain terms, the extirpation of the Hugonots [b]. But, in caſe theſe ſofter methods did not ſucceed, thoſe of another nature were not abſolutely laid aſide, as appeared by the diſcovery made by the king's ambaſſador at the court of *Madrid*, who found that the *Spaniſh* miniſters were ſooner acquainted than he with the moſt ſecret reſolutions of the court of *France*; neither was he long in the dark as to the manner in which this was brought about. One *Raſis*, of the faction of the ſixteen, who had taken ſhelter at *Madrid*, offered, if he might have a pardon and a reward, to let him into the ſecret of the whole buſineſs. This being agreed, he aſſured him, that one *Nicholas Hote*, who had the confidence of Monſ. *Villeroy*, ſecretary of ſtate, tranſmitted all papers of any conſequence to the *Spaniſh* court, in conſequence of a penſion paid him of twelve hundred crowns a year. Upon this *Raſis* was ſent home with the ſecretary of the embaſſy; but the *Spaniſh* court, having ſome ſuſpicions, letters were immediately ſent to the *Spaniſh* miniſter at the court of *France* to put *Hote* upon his guard, and they came in ſo good time, that he had eſcaped from

A ſecretary of Villeroy's betrays all the ſecrets of the court to the Spaniards.

[a] PEREFIXE. CAYET. Sir GEORGE CAREW's Relation, &c.
[b] JAC. THUAN. DUPL. tom. v. MEZ. [a] P. DANIEL. LE GEND.

Monſ. *de Villeroy* at the time the king's orders came to arreſt him [c]. However, being purſued, and hoping to ford the river *Marne* in the night, he was drowned [d]. Some [e] ſay this happened through accident, ſome [f] attribute it to deſpair, whereas ſome [g] believe that his guides carried him to a proper place for depoſiting all his ſecrets. However, it was common fame accuſed *Villeroy*, and, if we believe his antagoniſt *Rhoſny*, this imputation was no calumny. *Villeroy* himſelf wrote an apology, which was afterwards publiſhed; but he could never extinguiſh the ſuſpicion, tho' the ſtate of the king's affairs, and poſſibly his inclinations, for he had gained a great aſcendancy over *Henry*, brought him back to the council, and reinſtated him in as high confidence as ever [h].

New perplexities in the government, and diſturbances in his family.

It had been found expedient, in the preceding year, for the king to procure, by ſome extraordinary ſtep, ſuch a ſatisfying thoſe who had the reverſion of it, the province of *Poitou* for the marquis *de Rhoſny*, not ſo much for his own ſake as the king's; and this year he was ſent to take poſſeſſion of that government, in order to keep the Proteſtants quiet, and to balance the power of the duke *de la Tremouille*, and ſome other perſons of great rank, who, in conjunction with the duke of *Bouillon*, were deſirous of rendering themſelves formidable, by an appearance of great zeal in the cauſe of religion [i]. In this Monſ. *de Rhoſny* ſucceeded, by making the more underſtanding miniſters ſenſible, that a factious diſpoſition ſerved only to eſtrange the king, and to do the work of the papiſts, who were continually inſinuating that the principles of the reformed religion led them to cabal, whereas, in truth, they could not be good Proteſtants without being good ſubjects. *Spain*, in the mean time, had concluded a treaty with *Great Britain*, but king *James* took care that this ſhould be without prejudice to the defenſive league with *France* [k]. However, the *Spaniards*, deviating from their ordinary maxims, and perceiving that they were loſers by the *French* trade, took a very bold ſtep, and impoſed a duty of thirty *per cent.* on all *French* commodities at once. *Henry* was ſo much piqued at this, that, notwithſtanding his affairs were not yet in the beſt poſture, the public debts having been eſtimated at three hundred and thirty millions, he made no ſcruple of expreſſing his reſentment by prohibiting all commerce with *Spain*, which

[c] P. Matth. Jacobi Thuani. Memoires de Sulli. [d] P. Dan. [e] Du Tillet. Mez. [f] Dupl. Le Gend. [g] Memoires de Sulli. Chalons. [h] Memoires de Sulli. [i] Dupl. tom. v. Mez. [k] Memoires de Sulli. Suite de la Chronique du Sieur Du Tillet. Le Gend.

was

was more than that court expected; and as a war was by no means their aim, they had recourſe to their uſual method of procuring the pope's interpoſition, and, in conſequence of that, a negotiation, which ended in removing the new duty, and recalling the prohibition which that had occaſioned [l]. In the mean time, the king's domeſtic affairs gave him at leaſt as much trouble as thoſe of his government: in that the jealouſies of the papiſts created continual perplexities; in this he was equally diſturbed by the reſentments of the queen and the humours of his miſtreſs, ſo that he might be truly ſaid never to enjoy a quiet moment. As to the queen, ſhe not only made him unhappy by fits of jealouſy, ſtarts of paſſion, and whole days of ill humour, but the *Italians* ſhe had about her were perpetually putting new demands in her head, turning every thing to profit, and, amongſt the reſt, ſelling whatever ſecrets they could bear to the emiſſaries of *Spain* [m]. As for madame *d'Entragues*, now become marchioneſs *de Verneuil*, ſhe was grown infinitely more inſupportable; ſhe treated *Henry* with inſolence, the queen with contempt, mimicked her aukward air, her broken pronunciation, and every little foible to the king's face. Sometimes ſhe gave broad hints that her own children were as well born as the queen's; ſometimes ſhe told the king he was grown old and ſuſpicious; and ſometimes her conſcience was ſo troubleſome that ſhe could not think of living any longer with him in this manner. At length *Henry*, quite tired out, took this arrogant woman at her word, reſolved to part with her, and, to gratify the queen, purchaſed that promiſe of marriage, which had been the ſource of much diſcord, by the payment of twenty thouſand crowns in ready money, and the promiſe of the ſtaff of marſhal of *France* to Monſ. *d'Entragues* her father, who had never been in the field [n].

A new conſpiracy diſcovered.

WHILE things were in this ſituation, a new ſcene of treaſon was diſcovered, in which the miſtreſs and her whole family were engaged. The firſt opening was by ſome intercepted letter to the count *d'Auvergne*, who, when pardoned for the ſhare he had in *Biron*'s conſpiracy, voluntarily undertook to act as a ſpy on the court of *Spain*, and, under colour of carrying on a correſpondence for this purpoſe, betrayed the ſecrets of the court of *France*. His own ſuſpicions induced him to fly into *Auvergne*, where he endeavoured to avoid being ſeized; but his precautions failed, and, being apprehended at a review, he was ſent priſoner to the *Baſtile*, and placed in

[l] PERRIXE. DUPLEIX, tom. v. P. MATTH. [m] Memoires de SULLI. P. DAN. tom. x. [n] Memoires de SULLI. P. DAN.

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the ſame room where marſhal *Biron* had been confined [o]. It quickly appeared that his ſiſter had a ſhare in his correſpondencies; that, under pretence of breaking with the king, ſhe meant to retire into *England* with her children, having held a correſpondence there with the *Spaniſh* ambaſſador: upon this her father and mother were ſent to priſon, and ſhe was confined to her own houſe [p]. The king ſeemed to be extremely irritated, and fully determined to leave the criminals to the ſeverity of the law, and, with this view, ordered the parliament
A. D. 1604. to form their proceſs. He continued in the mean time, in the midſt of theſe perplexities, to purſue ſteadily, and with unwearied application, the ſchemes that had been formed for diſcharging the debts of the crown, reſtoring order and juſtice in the provinces, and increaſing that maſs of wealth which he kept in reſerve, in the proſecution of which purpoſes he had recourſe to ſome methods that were not univerſally approved. The neceſſities of ſtate were great; but, in raiſing money, a ſpirit of accumulating grew too much on the king and his miniſter.

The criminals are condemned by the parliament, but are gently treated.

THE parliament very quickly diſpatched the proceſs of the great criminals. The count *d'Auvergne* threw all upon his ſiſter, and ſhe, in return, threw it back upon him. Old *Entragues* acted with greater firmneſs and dignity, taking every thing upon himſelf, that the load might fall lighter elſewhere. On the 1ſt of *February* this great cauſe was decided, the count, Monſieur *d'Entragues*, and one Mr. *Morgan*, an *Engliſhman*, who had been embarked in theſe affairs, were condemned to loſe their heads; as for the marchioneſs, her ſentence was, to paſs the remainder of her days in a monaſtery [q]. After all this ſtir, none of theſe judgments were executed; the king commuted the puniſhment of the count *d'Auvergne* into impriſonment for life, for various reaſons, but, amongſt the reſt, one was the delivering up the original aſſociation between himſelf, marſhal *Biron*, and the marſhal duke *de Bouillon*, which ſhewed the inſincerity of his former diſcoveries: as to this laſt treaſon, he peremptorily denied his having entered into any treaty with *Spain*, which was, nevertheleſs, true; and thought himſelf very hardly uſed, that he was not ſet at liberty to plot again [r]. Old *Entragues* was ordered to retire to his own eſtate, the marchioneſs confined to her houſe at *Verneuil*, and *Morgan* baniſhed the kingdom [s]. Theſe diſturbances

[o] P. MATTH. DUPL. tom. v. MEZ. [p] Sir RALPH WINWOOD's Memorials, vol. i. p. 42. Memoires de SULLI. P. DAN. [q] P. MATTH. DUPL. tom. v. LE GENDRE. [r] CAYET Chronologie Septenaire. PERRIXE. P. DAN. tom. x. [s] Memoires de SULLI. MEZ.

were

were no ſooner over than they were ſucceeded by others: the king was now convinced, and, which was of greater conſequence, had it in his power to convince the world, that the duke *de Bouillon* had formed deſigns againſt his government; but he was unwilling to proceed till he was ſecure with reſpect to the Proteſtants, who had a very high eſteem for, and very cloſe connections with, that duke: for this reaſon the king ſent the marquis *de Rhoſny* to their general aſſembly at *Chatelleraud*, where things were to be conſidered of the laſt importance. If we may believe that great man, a ſcheme had been formed for eſtabliſhing a kind of commonwealth, or at leaſt a body apart from the reſt of the kingdom, by an aſſociation amongſt the Proteſtants, which he attributes to the duke *de Bouillon*, *Leſdiguieres*, *du Pleſſis*, *D'Aubigne*, and ſome others. The body of the Proteſtants did not ſee the thing in this light; when they did they diſapproved it. Thoſe who were moſt ſanguine proteſted, that, if *Henry* had been immortal, nothing of this kind would have entered their minds; but that their apprehenſions for the future, and a juſt care for their poſterity, had induced them to countenance this ſcheme: however, upon their ſtrong places being left them for three years more, and the ſtrong aſſurances given them of the king's good intentions, every thing was conducted to his ſatisfaction, and, amongſt many, it was none of the leaſt ſervices that the marquis *de Rhoſny* rendered his maſter [t].

A new conſpiracy in the provinces diſcovered by queen Margaret *of* Valois.

WHILE *Henry* and his council were in ſome doubt as to the advices they received of ſome intrigues in *Perigord*, *Quercy*, and *Guienne*, queen *Margaret* of *Valois* furniſhed all the lights they could deſire, which gave great ſatisfaction to the court and to the king, who beſtowed upon her the greateſt part of the count *d'Auvergne*'s forfeiture, and gave her leave to reſide at *Paris*, which ſhe had much at heart [u]. Theſe commotions, in which the *Spaniards* had alſo a ſhare, and for promoting which they had advanced ſome money, coſt ſome gentlemen their lives, and would have been more fatal, if they had not had recourſe, of their own accord, to the king's clemency, to whom they applied, told him the truth, and obtained his pardon. *Henry*, however, thought it neceſſary to advance with a corps of troops and ſome judges into the provinces beyond the *Loire*, in order to reduce the places belonging to the duke of *Bouillon*, and to make examples of ſuch as had entered into engagements with *Spain*: and he

[t] Memoires de SULLI. PEREFIXE. LE GENDRE. [u] P. MATTH. DUPLEIX, tom. V. Memoires de SULLI. P. DANIEL, tom. X.

did

did both without trouble; for the duke having withdrawn his principal confidents out of his country of *Turenne*, directed the governors of all his places to ſurrender upon the king's ſummons, and, at the ſame time, wrote the king letters ſo full of duty and ſubmiſſion, that he ſcarce knew what to think of his conduct [w]. In his progreſs he paſſed near the town of *Rochelle*, who ſent deputies to compliment him. They were introduced by the marquis *de Rhoſny*, and, after preſenting the keys of the place, they told his majeſty, that, tho' at the head of a catholic army, his preſence would be no leſs welcome to the inhabitants than when they had the honour to be in arms for his ſervice; and that, if their gates were too narrow, they were ready to beat down their walls to give him entrance. The king was ſtruck with this unexpected compliment, went thither, was extremely pleaſed with his reception, and left the people of *Rochelle* perfectly well ſatisfied with the teſtimonies he gave them of his affection [x].

New treaſons in the provinces, heartburnings in Paris, *and other accidents.*

THE care of doing juſtice was left, in a great meaſure, to the marquis *de Rhoſny*. Two brothers, of the name of *Luquiſſe*, gentlemen of good families in *Provence*, loſt their heads for having ſold *Narbonne* to the *Spaniards*, and ten or twelve more had the ſame fate for offences of the like kind [y]. Upon the whole, it appeared that they had diſcovered traitors rather than the treaſon, for thoſe who were guilty could tell nothing more than the particular cauſes which had drawn in themſelves; ſome being perſuaded that the Catholic religion was in danger; others that they were to promote the Proteſtant cauſe by taking arms; and not a few were drawn in to revenge the late marſhal *Biron*. A galley-ſlave at *Marſeilles* informed the duke of *Guiſe*, that one Mr. *Mariargues*, a perſon of rank, and who, the next year, was to be viguer, or prime magiſtrate, had communicated to him a deſign of betraying it to the *Spaniards*. The rank of the accuſer, and the condition of the accuſed, rendered it very improbable. The ſtates of *Provence* meeting ſoon after, *Mariargues* was deputed to carry their reſolutions to the court, and being there carefully watched, it was very ſoon found that he had in reality a cloſe correſpondence with *Zuniga* the *Spaniſh* ambaſſador. Soon after he was arreſted in his own lodgings, in cloſe conference with *Bruneau* the ambaſſador's ſecretary, in whoſe ſtocking a memorial was found, containing the ſer-

[w] P. MATTH. Memoires de SULLI. MEZ. [x] Hiſtoire de la Vie du Duc d'Epernon, tom. ii. DUPLEIX, tom. v. PERREFIXE. Memoires de SULLI. [y] P. MATTH. Memoires de SULLI.

vices

vices expected from *Mariargues*, who was beheaded on the 19th of *December*, and his body quartered for this offence [z]. The ſame day, as the king was paſſing over *Pont Neuf*, a man ſlipt between the guards, caught hold of his arm, and pulled him backward on his horſe, having a dagger drawn in the other hand, with which he would have diſpatched him, but he was preſently ſeized by the king's ſervants, and appeared to be one *John de Liſle*. When he came to be examined, he ſaid he was king of the whole world, and *Henry* kept a part of his territories from him. Upon enquiry, he was found to have been many years mad, upon which the king ordered him to be maintained and confined [a]. The king, under pretence of his great age, took the ſeals from the chancellor, and gave them to Monſ. *de Sillery*, not much to the ſatisfaction of the old man, who could not help ſaying, "That a "chancellor without the ſeals was like a body without a "ſoul [b]." The deſire the king expreſſed to ſee his debts paid induced *Rhoſny* to make ſome enquiry into the rents of the town houſe at *Paris*; but Monſ. *Miron*, the provoſt of the merchants, oppoſing it with great vigour, the king thought fit to let the matter fall [c]. There were three popes this year, *Clement* the eighth, who died in *March*, cardinal *de Medicis*, who took the name of *Leo* the eleventh, who ſurvived but twenty-five days, and cardinal *Borgeſe*, who aſſumed the name of *Paul* the fifth, and who was not at all diſagreeable to the king [d], who, from the time of his converſion, had a great deference for the court of *Rome*, whether out of reſpect or through fear has not been determined. A. D. 1605.

THE king, determined to reſtore the peace of the kingdom, and to put an end to that ſpirit of independency and intrigue which was the ſource of his own and the nation's troubles, reſolved, if his health permitted, for he was now much troubled with the gout, to march directly to *Sedan*, in order to convince the duke of *Bouillon* that he was but a ſubject. He judged it, however, neceſſary, to raiſe the marquis *de Rhoſny*, who he intended ſhould command the army, in caſe he found it inexpedient to go in perſon, to a ſuperior rank, and accordingly created him duke and peer of *France*, by the title of duke of *Sulli*, the name of one of his eſtates, in which quality he was received by the parliament at the end of *February* [e]. The king immediately after declared his intention to employ Henry *marches to* Sedan, *and reduces marſhal* Bouillon.

[z] Sir RALPH WINWOOD's Memorials, vol. ii. p. 182. JACOB. THUAN. [a] P. MATTH. JACOB. THUAN. Sir RALPH WINWOOD's Memorials, vol. ii. p. 182. [b] Memoires de SULLI. DUPL. tom. v. MEZ. [c] Memoires de SULLI. [d] DUPL. P. DAN. [e] Memoires de SULLI.

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his arms againſt *Sedan*, and ordered *Sulli* to prepare a competent train of artillery for that enterprize. It was four years ſince that prince had been at court, and during this time he had contracted cloſe engagements with ſeveral of the princes of *Germany*, whoſe interceſſion, he hoped, would have had ſome weight with the king; but *Henry* having rejected ſomething of the like nature from the *Swiſs* cantons, the duke did not find it eaſy to get other potentates to interpoſe. He wanted not, however, mediators at court; the queen and *Villeroy* interceded for him; and when the king, with his army of twenty-five thouſand men, was advanced within a league of *Sedan*, the duke demanded a treaty, which was concluded on the laſt of *April* [f]. By this the duke conſented that the king ſhould put a garriſon into *Sedan* for four years; and on the other hand, the king granted him an abolition of whatever he might have ſaid or done, which was to be verified in parliament [g]. The treaty was no ſooner concluded than the duke came to pay his reſpects to the king, who afterwards made his public entry into *Sedan*, remained there a few days, and then returned in triumph to *Paris*. The duke of *Bouillon*, ſoon after, followed him thither, and, to the ſurprize of all the world, was not only very kindly received, but entered ſo far into the king's good graces, that, in a month's time, the king withdrew his garriſon out of *Sedan*, and left the duke in the very ſame ſituation in which he found him [h].

He runs an imminent hazard of his life, and falls into new amours.

QUEEN *Margaret* inſtituted a ſuit before the parliament of *Paris* againſt the count *d'Auvergne*, who was ſtill a priſoner, as he continued during the remainder of this reign, for that county which he enjoyed in virtue of the will of queen *Catherine de Medicis*; but queen *Margaret* inſiſted, that, by the queen's contract of marriage with *Henry* the ſecond, the lands ſettled upon her, upon default of iſſue male, were to paſs to females. She had already had a ſuit before the parliament of *Thouloufe* for the county of *Lauragois*, and had recovered it, and the parliament of *Paris* did her like juſtice [i]. After ſhe was put into poſſeſſion, ſhe conveyed it, by a deed of gift, after her own demiſe, to the Dauphin, and, ſome time after, accepted a penſion inſtead of the revenues [k]. In the midſt of theſe felicities, and when the king ſeemed more at eaſe than at any time during his reign, an unlucky accident was very near putting an end to his life; for, in returning from *St. Ger-*

[f] P. MATTH. DUPL. tom. v. Sir RALPH WINWOOD's Memorials, vol. ii. p. 182. [g] JACOB. THUAN. P. DANIEL, tom. x. [h] Memoires de SULLI. P. MATTH. MEZERAY. LE GENDRE. [i] DUPL. tom. v. [k] P. DANIEL, tom. x.

mains,

mains, where he had been to ſee his children, having with him in the coach the queen, the duke of *Vendoſme*, the duke *de Montpenſier*, and the princeſs of *Conti*; the horſes, in going into the ferry-boat, fell into the water, and pulled in the coach, by which they were all in peril of their lives. The king delivered himſelf by ſwimming; the Sieur *de Chaſteneraye*, with great difficulty, drew out the queen by the hair, and all the reſt were likewiſe ſaved, for which, beſides a preſent in jewels and an annual penſion, he had ſoon after a company of the guards [l]. A new chamber was erected to enquire into the forgeries of the financiers, for that crime was excepted in the abolition granted after the former enquiry. Theſe chambers were the diſhonour of this reign and of the miniſter: the richeſt and the moſt guilty ſaved themſelves by paying ſix hundred thouſand crowns, and were permitted to tax their under officers, upon whom they raiſed twice as much [m]. The marchioneſs was now in as high favour as ever, and yet the king had a new miſtreſs, to whom he gave the title of counteſs *de Moret*. His foibles in this reſpect were highly prejudicial to his character, and hindered him from having that abſolute authority which, otherwiſe, his great qualities would certainly have gained; for he who cannot command himſelf, will never be well obeyed.

Birth of the D. of Orleans, an inquiry into the conduct of the financiers, and other occurrences.

POPE *Paul* the fifth having quarrelled with the ſtate of *Venice*, and proceeded, without any great cauſe, to an excommunication, the king ſent the cardinal *de Joyeuſe* to *Rome*, to accommodate matters, or, at leaſt, to put them in a way of accommodation, in which, to the great ſatisfaction of the king, he ſucceeded. The birth of the duke of *Orleans*, on the 16th of *April* [n], gave the king great ſatisfaction, as it fortified the ſucceſſion, and contributed, as he conceived, to his eaſe and ſafety, from a perſuaſion that the *Spaniards* would be leſs inclined to enter into intrigues, when they ſaw his family daily increaſe. It relieved him alſo from ſome other inquietudes, and made it leſs neceſſary for him to diſſemble with the princes of the blood, who were none of them much in his favour; the prince of *Conti*, who was the eldeſt, was far from being a man of great parts, and beſides was almoſt deaf. The prince of *Condé* his nephew, and who, till the birth of the Dauphin, had been looked upon as the preſumptive ſucceſſor, was young and wild. The count *de Soiſſons*, brother to the prince of *Conti*, did not want underſtanding, but he had a kind of *Spaniſh* gravity, and was ſo extremely ſenſible of his own high

[l] P. MATTHIEU. MEZ. P. DANIEL. [m] DUPLEIX, tom. v. [n] Memoires de SULLI. MEZ. Memoires pour ſervir à l'Hiſtoire de France, tom. ii. p. 237.

quality,

quality, that the king, who was of quite a different temper, had never any affection for him, though, upon some occasions, that prince had rendered him service [o]. The disputes in his councils ran sometimes very high; the keeper of the seals, *Sillery*, and the secretary *Villeroy*, were always on one side, and the duke of *Sulli* on the other. The latter considered the former as creatures of the court of *Rome*, and no great enemies to the *Spaniards*. On the other hand, they sometimes made the king acquainted with the murmurs of his people against the taxes, and were not always favourable to *Sulli*'s projects for squeezing the financiers, which he did almost every year; notwithstanding which it appeared, that many of them, after having passed several of these purgations, died immensely rich, which shews to how great a degree the poor people must have suffered, since the king was also in possession of a greater treasure than any of his predecessors [p]. The Protestants held this year a synod at *Rochelle*, where the duke *de Sulli* rendered the king great service; for, though many of the Protestants thought him too little attached to their party, yet they seldom heard his apologies without being convinced; knowing, at the same time, that he was thoroughly hated by all the zealots of the popish party, and by the remains of the *Spanish* faction [q], who were now in too great credit at court.

Henry unites his patrimony to the crown, assists the Dutch, and encourages trade at home.

In the month of *July* the king, by an edict, united his patrimonial estates, the principality of *Bearn* excepted, to the crown of *France* [r]. He had once designed to have given them to his sister, which had been opposed, as incompatible with his dignity: the death of that princess put an end to that dispute. The affairs of the *Low Countries* created him great embarrassment, for the states, notwithstanding the continual supplies they had received, declared themselves in such distress, that they were no longer in a condition to carry on the war. On the other hand their making peace was not at all consistent with the views of *Henry* at that juncture; some propositions there were of the states putting themselves under the protection of this crown, which were received in such a manner, as induced the *Dutch* politicians to believe this was the thing aimed at. Their best patriots considered this in a very indifferent light; they remembered that, in their greatest distresses, queen *Elizabeth* had supplied them with men and mo-

[o] Dupleix, tom. v. Sir George Carew's Relation of the court of France, &c. [p] P. Matthieu. Mezeray. P. Dan. Sir George Carew's Relation, &c. [q] Memoires de Sulli. Dupleix, tom. v. [r] Suite de la Chronique du Sieur Du Tillet.

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ney, and refuſed the offers of the ſovereignty of their provinces, which were made her. They conſidered a great part of the ſupplies which they received from *France*, as ariſing, in reality, from *England*, in conſequence of the treaty which *Henry* had made with king *James*, and remembering the ſuccours they had given this monarch in the time of the league, they thought there was ſomething very ſelf-intereſted in theſe new propoſals [s]. They thought, therefore, in earneſt of treating with the arch dukes, but of treating with them as a free ſtate; and we ſhall ſee hereafter what ſhare the king took in this negotiation. At preſent he was buſy in eſtabliſhing two manufactures, one of tapeſtry, for which he drew his workmen from the *Spaniſh Netherlands*, and the other of linen, the principal artiſts of which came from the territories of the *United Provinces*. He gave high wages and good ſettlements to all [t]. Sully acknowleges very frankly, that he was no great judge of theſe things; that he thought them in ſome meaſure unneceſſary, and very expenſive, and ſent the king word ſo, who had directed him to examine the firſt fruits of his manufactures. But *Henry*, according to his cuſtom, differed from him in his judgment, and, when he had conſidered them attentively, ſent him word in his turn they were wonderfully fine, and exceſſively cheap [u]. The king's conduct in theſe matters was highly applauded by foreigners [w], in his own time, as well as by poſterity; and it muſt be acknowleged, to his honour, that, as no prince had ever warmer views of this kind, ſo ſcarce any hath carried them on with ſo great ſteadineſs and with ſo much ſucceſs, which was owing to his contempt of expence; for though he loved money, and was in ſome things very frugal, yet, in matters of this kind, his notions were perfectly juſt. He knew that, without the temptation of great profit, people would not leave their native countries; and that, when they had done ſo, they would be inclined to return, if they were not fixed by ſuch gratifications as over-ballanced thoſe deſires. The duke *d'Eſpernon*, under pretence of ſickneſs, had procured leave to enter the court of the palace in his coach; and, when the king ſaw in what light this honour was conſidered, he immediately granted it to the duke *de Sully* [x]: it was before reſtrained only to the princes of the blood, but has been, in ſucceeding reigns, extended to all dukes and peers, and to the great officers of the crown. A. D. 1607.

[s] Dupleix, tom. v. Memoires de Sulli. Sir R. Winwood's Memorials, vol. ii. [t] P. Matth. Perefixe. P. Dan. tom. x. [u] Memoires de Sulli. [w] Sir George Carew's Relation of the Court of France, &c. [x] Hiſtoire de la Vie du Duc d'Eſpernon, tom. ii.

A league offenſive and defenſive concluded with Holland.

THE great affair now upon the carpet was the negotiation in *Holland*, not only with regard to the powers immediately concerned, but in reſpect to *France*, *England*, and more remotely to all *Europe*. There is a natural propenſity in all ſtates, and in the hiſtorians of them, to juſtify their own conduct, at the expence of all the world, whence the *French*, the *Engliſh*, and the *Dutch* accounts of this matter are very different. In this place it becomes us to take our accounts from the *French*, who ſay that the king and his miniſters were at firſt averſe to a peace; but finding that *Barnevelt*, and the patriots in *Holland* were bent upon it, they held it advantageous for them that it ſhould be treated under their mediation, in conjunction with the king of *Great Britain*. The miniſters charged with the management of this important affair on the part of *France*, were the preſident *Jeanin* and Monſieur *Buzenval*, the former one of the beſt negotiators in *France*, and the latter a man of great abilities. But the ſtates, believing it highly neceſſary to convince the *Spaniards* that they had not either tired out or diſobliged their friends, were very deſirous of concluding a new defenſive alliance with *France* and *England*, that it might appear they had ſomething to truſt to in caſe the negotiation ſhould fail, or ſhould be ill obſerved on the part of *Spain*, in caſe it took effect. This affair was drawn into a great length, but, in the beginning of the year, his *Britannic* majeſty not being yet ready, ſuch an alliance was concluded between the crown of *France* and the ſtates general, being indeed very ſuitable to both their intereſts; for, though the *Spaniſh* power was much declined, and *Philip* the third had not either the ſpirit or the application of his father, yet, ſo long as any of the generals or ſtateſmen of the old court remained, the *Spaniſh* power was ſtill formidable to its neighbours [y]. *Henry*, therefore, very wiſely choſe to have the dominions of the ſtates for his barrier, and, by this act of complaiſance, to attach them the more ſtrongly to his alliance, which was ſo much the more neceſſary, as their naval power was becoming every day the more conſiderable, in which point (though *Sulli* was thoroughly informed of its importance), *France* was ſtill very deficient. The ſchemes of the king, and the diſcharge of the crown debts, would not admit of ſuch an expence.

ON the twenty-fifth of *April*, the queen was delivered of a third ſon, ſtiled for the preſent, duke of *Anjou* [z], but who

[y] DUPLEIX, tom. v. MEZ. tom. vi. P. DAN. tom. x. Memoires pour ſervir à l'Hiſtoire de Hollande, par LOUIS AUBERY MAURIER. [z] Memoires pour ſervir a l'Hiſtoire de France, tom. ii. p. 250.

became

became afterwards, by the death of his brother, duke of *Orleans*. A little before died *Henry de Bourbon*, duke of *Montpenſier* [a], who, by his wife, the heireſs of the rich family of *Joyeuſe*, left only one daughter, who afterwards eſpouſed the duke of *Orleans* laſt-mentioned. His Catholic majeſty, under colour of ſending an ambaſſador to the princes of *Germany*, directed Don *Pedro de Toledo* to paſs through *France*, and to make ſome propoſals to the king. Theſe were a double match between the Dauphin and the Infanta, and a daughter of *France* with the prince of *Spain*; he likewiſe added a hint of a catholic league, by which the king might be enabled to compel his Proteſtant ſubjects to change either their religion or their habitations. There was a party in the *French* council not at all averſe to theſe projects, and it was believed the double marriage was a thing no way diſpleaſing to the queen; but *Henry*, and thoſe who had his confidence, rejected both [b]. The truth is, the king was never eaſy while he remained at *Paris*, having a ſtrange apprehenſion, not without reaſon, of the *Spaniſh* contrivances, which was not a little fortified by the popular rumours of plots and conſpiracies againſt the king's perſon, which went ſo far, that ſome were executed for attempting his life by magic. At length Don *Pedro* took his leave, and returned home, by which it plainly appeared that his buſineſs, whatever it was, lay in *France* and not in *Germany* [c]. The king's domeſtic diſquiets rather increaſed than diminiſhed; the marchioneſs *de Verneuil* was ſometimes in as high favour as ever, which the queen bore very ill, though when ſhe was out ſhe bore it worſe, becauſe this produced ſtill ſtronger proofs of the king's affection; who, though he could forgive the prejudice done to his crown, and the inſults offered to his perſon, by the houſe of *Lorrain*, yet loſt all patience when they interfered with his amours, and ſhewed ſuch reſentment as was equally irreconcileable to his natural temper and to his dignity [d]. This behaviour in the king was not like to produce any good effect on his court, or on his ſubjects; ſo that their manners grew more and more corrupt, and this chiefly by his example: gaming ran higher than ever; people of all ranks were diſſolute beyond expreſſion; duels were as frequent as ever, and ſuperſtition and atheiſm clouded the aſpect of religion. This is the character the writers of this age give it [e], and it is neceſſary it ſhould

[a] Hiſtoire de la Vie du Duc d'Eſpernon, tom. ii. p. 133. Dupleix. [b] Memoires de Sulli. Mezeray. P. Daniel. [c] Dupl. Perefixe. Chalons. [d] Memoires de Sulli. Dupleix, tom. v. [e] P. Matthieu. Mezeray.

appear in this place, because we shall speedily come to tranſactions that, theſe circumſtances duly conſidered, will appear natural, and for which no tolerable, at leaſt no credible, account could be given any other way.

He rejects the ſubmiſſive application of the Moreſcoes, *on their being expelled* Spain.

HENRY, as he grew old, grew ſuſpicious, and was more apprehenſive, now his affairs were in ſo good order, than when he was ſurrounded by enemies abroad, and in the midſt of factions at home. He entertained doubts even of the duke of *Sulli*, not ſo much for his own ſakes, as for thoſe that might come after, and therefore, to bind that noble lord to him the faſter, he offered him one of his natural daughters for his ſon, the marquis of *Rhoſny*, with an immenſe fortune, two of the beſt governments, and the conſtable's ſword for himſelf, on the death of old *Montmorency*, on condition, however, that he and his ſon became Catholics. This *Sulli*, with great humility, refuſed, and, as occaſion offered, prevented the king from liſtening to the calumnies that were continually whiſpered to him of the Proteſtants; ſometimes hindered him from marching forces to ſtifle inſurrections that never happened, and ſometimes enabled him, by very ſmall conceſſions, to keep the Proteſtants in good humour [f]. It was with this view that he aſſiſted at the aſſembly they held this year at *Gergeau*, where every thing paſſed quietly, and to the king's ſatisfaction, tho' there wanted not ſome very warm hot-headed men, who were diſpoſed to ſet up demands that might have created a great deal of trouble [g]. The truth is, this jealouſy of the Proteſtants, however ill founded, hindered *Henry*, otherwiſe a prince of great penetration, from giving a mortal wound to *Spain*, and rendering his own more flouriſhing than any other kingdom in *Europe*. About three years before the *Moreſcoes*, who were miſerably oppreſſed, and who ſighed under the apprehenſion of greater evils than they had yet ſuffered, applied to him for ſupport, and offered to raiſe twenty thouſand men, if he would countenance their taking arms. Upon this propoſition one captain *Pantiſſant*, a *Gaſcon* and a Hugonot, was ſent into that country to gain an exact knowlege of their force and condition. This man found them ready to accept of any terms the king would preſcribe; and though, from their averſion to the prieſts, they were at that time very bad Chriſtians, yet he found there would have been no difficulty in making them good Proteſtants, their diſlike to Chriſtianity being, in truth, no more than an abhorrence of the idolatry and ſuperſtition of the Papiſts. His report was not at all pleaſing to *Henry*, or at leaſt to his miniſters; and thereupon captain

[f] Memoires de SULLI. [g] DUPLEIX, tom. v. PERES. P. DAN.

Claverie,

Clavarie, a *Gascon* Catholic, was sent on the same errand, and *Panuiffant* recalled; and, from the account given by him, the king thanked the *Moreſcoes* for their offer, but abſolutely declined either ſupporting them in *Spain*, or giving them any ſettlements in his own territories when expelled. This the moſt impartial of the *French* writers [h] acknowlege to have been a great error in politics; and confeſs that, if they had been ſuffered to ſeat themſelves in the marſhy country about *Bourdeaux*, a ſupply of ſix hundred thouſand induſtrious perſons had been as great an acquiſition to his power as it was a loſs to the *Spaniards*. This was diſtinguiſhed in *France* by the name of the hard winter, and the effects of it were very ſeverely felt; inſomuch that the people in many provinces were abſolutely diſabled from paying their taxes, and, upon their applications for relief, the king himſelf wrote to the duke of *Sulli*, requiring that all poſſible regard might be had to their diſtreſſes, not only, as he expreſſed it, from the tenderneſs he owed to his ſubjects, but as an act of humanity, that could not but be acceptable in the eyes and his and their creator [i]. We find in the works of an inquiſitive writer [k] of theſe times, that the net revenues of this year were computed at ſixteen millions of livres. A. D. 1608.

He brings on himſelf freſh uneaſineſs by giving way to his paſſions.

THE opening of this year was diſtinguiſhed by two marriages, which the king had very much at heart; the firſt was that of this natural ſon *Cæſar*, duke of *Vendoſme*, with the daughter of the deceaſed duke of *Mercœur*, which, though in appearance long ago ſettled, yet the dutcheſs dowager labour-ed all in her power to prevent, and had carried things ſometimes ſo high and ſo far, that the king was extremely perplexed; but at length, by the interpoſition of Father *Cotton* his confeſſor, and a Jeſuit, all things were adjuſted, the marriage celebrated with great pomp, and the young couple ſent ſoon after into the duke's government of *Bretagne*. The other was that of the prince of *Condé* with the daughter of the conſtable *Montmorenci*, an event that ought by no means to find a place here, if it had not been the ſource of others that cannot be omitted [l]. This princeſs had been promiſed to *Baſſompiere*, the prince of *Condé* was on the point of marrying the daughter of the duke of *Mayenne*; the king broke both theſe matches, and was the author of this, which was attended with ſo many circumſtances of extraordinary favour for the young princeſs, that the clear-ſighted courtiers began to ſuſpect that there was

[h] DUPLEIX, tom. v. MEZERAY. LE GEND. [i] Memoires de SULLI. [k] Memoires pour ſervir à l'Hiſtoire de France, tom. ii. [l] DUPLEIX, tom. v. MEZ. P. DAN.

something more. This was presently carried to the ears of the queen, as it had been before obvious to the eyes of the marchioness *de Vernueil*; so that the king was exposed to the most violent reproaches on one side, and to the most severe railleries on the other[m]. It is not to our purpose, and not at all our design, to report either; we are not writing the history of an amorous adventure, but pointing out to the reader the true causes of some great and terrible events. But, before we enter into these, it is necessary to resume the account we have given of the negotiations in *Holland*, under the mediation of this monarch, which were conducted with equal sagacity and success.

A truce between the Dutch and the archdukes.

We have before observed, that *Henry* had at first opposed this peace, and afterwards promoted it. He had his reasons for both. If the states had continued the war with vigour, and had conducted it according to his views, it would have corresponded perfectly with his interests; but, when he found that *Barnevelt*, who was the oracle of the states, and that potent party of which he was at the head, otherways inclined, he changed his measures; and, since he could not direct a war, sent his ministers to manage a peace, in which they acted with great dignity and discretion, till, finding it absolutely impracticable, they made another turn, and negotiated a truce for twelve years, which they brought to bear almost against the sentiments of both parties[n]. *Maurice* prince of *Orange*, who had very quick parts, temporized as long as he thought the negotiation impracticable; but, as soon as he saw it was likely to be brought to a conclusion, he opposed it vehemently, and, in the course of that opposition, expressed himself with such vivacity, that he disobliged both the *French* monarch and the king of *Great Britain*, and this too, without being able to carry his point. After all, the truce was concluded upon terms which the archdukes were glad to accept, which were highly advantageous to the states, their sovereignty being clearly acknowleged, very honourable for the *French* ministers, more especially the president *Jeanin*, and very acceptable to the court of *Great Britain*, as it gave hopes of obtaining part at least of that immense debt which was due from the states[o]. If we may have leave to look into the secrets of princes, it should seem that *Henry*, who was all this time meditating an attack on the house of *Austria*, was at first desir-

[m] Memoires de Sulli. Memoires pour servir à l'Histoire de France. [n] Dubl. tom. v. Mez. Aubery Maurierre. Sir Ralph Winwood's Memorials, vol. ii. [o] Memoires pour servir à l'Histoire de France, tom. ii. Memoires de Sulli. Winwood's Memorials.

ous

ous that the ſtates ſhould continue the war, till it was in his power to act; but finding he could not ſucceed in this without diſcloſing to them his deſigns, to which he was not at all diſpoſed, he ſtruck into their ſcheme, with a view to render it ſubſervient to his own; firſt by perſuading the *Spaniards* that he had no thoughts of entering into a war, and next to engage them, by the concluſion of this long truce, to diſarm in the *Netherlands*; but in theſe, though well contrived, he did not, as we ſhall ſee hereafter, gain his ends, partly from accidents which he could not foreſee, but chiefly by ſuffering his politics to be directed by his paſſions.

A Spaniſh faction in the king's council gives him great diſquiet.

AN earneſt deſire the king had to enjoy domeſtic tranquillity, at the ſame time that his manner of living rendered it almoſt impracticable, had drawn him, upon particular occaſions, to do and ſuffer ſuch things, as were by no means compatible with his underſtanding as a man, or with his dignity as a monarch, at the ſame time that they proved mere temporary expedients, and, after a calm of a few days, produced ſtorms of a much longer continuance; ſtorms from all quarters, ſtorms that affected his ſubjects as well as himſelf, and ſtorms which it was not in the reach of his ſkill or of his power to appeaſe [p]. There was a Catholic faction in his council, compoſed of able and of active men, who could not bear to ſee the Proteſtants enjoy the public profeſſion of their religion, and in the perſon of *Sulli* the peculiar confidence of the king. Theſe people had inſinuated to the queen, who, like all *Italians*, was a bigot to her religion, that ſhe could expect no ſafety to herſelf or to her children, but by putting herſelf at the head of the Catholics, engaging the king to change his ſyſtem, and unite in a cloſe alliance with *Rome* and *Spain* [q]. It may be the queen was the more ready to fall in with theſe ſentiments, from the knowlege of the intrigues between the marchioneſs and the court of *Madrid*, and a deſire of detaching the Catholic king from the ſupport of that lady and her family, as well as to unite the views of that court to her own; but, whatever the motives were, the fact is certain, that the queen had her agents at the court of *Spain*, and that the ambaſſadors of the great duke ſeemed as well or better informed of what paſſed in his moſt Chriſtian majeſty's cabinet, than the miniſter who repreſented his perſon at that court, which, when it came to *Henry*'s knowlege, and it could not be long concealed, affected him exceedingly, more eſpecially when he ſaw what an influence it had upon his own

[p] Memoires de SULLI. Memoires pour ſervir à l'Hiſtoire de France, tom. ii. P. DAN. [q] DUPLEIX. P. MATTH. MEZERAY.

ſubjects, and that a Jeſuit, who preached before him, had the aſſurance, under colour of refuting the poſition held by many Proteſtants that the pope is anti-chriſt, to cry out, in his pulpit, "If the pope be truly anti-chriſt, what becomes of your "abjuration and abſolution? What validity in the diſſolu-"tion of your marriage? What of the legality of your ſe-"cond eſpouſals? Or what will be thought of the legitima-"cy of the Dauphin[r]?" The double marriage was the common topic of diſcourſe at both courts, and yet it was the fartheſt of any thing from the king's inclinations, who feared the friendſhip of *Spain* more than the reſentment of any other power. Theſe circumſtances did not only diſturb and diſtract him in the management of his own affairs, but likewiſe affected him with regard to his allies, by raiſing great jealouſies in *England* and *Holland*, and by exciting a ſuſpicion of a doubleneſs in his conduct, which very much leſſened that confidence with which he had been hitherto treated by both nations, and which was abſolutely neceſſary to the ſucceſs of his own meaſures. Than ſuch a ſuſpicion nothing could be more contrary to theſe, as will fully appear by giving a ſuccinct account of thoſe deſigns[s].

Henry's ſchemes for reducing the power of Auſtria.

AT the time that *Henry* made the peace of *Vervins*, he made the ſtrongeſt profeſſions to queen *Elizabeth*, and to the ſtates, of inviolable friendſhip, and of the deep ſenſe he had of the aſſiſtance he had received from both. Theſe were underſtood at that time as words of courſe; and the more pains that *Henry* took to impreſs them, the leſs meaning in reality there was ſuppoſed to be in them. It was to remove this coldneſs, and, as far as poſſible, to give a true idea of his ſyſtem, that certain communications were made to queen *Elizabeth* the year before her death, and in a clearer and much ſtronger manner to king *James*, who ſeemed to be very well ſatisfied with, and to have a much better opinion of, the then marquis *de Rhoſny*'s ſcheme than any of his miniſters[t]. The ſtates alſo, from the hints they had received, made no ſcruple of giving him to underſtand, that the truce which had been concluded under his mediation ſhould laſt no longer than was conſiſtent with his convenience. *Henry* was perſuaded that the houſe of *Auſtria* meant nothing leſs than univerſal monarchy; and, if he had entertained any doubts of it before, the projects they concerted with marſhal

[r] Memoires de SULLI. Memoires pour ſervir à l'Hiſtoire de France. MEZERAY. [s] DUPLEIX. P. MATTHIEU. Memoires pour ſervir à l'Hiſtoire de France. [t] Memoires de SULLI. Sir R. WINWOOD's Memorials. Memoires Hiſtoriq. & Politiques, de AMELOT DE LA HOUSSAYE.

Biron,

Biron, the count *d'Auvergne*, and marſhal *Bouillon*, appeared to him in the light of certain evidence: he reſolved therefore to return by all means the uſage he had received, to ſap the very foundation of this houſe's greatneſs, to emancipate the *German* princes, to reſtore the kingdoms of *Bohemia* and *Hungary* to their entire right of election, to circumſcribe the imperial authority, while it remained in the princes of this family, to reſtore the electors to their freedom, and to preſcribe to *Spain* the bounds which nature ſeemed to have intended [u]. But he knew very well that this was not to be done while *France* remained in that broken, weak, and embarraſſed condition, exhauſted in ſtrength, her coffers empty, and her people more than ever prone to diſcord and diſaffection. He laboured, therefore, to remove all theſe difficulties, and he laboured with great ſucceſs; he actually diſcharged a great part of the crown debt, he pacified inteſtine diſorders, he gave the ſtrongeſt aſſurances to his Proteſtant ſubjects, he omitted nothing that might attach the honeſteſt of the leaguers to his ſervice, and, with equal application and ſpirit, he cheriſhed agriculture, manufactures, and commerce, that his ſubjects might be in a condition to exert their ſtrength, whenever a proper occaſion offered: he had accumulated treaſure, and he had renewed his alliance with the *Swiſs* [w]. His amours and the conſequences of them had, in the mean time, exceedingly leſſened his character; and the eagerneſs he ſhewed in amaſſing money, together with the harſh and ſevere diſpoſition of *Sulli*, were the principal obſtacles to that political influence which he laboured to attain.

Marſhal Ornano's honeſt remonſtrance to the king on the oppreſſive taxes.

THE miniſters of the popiſh faction made all the uſe they could of theſe, and that was not a little [x]. Marſhal *Ornano*, who was much addicted to them, but withal a man of honour, and ſincerely attached to the king, took the liberty of addreſſing himſelf to him about this time, and of telling him plainly his ſentiments. He aſſured him that in *Guienne* the people were infinitely more diſcontented than under the laſt reign; the king, upon this, talked high, but the marſhal talked higher; he ſaid that the people had reaſon; that then they were pillaged of thouſands for a few minions, who ſpent what was given them as ſoon as they got it; but that now they were plundered of millions, without knowing which way it went. He ſaid that the love of his ſubjects was the

[u] P. MATTHIEU. P. DAN. MEZ. [w] Memoires de SULLI. Sir GEORGE CAREW's Account of the Court of France, addreſſed to King James. DUPLEIX. [x] Memoires de SULLI.

ſtrength

ſtrength of a prince, and not his treaſures or his armies; that he remembered the barricades of *Paris*, and trembled to think that what had once happened might happen again. The courtiers were aſtoniſhed at the marſhal's inſolence; the king ſaid that he had ſpoke like an honeſt man; that his rough zeal was preferable to ſervile complaiſance; and that it was time his people ſhould know to what end money raiſed upon them was to be employed [y]. A very favourable opportunity offered itſelf for carrying his deſign into action, and he reſolved not to let it ſlip unimproved, though ſcarce ſeconded therein by any of his miniſters, except the duke of *Sulli*, who had been the confident of all his councils, and had incurred much hatred by his endeavours to promote them [z].

The buſineſs of Cleves *and* Juliers *gives the king an opportunity of entering upon the execution of his deſign.*

THIS great event was the death of *John William* duke of *Cleves* and *Juliers* without iſſue, by which his ſiſters and their repreſentatives all pretended to the ſucceſſion; beſides theſe there were two pretenders of another kind, the elector of *Saxony* who claimed the whole as devolved to him by a family compact in caſe the houſe of *Cleves* came to be without heirs male, and the emperor, who inſiſted that they were fiefs, and conſequently either belonged to him, or at leaſt ought to be ſequeſtered into his hands, till it ſhould be evident to whom elſe they belonged [a]. Amongſt the other claimants, ten or twelve in number, there were two princes who ſeemed to have clearer titles than any of the reſt. Theſe were the elector of *Brandenburgh*, and the duke of *Newburgh*, the one in quality of ſon-in-law to the eldeſt ſiſter of the laſt duke, and the other as huſband to the ſecond ſiſter. Theſe two princes thought it better to enter into an amicable agreement than to run the hazard of a diſpute; and, having once ſettled this point between themſelves, they next agreed to demand the protection of *Henry*, more eſpecially againſt the violence of the emperor, who had ſent the archduke *Leopold* to ſurprize *Juliers*, a thing of no great difficulty, the governor of the city having been long a creature of *Spain* [b]. The king readily accepted the propoſition, promiſed the princes all they could deſire, and began inſtantly to put in motion all the inſtruments that he had been preparing in the ſpace of ſo many years, for the humiliation of the houſe of *Auſtria*; and all the powers to whom he applied were ſo well diſpoſed, the offers he made were ſo acceptable, and the plan of execution ſo

[y] Vide auct. ſup. citat. [z] P. MATTH. Memoires pour ſervir à l'Hiſtoire de France. DUPL. [a] Suite de la Chronique du Sieur DU TILLET. P. MATTHIEU. DUPLEIX. [b] Decade de Henry le Grand, par M. LA GRAIN. DUPL.

admirably

admirably contrived, that hiſtory can ſcarce afford us an inſtance of a confederacy ſo quickly formed, and into which all the parties ran with ſo much alacrity and ſpirit [c]. That it was not ſimply the ſecuring the ſucceſſion of *Cleves* which induced the king to depart ſo ſuddenly from that pacific diſpoſition, in which he had ſo long remained, is very little, if at all, diſputed; and that he aimed at atchieving this great project, as we have deſcribed it, is, by the ableſt hiſtorians, held probable; but that there was ſtill a greater, tho' infinitely a leſs practicable deſign, is affirmed by one who, if it really exiſted, had the beſt title to be thought the author of it, with the ſubſtance of which, as is highly requiſite, the reader will be made acquanted at the bottom of the page [d] (F). A ſcheme which,

[c] Memoires de SULLI. PERE FIXE. P. MATTHIEU. [d] Suite de la Chronique du Sieur DU TIL. Memoires de SULLI. PERE FIXE.

(F) This grand deſign, for ſo it is generally ſtiled, and ſo it ſeems to have been ſtiled by himſelf, was, if we may yield credit to the duke of *Sulli*, and if not on him, in a caſe of this nature, on what writer can we ever rely, was entirely the work of the king's own genius, and the object of his perpetual meditation. We are further told by the ſame author, that, when the king firſt mentioned it, he took it for a political ſketch, that manifeſted rather the vivacity of his fancy than the ſolidity of his judgment; but that afterwards, when the king came to explain himſelf more fully, to exhibit his reaſons, to anſwer objections, and to propound the means of accompliſhing this great deſign, *Sulli* entered into it more deeply, and ſaw it in quite another light. After all, however, this grand deſign has, even with politicians, paſſed only for a royal *Utopia*, and as ſuch we ſhall briefly deſcribe it (1). The king conceived that the powers of *Europe* might be reduced into a kind of Chriſtian commonwealth, by rendering them as near as poſſible of equal ſtrength; and that this republic might be maintained in perpetual peace, by bringing all their differences to be decided before a ſenate of wiſe, able, and diſintereſted judges; and then he conceived it would be no difficult thing to overturn the *Othman* empire. The number of theſe powers was to be fifteen; *viz.* The papacy, the empire of *Germany*, *France*, *Spain*, *Hungary*, *Great Britain*, *Bohemia*, *Lombardy*, *Poland*, *Sweden*, *Denmark*, the republic of *Venice*, the ſtates general, the *Swiſs* cantons, and the *Italian* commonwealth, which was to comprehend the ſtates of *Florence*, *Genoa*, *Lucca*, *Modena*, *Parma*, *Mantua*, and *Monaco*. In order to render the

(1) *In the new edition of the duke of Sulli's memoires, what before was ſcattered through the whole work is collected into what is ſtiled the thirteenth book, according to the manner in which they are ranged in order of time.*

ſtates

der to put her into the hands of madame *d'Angoulesme*, with whom she was brought up, was so well laid, that the king thought it impossible to fail; and, in the joy of his heart, most unaccountably told it to the queen, who was just risen from her lying-in of *Henrietta-Maria*, afterwards consort to our *Charles* the first. The queen seemed to be very well pleased with the news, and certainly was so with the discovery, which she immediately communicated to the nuncio *Ubaldini*, and pressed him to send a courier immediately, with advice of it to the marquis *Spinola*. This courier arrived at *Brussels* a little before noon on the very day in the evening of which the princess was to be carried away, and the only expedient that could be found to prevent it was for the archduchess to take her immediately under her own care, and lodge her in the palace [h]. The king bore this disappointment with great impatience; and as his military preparations were carried on with extraordinary vigour in the midst of these transactions, it is no great wonder that, at the time, the world in general, and the populace more especially, should attribute to this amour a war, the reasons of which they did not understand, or that this should be countenanced, after the king's death, by such as were wise enough to penetrate the real motives [i]. In the midst of these confusions, which fixed the eyes of all *Europe* on the court of *France*, ended the present year.

Alliances made with all the neighbouring princes of Germany *and* Italy.

THE new year discovered the grandeur of the king's project, and the means taken to carry it into execution; he had an army of forty thousand men, composed, for the most part, of old troops, and commanded by officers of great experience, exclusive of six thousand *Swiss* who were to join them on the frontiers, and four thousand of the nobless, who were to attend the king to the army, which was to assemble at *Chalons*, about the middle of *May* [k]. The negotiations requisite for the general league were conducted with so much silence, that the first news that transpired to the public of them was their conclusion [l]. Mons. *de Lesdiguieres* was chosen to treat with his old antagonist the duke of *Savoy*, and upon his proposing the conquest of the duchy of *Milan*, upon condition that *France* should enjoy *Savoy*, the duke made

[h] Memoires pour servir à l'Histoire de France. P. DANIEL. [i] PEREFIXE, Histoire du Roi Henry IV. Memoires pour servir à l'Histoire de France, tom. ii. Decade de Henry le Grand, par LE GRAIN. D'AUBIGNE Histoire Universelle. P. DAN. MEZERAY. CHALONS. Pr. Henault. [k] P. MATTH. DUPL. MEZ. [l] Sir RALPH WINWOOD's Memorials, vol. iii. p. 120. P. DANIEL.

no difficulty of entering into the king's views [m]. The princes of *Germany* held an aſſembly in ſpite of the emperor, in which they approved the king's propoſal for reſtoring the liberty of the empire [n]. In *England* his miniſter met with no leſs ſucceſs, and the *Italian* princes [o] ſhewed a ſtrong inclination to accept the offers that were made them, to concur in his deſign. According to ſome computations the forces of the allies were to have amounted to two hundred thouſand foot, and fifty thouſand horſe, together with a fleet of one hundred and twenty ſail. It is much more certain that *Sulli* aſſured him he had more than forty millions ready for this ſervice, and that, all the expences of his government defrayed, ſeven millions annually entered into his treaſure of reſerve. The train of artillery that was to attend the army conſiſted of fifty pieces of braſs cannon, which, though not very extraordinary now, was what had not been ſeen till then. As the king was to command in perſon, the queen was appointed regent, and a council aſſigned her, beſides which, there was a particular council fixed for the management of every one of the great governments in *France*, that, during the execution of theſe mighty ſchemes abroad, proviſion might be made for preventing any untoward accidents at home [p]. All theſe diſpoſitions being made, the king, by a ſhort letter, expreſſed in very ſtrong terms, demanded of the archduke *Albert* a paſſage for his forces through his territories, in order to march into the duchy of *Juliers*, in order to expel the archduke *Leopold*; which was granted, becauſe it could not well be refuſed [q]. In the mean time the prince of *Condé*, doubting of his own ſafety in the *Low Countries*, retired firſt into *Germany*, and from thence to *Milan*, where the conde *Fuentes*, the king's old determined enemy, under colour of doing him honour, and providing for his ſafety, placed a numerous guard of horſe and foot about his perſon [r]; to colour which, he ſpread a report that 200,000 crowns were ſet upon his head: and, at the ſame time, it was whiſpered, by the emiſſaries of *Spain*, that for many reaſons, none of which were

[m] Memoires de Sulli. Memoires pour ſervir à l'Hiſtoire de France. Mez. tom. vi. Le Gend. [n] Dupleix, tom. v. Sir R. Winwood's Memorials, vol. iii. Memoires du Sulli. [o] Memoires pour ſervir à l'Hiſtoire de France. Dupleix, tom. v. Memoires de Sulli. [p] P. Matth. Dupl. tom. v. Perefixe. P. Dan. [q] Memoires de Sulli. Mez. Pierre de l'Estoille. [r] Sir Ralph Winwood's Memorials, vol. iii. p. 149. Memoires de Marechal Baſſompiere, tom. i. Memoires du Cardinal Bentivoglio. Hiſtire de Louis XIII. par Le Vassar, tom. i. p. 19—21.

new,

new, the king's marriage to *Mary de Medicis* was abſolutely null, and therefore the prince of *Condé* ought to be conſidered as the preſumptive heir of the crown. A very poor device! and yet upon this the *Spaniards* ſeemed to rely; and, to the amazement of all the world, while ſuch vaſt preparations were making againſt them, the houſe of *Auſtria* ſcarce ſeemed to take any precautions for its own defence.

The king's apprehenſions from the ceremony of the queen's coronation.

As the ſeaſon of action drew nearer, the king ſpent a great part of his time in conferences with the duke of *Sulli* at the arſenal, where every thing was digeſted that regarded this great expedition, or the ſettlement of the adminiſtration in the king's abſence [s]: but with theſe there was intermixed another affair that gave the king infinite concern, and diſturbed him more than all the mighty projects that were now upon the carpet. This was the earneſt deſire the queen had to be ſolemnly crowned. Whence this deſire aroſe cannot, with any certainty, be determined; but that ſhe uſed many plauſible pretences to ſupport it cannot be denied. She was a princeſs not eaſily diſſuaded from any thing ſhe had once reſolved upon, and the king was not of a diſpoſition to refuſe her any thing, though it was ever ſo much againſt his own ſenſe of things. There were beſides many other perſons to whom a ceremony of this kind was very diſpleaſing, particularly queen *Margaret*, who could not refuſe to aſſiſt thereat, without injuring the queen's character, or be preſent without debaſing her own [t]. The count *de Soiſſons* had his diſcontents, which affected him to ſuch a degree, that he retired from court. However, nothing came up to the king's diſquiet, more eſpecially after he had given his orders in conſequence of the queen's importunity, when the day was fixed. If we may credit the duke of *Sulli*, the king was more diſtreſſed and diſordered with the thoughts of this coronation, than with any thing that had happened to him through his whole life. He went ſo far as to preſage he ſhould not ſurvive it, that he ſhould never live to get out of *Paris*, where he thought himſelf leſs ſafe than at the head of his army, and yet he could not bring himſelf to countermand the orders he had given, or to reſolve not to take a ſhare in that idle pomp, of which he had ſuch a dread [u]. It was ſuppoſed that this aroſe from the rumours that were ſpread of conſpiracies formed againſt his perſon [w], of which, as there had been many, there was the greater probability; and, as a great hiſtorian ſays [x], they had at this time advices from more

[s] Memoires de Sulli. [t] Memoires pour ſervir à l'Hiſtoire de France, tom. ii. Memoires de Sulli. Dupleix. P. Dan. [u] Memoires de Sulli. [w] P. Matth. [x] Mez. tom. vi.

them twenty places, that such a one was then in agitation. As to these rumours, and a variety of prognostics, many of which, very possibly, were invented after the tragedy of the king's death, we shall say nothing, since they make a great part of a voluminous work [y]. But, with respect to the king's apprehensions and the public rumours, they are facts that cannot be denied, and therefore it was necessary to mention them, though they are matters for which we can give no rational account. As to what the duke of *Sulli* tells us, and which seems yet more unaccountable, that the king expressly told him he had been forewarned that he should be killed in some public ceremony in a coach, and that it was this circumstance that made him so much abhor the thoughts of this cursed coronation, it is in some measure explained by *Sulli*'s answer, that he from thence collected the reason of his majesty's starting and being so much alarmed even at the slightest jolting in a coach, though he had the greatest steadiness and presence of mind in the midst of the most imminent dangers [z]. This shews that the prediction, whatever it was, did not regard any ceremony, but was barely confined to a coach, and the king had applied it twice before, once to a great risk he ran in going to visit the duchess of *Beaufort*, and next to his narrow escape from drowning, when his coach fell with him into the river at *Neuilly*. It was therefore his dislike to the coronation that dictated this new prediction, and associated the ideas of his peril in assisting at this ceremony with the apprehensions he had been accustomed to have in a coach; and yet this was not exactly fulfilled; for, though he was slain in a coach, yet not in the procession, or in any thing that regarded the coronation. His fears, therefore, were confused, and served only to trouble his mind, and suggested nothing towards his preservation.

On the twelfth of *May*, through the extreme importunity of the queen, notwithstanding the duke *de Sulli* had once prevailed to have the preparations countermanded, solemn proclamation was made that the next day, which was *Thursday*, the queen would be publicly crowned at *St. Denis*: the ceremony was accordingly performed by cardinal *Joyeuse*, with all possible order and magnificence; the queen appearing extremely gay and well pleased [a]. The *Sunday* following was fixed for her public entry into *Paris*, for which vast preparations were made, many triumphal arches erected, and all

This solemnity is celebrated with prodigious magnificence.

[y] P. Matthieu, Histoire de la Mort deplorable de Henry IV. [z] Memoires de Sulli. [a] Dupleix, tom. v. Memoires pour servir à l'Histoire de France, tom. ii. p. 304.

thoſe circumſtances of parade which *Henry* always deſpiſed, and in which the queen delighted [b]. The next morning, which was *Friday* the fourteenth, the king was obſerved to pray longer than uſual. When he came out of his cloſet, he ſent to the duke of *Sulli*, to deſire he would come and ſpeak with him in the garden of the *Thuilleries*; but being informed that the duke was ill, and that the perſon he ſent had found him in the bath, he ſent him another meſſage to come to him the next morning, but in his night-gown and cap, that he might not catch cold [c]. He conferred in the morning with *Villeroy*, *Nereſtan*, and *d'Eſcoures*, who had been ſent to reconnoitre the paſſages into the duchy of *Juliers*, and who aſſured him they were much better than they had been repreſented, which intelligence the king ſeemed to receive with great ſatisfaction [d]. He went next to hear maſs at the *Feuillans*, followed by *Ravilliac*, who confeſſed his intention to have ſtabbed him there, but ſaid the duke of *Vendoſme* hindered him. After dinner, the king converſed ſome time with the preſident *Jeanin*, and Monſ. *Arnaud*, intendant of the finances, about the reformations he intended to make after the war was over, the reduction of the officers employed in the revenue, and the ſuppreſſing ſuch taxes as were moſt burthenſome to the people. After they left him he grew extremely uneaſy, went to a window, and leaning his head upon his arm, was heard to ſay ſoftly, "My God, what is this "within me, that will not ſuffer me to be quiet [e]?" About four o'clock he ordered his coach, in which having ſeated himſelf, he placed the duke of *Eſpernon* next him on the right hand, at the boot on that ſide ſat Meſſieurs *de Ravardin* and *Roquelaur*, oppoſite to them ſat the duke *de Montbazon* and the marquis *de la Force*, Monſ. *de Liancourt* and the marquis *de Mircbeau* ſat forwards. The coachman aſking where he was to go, the king anſwered, "Drive me from hence." *Ravilliac* followed the coach, intending to have ſtruck him between the two gates, but was hindered by finding the duke of *Eſpernon* where the king uſed to ſit [f].

Extraordinary circumſtances preceding the king's

WHEN the coach was without the court of the king's palace, the king cried, "Drive to the croſs of *Tiroy*." When he came thither, he ſaid, to *St. Innocents* church-yard: turning into the *Rue de la Ferroniere*, which was then a very narrow ſtreet, by reaſon of the ſhops built againſt the wall of *St. Innocents* church yard, there was a ſtop occaſioned by two carts,

[b] Memoires de SULLI. PIERRE D'ESTOILLE, tom. ii. p. 302. [c] Memoires de SULLI. [d] P. MATTHIEU. DUPL. tom. v. [e] Memoires de SULLI, MEZERAY. P. DAN. [f] P. MATTH. DUPL. LE GEND.

one loaded with wine, the other with hay [g]. The king had before ſent away his guards, and ordered the coach to be opened, that he might ſee the preparations for the queen's entry, intending afterwards to have driven to the arſenal, to diſcourſe with the duke *de Sulli* on the intelligence he had received from *d'Eſcoures*. The pages who followed the coach went round by the church-yard, except two, one who went before to get the way clear, and the other ſtopped behind to garter up his ſtocking; *Ravillac* took this opportunity, mounted on the wheel, and, with a long knife, which cut with both ſides, ſtruck the king over the duke of *Eſpernon*'s ſhoulder, while that monarch liſtened to a letter the duke was reading [h], or, as others [i] ſay, was whiſpering ſomething to the marquis *de Lavardin*. The king, as moſt writers affirm, ſaid, "I am wounded;" upon which the aſſaſſin ſtruck him again with greater force, ſo that the knife, penetrating into his cheſt, divided the vena cava, and immediately deprived him of life [k]. Some [l] ſay, that he made a third ſtroke, and that one of the lords catched it upon his arm; but this is liable to great doubt. They were, on the contrary, ſo little acquainted how the thing was done, that they did not ſo much as ſee the murderer; ſo that, if he had thrown the knife under the coach, he might have paſſed on: but he ſtood on the wheel like a ſtatue, with the knife bloody in his hand; till a gentleman who followed the coach came up, ſeized him, and was going to put him to death: but the duke of *Eſpernon* prevented him, crying out, "Save him on your life [m]." He then directed that the coach windows ſhould be drawn up, and the coachman to drive back to the *Louvre*, giving out that the king was wounded, but not dangerouſly [n] (G).

death, who is ſtabbed in his own coach.

As

[g] Memoires pour ſervir à l'Hiſtoire de France, tom. ii. p. 305, & ſeq. P. Dan. [h] Sir R. Winwood's Memorials, vol. iii. p. 158. Hiſtoire de la Vie du Duc d'Eſpernon. Mezeray. [i] P. Matth. [k] Sir R. Winwood's Memorials, vol. iii. p. 158. Dupl. P. Dan. [l] Perefixe. Mezeray. [m] Hiſtoire de la Vie du Duc d'Eſpernon, tom. ii. P. Matth. [n] P. Dan.

(G) *Henry* was of a middle ſtature, rather tall than ſhort, his eyes lively, his noſe aquiline, his complexion ruddy, his hair brown in his youth, but began to turn grey at thirty-three. He had an excellent conſtitution, and, notwithſtanding his free manner of living, enjoyed a good ſtate of health, except that he was attacked ſometimes by the gout. He was very gallant, and an exceeding good officer. He was naturally familiar, but, when it was neceſſary, could put on a very majeſtic air. Upon great occaſions

What follows upon this occaſion.

As ſoon as the coach came to the palace, the king was carried into his cabinet, and laid upon a bed, where, if we may believe *Mezeray*, he was quickly left by the

ſions he ſhewed that he underſtood magnificence, though he did not love it. In general, his ſpeech was frank, and his habit plain. He was naturally eloquent, wrote well, and with great eaſe. He rallied very agreeably, and he bore not only that but even reproofs without impatience, provided he thought they were well meant. His fortitude enabled him to overcome, and by his dexterity he often avoided, danger. He loved his ſubjects, and did many things for their advantage: amongſt others he encouraged manufactures and commerce, countenanced by his authority the ſending ſhips to the weſt, and granted letters patent for eſtabliſhing an *Eaſt-India* company. With theſe great qualities he had alſo great failings, amongſt which his paſſion for women was certainly the greateſt. However he did not ſuffer them to govern him, to recommend or diſcard his miniſters. He was likewiſe too favourable in regard to duels, againſt which, though he made laws, yet he treated with contempt ſuch as paid reſpect to them. He had a great paſſion for play, which had terrible conſequences, as it rendered this deſtructive vice faſhionable, which is alone ſufficient to throw a kingdom into confuſion. He alſo loved money, but then he knew how to uſe it; and having obſerved how much his predeceſſors ſuffered from the want of it, he was deſirous of avoiding their misfortunes by a contrary conduct. He had, beſides theſe failings, a mixture of levity and vanity in his temper, but it appears from his letters, that he knew his own foibles as well as any body, and that, how ill ſoever he ſucceeded, he ſtudied to mend them. He affected popularity, and he acquired it; he diſſembled without malice; on the contrary, he pardoned ſo readily and ſo ſincerely, that his bittereſt enemies, at the time of his death, were become his firmeſt friends. By his firſt queen *Margaret* of *Valois* he had never any iſſue; by his ſecond *Mary de Medicis* he left three ſons, the dauphin, the duke of *Orleans*, who died the year after him, and *John Baptiſt Gaſton*, who bore the ſame title. He had alſo three daughters, *Elizabeth*, who became the conſort of *Philip* the fourth king of *Spain*; *Chriſtina*, who eſpouſed *Victor Amadeus* duke of *Savoy*; and *Henrietta Maria*, who became queen of *England* by her marriage with *Charles* the firſt. We have mentioned his natural children by the ducheſs of *Beaufort* and the marchioneſs of *Verneuil*; he had alſo by *Jaqueline de Beuil*, counteſs of *Moret*, a ſon, *Anthony de Bourbon*, count of *Moret*, ſuppoſed to be killed in the battle of *Caſtelnaudari*, in 1632, though others ſay that he lived as a hermit in *Anjou* to the year 1693; and by *Charlotte des Eſſarts*, counteſs of *Romarantin*, he had two daughters, one of which was abbeſs of *Fontevrault*, and the other of *Chelles*.

great;

great [o]; ſo that thoſe who had a mind to ſee him met with no interruption, only Monſ. *le Grand Baſſompiere* and the duke of *Guiſe*, inſtead of going to pay their court, went to weep over their dead maſter [p], the duke of *Guiſe* embracing him paſſionately. When his body was opened, it appeared that he had two wounds, one ſlight and the other mortal; but there is ſome doubt which was the firſt or the ſecond. All the ſurgeons and phyſicians, and there were upwards of twenty preſent, gave it as their opinion, from the ſoundneſs of the vital parts, that the king might have lived many years [q]. His entrails were immediately ſent to *St. Denis*, and interred without ceremony; his heart was delivered to the Jeſuits, and depoſited, according to his deſire, in their college at *la Fleche* [r], which he had founded; the body was embalmed, in order to be interred with the accuſtomed ceremonies. This melancholy ſcene put the dukes of *Eſpernon* and *Bellegarde* in mind that their old maſter *Henry* the third was yet uninterred; upon which they went to the church of *St. Cornelia*, at *Compeigne*, and having brought away the coffin from thence, cauſed his remains to be buried, with great honour, at *St. Denis* [s], eight days before thoſe of his ſucceſſor, by which a prediction was verified, made, in all probability after the fact. On the 29th of *June* the king's body was interred with the accuſtomed ceremonies at the ſame place [t], with the higheſt demonſtrations of ſorrow amongſt the people, and with the univerſal concern of thoſe in foreign nations who wiſhed well to the liberties of *Europe*, and the Proteſtant intereſt.

THUS ended the life of *Henry*, the fourth of that name, and the firſt of the houſe of *Bourbon*, in the fifty-eighth year of his age, the thirty-eighth of his reign over *Navarre*, and the twenty-firſt ſince his acceſſion to the crown of *France*, to whom ſtrangers as well as his own ſubjects gave the ſurname of great, which was certainly due to him as a monarch tho' not as a man. What he was in his perſon appears from the fine equeſtrian ſtatue in braſs of him on the *Pont Neuf* at *Paris*, which was caſt by the order of the grand dukes *Ferdinand* and *Coſmo de Medicis*, and on which all good *Frenchmen* ſtill look with an eye of reverence.

[o] Abregé Chronologique de l'Hiſtoire de France, tom. vi. p. 388. [p] DUPL. tom. v. Memoires de Marechal Baſſompiere. [q] Memoires pour ſervir à l'Hiſtoire de France, tom. ii. P. DAN. [r] P. MATTH. [s] DUPLEIX, tom. v. [t] Hiſtoire de la Vie du Duc d'Eſpernon.

SECT. XI.

The Reign of Lewis *the Thirteenth, ſurnamed the* Juſt, *from his Acceſſion to the Throne to the putting to Death the Marſhal* d'Ancre, *and the Baniſhment of the Queen-Mother to* Blois.

The queen-mother entruſted with the regency and tutelage of Lewis XIII. *by the parliament.*

THE firſt news of the king's death threw the queen into tears; but the chancellor *Sillery* made uſe of ſome very ſingular arguments to ſoften the violence of her grief: he told her that the kings of *France* never died, that there were enough to weep for her and themſelves too, and therefore it became her to think for herſelf and them too[a]: he added, that councils and not tears were requiſite at that juncture. His advice was taken; the parliament was aſſembled that very evening at the convent of the *Auguſtins*, and the queen declared regent by the management and menaces of the duke of *Eſpernon*[b]. The duke *de Sulli*, going from the arſenal to the *Louvre*, received ſuch advices as engaged him to retire into the *Baſtile*, to carry into it what bread he could collect, as if he intended to keep it at all events. He was, however, afterwards prevailed upon to go to court, where, in all appearance, he was ſo well received, that he deſiſted from the meaſures he had taken[c]. The very next day the king went to the parliament to hold his bed of juſtice, and there the tutelage and the regency were confirmed to the queen, who promiſed that the young king ſhould have ſpecial regard to the advice of that illuſtrious body. The prince of *Condé* and the count *de Soiſſons* being abſent, rendered theſe meaſures leſs difficult than they would have been. The latter arrived the very next day, and began to talk in a very high ſtrain, but it was too late; and, tho' he wanted not either friends or parts, yet the affability and the promiſes of the queen put it out of his power to make any great diſturbance, and he was afterwards prevailed upon to unite himſelf to the court, tho' this was upon his own terms[d]. On

[a] Mercure Francois. Dupl. Hiſtoire de Louis XIII. P. Matth. [b] Hiſtoire de la Vie du Duc d'Eſpernon, tom. ii. p. 164. Dupleix. Hiſtoire de Louis XIII. Decade contenant l'Hiſtoire de Louis XIII. depuis l'ann. 1610, juſqu'an 1617. par Baptiste Le Grain, Maitre de Requêtes de l'Hôtel de Marie de Medicis, fol. Paris, 1619. [c] Mercure Francois. P. Matth. Hiſtoire de Louis XIII. Dupleix Hiſtoire de Louis XIII. [d] Hiſtoire de la Mere & du Fils. P. Matthieu Hiſtoire de Louis XIII. Le Grain.

the

the 22d of *May* the edict of *Nants* was confirmed, and a proclamation publiſhed to quiet the Proteſtants. Theſe proviſions being made for the benefit of the living, they were more at leiſure to conſider what was due to the dead; ſo that on the 27th that aſſaſſin, by whoſe deſperate hand *Henry* the Great had been diſpatched, was put to a death as ſevere as ſuch cruelty deſerved (A). He declared to the laſt that he had no

(A) This infamous aſſaſſin, *Francis Ravilliac*, was a native of *Angouleſme*, and, at the time of his execution, about one or two and thirty years of age. He was the ſon of parents who lived upon alms. His father was that ſort of inferior retainer to the law, to which the vulgar give the name of a pettifogger, and his ſon had been bred up in the ſame way. He had ſet up a claim to an eſtate, but the cauſe went againſt him: this affected his mind deeply. He afterwards taught a ſchool, and, as himſelf ſaid, received charitable gifts, tho' but of a very ſmall value, from the parents of thoſe whom he taught; and yet his diſtreſs was ſo great, that he had much ado to live. He once propoſed to enter himſelf amongſt the *Feuillans*; but the ſuperior, underſtanding that he pretended to viſions and revelations, which he committed to writing, turned him out. He had been likewiſe in priſon, and ſome ſay condemned for an aſſaſſination; but, upon an appeal to the parliament, the ſentence, as to capital puniſhment, was reverſed, and he was condemned only to make ſubmiſſion, and to teſtify his grief and concern (1). When he was ſeized for the king's murder he was very looſely guarded, that is, all were permitted to ſpeak with him who pleaſed; and it was thought very remarkable that a Jeſuit ſhould ſay to him, "My friend, "take care, whatever you do, "that you don't charge honeſt "people (2)." He was removed the next day from the houſe of *Eſpernon* to the *Conciergerie*, which is the proper priſon of the parliament of *Paris*. When he was firſt interrogated, he anſwered with great boldneſs, "That he had done it, and "would do it, if it were to do "again." When he was told that the king, though dangerouſly wounded, was living, and might recover, he treated it with deriſion; he ſaid that he had ſtruck him home, and that he was ſure he was dead (3). In his ſubſequent examinations he owned that he had long had an intention to kill the king, becauſe he ſuffered two religions in his kingdom; and that he endeavoured to obtain an audience of him, that he might admoniſh him. He alſo ſaid that he underſtood the king's great armament to be againſt the pope, and that, in his opinion, to make war againſt the pope was to make war againſt God (4). He

(1) *Dupleix Hiſtoire de Louis* XIII. (2) *Matthieu. Dupleix. Mercure Francois.* (3) *Memoires pour ſervir à l'Hiſtoire de France, tom.* II. *p.* 321. (4) *Matth. Dupl. &c. al.*

no accomplices; that nobody had perſuaded it, and that he had never acquainted any one with his intention to kill the king; which, however, from a variety of circumſtances, has been

talked very idly and ſimply of revelations that he had had. He pretended to have ſpoken to, and received the ſacrament from, Father *Aubigne*, a Jeſuit, but, when confronted with him, that Father told him he was an impudent liar, and that he never ſaw his face till that moment. We have no diſtinct account of the three laſt examinations; but he is ſaid to have perſiſted, in the moſt ſolemn aſſeverations, that he had no accomplices; that nobody had perſuaded him to the fact; that he had but three quarters of a crown and a few halfpence in his pocket, and that, if he had miſſed of doing the fact as he did, he muſt have gone back into his own country for want of ſubſiſtence (5). He appeared ſurprized at nothing ſo much as at the univerſal abhorrence of the people, which, it ſeems, he did not expect. They were forced to guard him ſtrictly from his fellow priſoners, who would otherwiſe have murdered him. The butchers of *Paris* deſired to have him put into their hands, affirming that they would flay him alive, and that he ſhould ſtill live twelve days. When he was put to the torture, he broke out into horrid execrations, and always inſiſted that he did the fact from his own motive, and that he could accuſe nobody (6). On the day of his execution, after he had made the amende honourable before the church of *Notre Dame*, he was carried to the *Greve*; and, being brought upon a ſcaffold, was tied to a wooden engine in the ſhape of a *St. Andrew's* croſs. The knife with which he did the murder being faſtened in his right hand, it was firſt burnt in a ſlow fire; then the fleſhy parts of his body, ſuch as breaſts, arms, thighs, *&c.* were torn with red-hot pincers, and melted lead, oil, pitch, and roſin, poured into the wounds, and through a clay funnel, into his bowels, by the navel. The people refuſed to pray for him; and when, laſt of all, according to the ſentence pronounced upon him, he came to be dragged to pieces by four horſes, one of thoſe that was brought appearing to be but weak, one of the ſpectators offered his own, with which the criminal was much moved: he is ſaid to have then made a confeſſion, which was ſo written by the greffier *Voiſin*, that not ſo much as one word of it could ever be read (7). He was very earneſt for abſolution, which his confeſſor refuſed, unleſs he would reveal his accomplices; "Give "it me conditionally," ſaid he, "upon condition that I have "told the truth;" which they did. His body was ſo robuſt,

(5) *Interrogatoire de Ravilliac. Mercure François. Le Grain. Dupleix. Malingre.*
(6) *Dupleix Hiſtoire de Louis* XIII. *P. d'Eſtoile Journal de Henry* IV. *Louis* XIII.
7 *Mercure François, Journal d'Eſtoile, Matthieu Hiſt.*

that

been doubted, though the truth of that execrable act was never yet known [e] (B).

As

[e] Memoires pour ſervir à l'Hiſtoire de France, tom. ii. p. 321, & ſeq. Malingre Hiſtoire de Louis XIII. Dupl. Hiſtoire de Louis XIII. Sir R. Winwood's Memorials, vol. iii. p. 170—174.

that it reſiſted the force of the horſes; and the executioner was at length obliged to cut him into quarters, which the people dragged through the ſtreets (8). The houſe in which he was born was demoliſhed, and a column of infamy erected; his father and mother were baniſhed from *Angouleſme*, and ordered to quit the kingdom, upon pain of being hanged if they returned, without any form of proceſs; his brothers, ſiſters, uncles, and other relations, were commanded to lay aſide the name of *Ravilliac*, and to aſſume ſome other, on the like pain (9). Such was the fate of this execrable monſter, who, according to his own account, ſuffered himſelf to be impelled to ſuch a fact, by the ſeditious ſermons and books of the Jeſuits, whom *Henry*, rather out of fear than love, had recalled and careſſed, and to whom he had bequeathed his heart.

(B) It is certain that, in thoſe days, the world did not credit the dying words of *Ravilliac*, or ſo much of his proceſs as was publiſhed. An eminent prelate, who wrote the life of *Henry* the fourth (1), ſpeaking of *Ravilliac*, ſays, "If it be demanded "who were the demons and furies who inſpired him with ſo "damnable a thought, and who "puſhed him on to ſo iniquitous a reſolution, hiſtory anſwers, that ſhe knows nothing, and that it is a thing "ſo important, that it is by no "means allowable to impoſe "ſuſpicions and conjectures on "the world, as if they were certain truths. The very judges "themſelves, who interrogated "him, durſt not open their "mouths, or explain their "ſentiments otherwiſe than by "heaving up their ſhoulders." Another eminent hiſtorian (2) ſays, that there were in thoſe days two different opinions concerning this aſſaſſination, the one that it was conducted by ſome grandees, who ſacrificed that monarch to their old reſentments; the other that it was done by the emiſſaries of the *Spaniards*. In proof of this he mentioned what many other writers have aſſerted, that letters from *Bruſſels*, *Antwerp*, *Mechlin*, and other places, were received before the 15th of *May*, with a report of the king's death. There has been a third opinion (3), that a very deep deſign was laid, which fell not very ſhort of another *St. Bartholomew*, but when the firſt ſtep, which was the death

(8) *Arret contre Ravilliac. Duplein Hiſtoire de Louis* XIII. *Malingre.* (9) *Memoires de la Regence. Dupl. P. Matthieu. Le Grain.* (1) *Pereſixe Hiſt. de Henry le Grand, part* iii. *p.* 410. (2) *Nic. Rigalt, ann.* 1610. *tom.* vi. *p.* 492. (3) *Journal de l'Eſtoille, p.* 150, *& ſuiv.*

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Compliments of

As ſoon as the news arrived at *Milan* of the death of the king, the conde *Fuentes* left no method untried to induce the prince

of the king, had taken place, it was not thought neceſſary to puſh it any farther, and it might be that which aſtoniſhed *Ravilliac*: the univerſal abhorrence of the people might alſo aſtoniſh them, and incline them rather to turn what was done to the beſt accounts they could, than to riſk the diſcovery of that and their own ſafety, by puſhing things farther. We muſt alſo obſerve, that though nothing occurs in the examinations of *Ravilliac* that were firſt publiſhed, in reference to his journies to *Naples*, and other places, yet as theſe are ſet down as certain truths, by good authors, ſo there are probable grounds to believe that they were not fictitious (4). There is one circumſtance preſerved in a very curious and authentic work, publiſhed in our own language, which is not to be found in any *French* writer, which is, that *Ravilliac* had been not long before at *Bruſſels* (5). Amongſt other circumſtances that created a very great doubt, whether the aſſaſſin ſpoke truth, were the things found in his pocket at the time he was ſeized, amongſt which was a chaplet, the figure of a heart made in cotton, in the centre of which he ſaid there was a bit of the true croſs, but when cut there was none, which he affirmed was given him by a canon at *Angouleſme*, a piece of paper with the arms of *France* painted upon it, another full of characters, and a third containing verſes for the meditation of a criminal going to execution (6). Soon after he was put to death, a boy of thirteen years of age, who lived with a weaver, declared, that, if he had *Ravilliac*'s knife and his papers, he would do as much for the young king as that regicide had done for the old one. For ſpeaking theſe words he was condemned to be hanged by the provoſt of *Paris*, but whether he was executed or not does not appear (7). But the caſe of the provoſt of *Pluviers*, or *Petiviers*, in *Beauce*, about ſix miles from *Paris*, was much more extraordinary; he had ſaid openly on the day that *Henry* the fourth was murdered, "This day the king is either "ſlain or dangerouſly wound-"ed;" for which, after the king's death was known, he was ſeized and ſent priſoner to *Paris*; but, before he was examined, he was found hanged in the ſtrings drawn out of his drawers. His body was, notwithſtanding, hung up by the heels on the common gibbet, on the 19th of *June* (8). What increaſed the ſuſpicions grounded on this man's end, was his having two ſons Jeſuits, and his being a dependant on the family of Monſieur *d'Entragues*. But after all, perhaps a better account will ſcarce be found, than

(4) *See the Note marked* XVII. *to the new Edition of the Memoires of Sulli tom.* vii. *p.* 393. (5) *Sir Ralph Winwood's Memorials, vol.* iii. *p.* 158. (6) *Duplaix Hiſt. de Louis* XIII. (7) *P. Matthieu Hiſtoire de Louis* XIII. (8) *Mercure Francois, ann.* 1610. *fol.* 193. *Journ. du Regne de Henry* IV. *p.* 193.

prince of *Condé* to think of turning it to his own advantage; but he reſiſted all temptations with great firmneſs, and reſolved to return into *France*, as he did. He arrived at *Paris* on the 1ſt of *July*, and had a long conference with the duke of *Sulli* before he went to court, and was far from being pleaſed with the meaſures that had been taken: but, for a perſon of his rank, his circumſtances were narrow, and this induced him the more readily to accept the offers that were made him of a convenient palace, a large ſum of money, a penſion, and the firſt government worth his acceptance [f]. A council of regency was eſtabliſhed, which was very numerous, and compoſed of all who could pretend any reaſonable title to enter it; but there was a cabinet council compoſed of a very ſmall number, in whom the queen, or *Conchini*, in whom ſhe truſted every thing, could confide. A body of twelve

congratulation, coronation of the young king, and methods uſed to preſerve the peace.

[f] Memoires de la Regence de Marie de Medicis. MALINGRE. DUPL. Hiſtoire de Louis XIII.

occurs in a late writer of our own, to whom the world is much obliged for his judicious and laborious collection; his words are theſe (9), "I ſhall inſert a remark which I tranſcribed from the original memorandums, occaſionally noted down by *Robert Sidney*, the ſecond earl of *Leiceſter*, who was embaſſador in *France* from the year 1636 to 1641. Monſieur *de Bouillon*, ſays he, at *Paris*, in 1636, and I, diſcourſing of many things of the king, *Henry* IV. and his death, I ſaid, I thought that blow came out of *Spain*. He ſaid he believed the *Spaniards* had no more hand in it than you or I. That came ſome other way; inſinuating, as I imagined, the queen-mother, with the help of *le petit collet*, that is the Jeſuits. And I know ſomething of this, for the preſident *Jeannin* and I were the two appointed to examine the villain *Ravillac*, and to take orders for all things in that buſineſs, but he would confeſs nothing; only we obſerved this, which was very true, that though he was *fol*, that is, in a manner mad in all things elſe, yet in defence of what he had done, he uſed all the ſubtle arguments that any doctor amongſt the Jeſuits could allege, and would never be put out from the opinion that the king was a heretic in his heart, and ſo out of the church, and therefore might lawfully, and ought to be, killed. It ſeems, ſaid *Bouillon*, he had been taught his leſſon well." It ſeems, however, that he had been taught another leſſon, how to keep a ſecret, ſtill better.

(9) *Dr. Birch's Negotiations of Sir Thomas Edmondes*, p. 312. *See alſo the Letter from Mr. Calvert to Mr. Trumbull, in Winwood's Memorials*, vol. iii. p. 181.

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thouſand men, under the command of marſhal *de la Chaſtre*, was ſent to the aſſiſtance of the *German* princes, to whom the city of *Juliers* ſurrendered on the ſecond of *September*. As for the duke of *Savoy*, he was left to make his peace with *Spain* as well as he could, and he was forced to ſend his ſon prince *Philibert* to demand pardon of his catholic majeſty, a circumſtance leſs diſhonourable to him than to the court of *France* [g]. On the 17th of *October* the young king was ſolemnly crowned at *Rheims* by the cardinal *Joyeuſe*. The face of the court was, by this time, entirely changed, the faithful ſervants of the late king being coldly received, and the partizans of *Spain* having the ear of the queen regent. The direction of public affairs, honours, governments, ſurviv-ances, penſions, and immenſe ſums of money, were diſtributed amongſt thoſe who were moſt likely to create trouble [h]. As to the duke of *Eſpernon*, who was above every thing of this kind, he had an apartment given him in the *Louvre*, that the queen might have it always in her power to aſk his advice, and the ſecretaries of ſtate reported to him the contents of the diſpatches they received. Amongſt the ſolemn embaſſies that were ſent to condole with the queen, and to congratulate the young king, the public was beſt pleaſed with the arrival of the lord *Wooton* from *England* [i], and teſtified the greateſt diſlike of the duke *de Feria*, who came with a like commiſſion from *Spain*, becauſe he was the ſon of that duke *de Feria* who had commanded the *Spaniſh* garriſon in *Paris*, during the time of the league [k].

A. D. 1610.

The D. of Sulli's diſgrace, with whom the Proteſtants ſide.

THE diſputes between the princes and the great lords of the court gave the queen great diſquiet, and no leſs diſturbance to the ſtate; but, in the midſt of theſe miſunderſtandings amongſt themſelves, they could agree well enough in puſhing a very bad meaſure, when they apprehended it to be for their common benefit. The duke *de Sulli* had tried every method poſſible to give the queen a right idea of the ſtate of her affairs, and to prevail upon her to govern with moderation and ſteadineſs. His advices were ſometimes extremely well received, and at others but coldly. His differences with the princes, with many great lords, and the principal favourites, openly in council, his oppoſing warmly the diſſipation of the money with which he had been entruſted, and the counſels

[g] Hiſtoire de la Mere & du Fils. P. Matth. Hiſtoire de Louis XIII. Le Grain. [h] Winwood's Memorials, vol. iii. p. 227. Dupleix. Hiſtoire de Louis XIII. Malingre. Negotiations of Sir Thomas Edmondes, by Dr. Birch, p. 325. Dupl. Hiſtoire de Louis XIII. Le Grain. [k] P. Matth. Hiſtoire de Louis XIII. Mercure Francois. Journal de l'Estoile.

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he gave the queen not to put herſelf into the hands of any party, raiſed a very ſtrong one againſt himſelf[l]. The chancellor, the ſecretary *Villeroy*, and the preſident *Jeannin*, who had never been his friends, now placed themſelves at the head of his enemies, and his known averſion to that diſſipation, which was become the ruling maxim, left him no reſources: he made the beſt terms he could; and, having ſurrendered his important employments of ſur-intendant of the finances and captain of the *Baſtile*, he, in the month of *February*, retired to his own houſe of *Sulli*[m]. Upon this the treaſury was put into commiſſion, though, in effect, this department fell into the hands of the preſident *Jeannin*, with the title of comptroller-general. The duke *de Bouillon*, not ſatisfied with the diſgrace, aimed at the deſtruction of *Sulli*; and, with this view, perſuaded the queen to permit the Proteſtants to hold an aſſembly at *Chaſtellerault*, where he undertook to engage them to abandon the duke of *Sulli*[n]. Afterwards, pretending that this place was within the government of that duke, he got the aſſembly transferred to *Saumur*, where, notwithſtanding all his intrigues, he failed in the very firſt inſtance; for, inſtead of being choſen, as he expected, preſident of that aſſembly, this honour was conferred on Monſieur *du Pleſſis Mornay*; nor was he more fortunate in the reſt of his proceedings, ſince the aſſembly firſt exhorted the duke *de Sulli* not to reſign either his government of *Poitou* or his poſt of maſter of the ordnance, and next, by a ſolemn act, recommended the duke to the queen's favour, as an able miniſter, and faithful ſervant to the crown: the only remarkable event it produced was continuing to them their places of ſurety for five years[o]: for, tho' the queen-mother and her favourites hated, yet they feared them exceedingly[p].

Attempts to diſcover the authors of late king's murder.

WHILE the court was entirely taken up with private intrigues, and the greateſt man in *France* was no *Frenchman* but an *Italian*, *Conchini*, now ſtiled marquis *d'Ancre*, from an eſtate of that name which he had bought ſoon after the king's death, there wanted not ſome affairs of an unpleaſant nature, that diſturbed that air of gaiety which was very improperly affected by the great at this time. Theſe were

[l] Mercure Francois. Journal de l'ESTOILE. DUPLEIX Hiſtoire de Louis XIII. [m] Memoires de SULLI. Memoires de la Regence. P. MATTH. Hiſtoire de Louis XIII. [n] Memoires de Henry Duc de Rohan. Mercure Francois. DUPLEIX, Hiſtoire de Louis XIII. Journal de l'ESTOILE. MALINGRE. [o] DUPL. Hiſtoire de Louis XIII. P. MATTH. Hiſtoire de Louis XIII. LE GRAIN. [p] Memoires de Rohan. Memoires de la Regence. Negotiations of Sir Thomas Edmondes.

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the proceedings in parliament upon diſcoveries ſaid to be made of the true authors of the late king's murder, which, however, turned upon the diſcoverer; and thoſe who had been charged being either free from fault, or too great to be declared guilty, were diſmiſſed without puniſhment [q] (C). On the

[q] Memoires de SULLI. Journal de l'ESTOILE. Mercure Francois.

(C) The diſcoverer mentioned in the text was *Jaqueline le Voyer*, of the village of *Orſin*, between *Epernon* and *Ablis*, the wife of *Iſaac de Varennes*, Sieur *de Coman*, or *d'Eſcoman*, or, as ſome write it, *d'Eſcouman*, a woman of a looſe and infamous life, who had been often in priſon, and who was then in the deepeſt diſtreſs, circumſtances that highly diſcredited any evidence ſhe could give: ſhe framed a memoire in writing, in which ſhe pretended to give a diſtinct account of the whole conſpiracy, which ended in the death of *Henry* the fourth; and the perſons upon whom ſhe charged it were the duke *d'Eſpernon* and the marchioneſs *de Verneuil*. This memoire ſhe preſented to the king and queen, and to ſeveral other great perſonages, who treated her as a perſon out of her wits, and would not condeſcend ſo much as to hear her ſtory. At length ſhe addreſſed herſelf to queen *Margaret*, who, tho' ſhe knew the profligate life this woman had led, yet thought the relation ſhe gave was a thing of too great importance to be ſtifled; ſhe ſent, therefore, for ſome perſons of quality, to hear this woman's ſtory, who repeated it again punctually, and with great firmneſs. Upon this ſhe was taken into cuſtody, and, upon her examination before the parliament, ſeveral perſons were taken up and confronted with her. The queen mother, while this proſecution was going on, is ſaid to have ſpoke of her as a very vile woman, who accuſed all the world, and who, for any thing ſhe knew, might, in the end, accuſe herſelf. Amongſt the perſons ſhe named, and who were confronted with her, were *la Villers-Hotman*, the wife of the preſident *St. André*, and *Charlotte Du Tillet* her ſiſter. On *Sunday* the 30th of *January*, the marchioneſs *de Verneuil* was examined four hours, but not taken into cuſtody. On the 5th of *March* judgment in this cauſe was adjourned, but at the ſame time, ſuch perſons as had been committed were ſet at liberty, and, on the 30th of *July*, the parliament, by an arret, declared the marchioneſs *de Verneuil* and madame *du Tillet*, *Gaudin*, who was valet de chambre to Monſieur *d'Entragues*, the father of the marchioneſs, and *Savage*, innocent, and condemned *Jaqueline d'Eſcouman* to be immured between four walls, and the proceedings to be ſuppreſſed. A writer of thoſe times, however, mentions ſeveral circumſtances to prove that this was a falſe and wicked accuſation; and particularly inſiſts on this, that the diſcoverer was a priſoner in the *Conciergerie*

the third of *October* died the duke *de Mayenne*, who had made ſo great a figure at the head of the league, which was looked upon

Conciergerie; when *Ravilliac* was brought in there, which put her upon this invention; and that all who were confronted with her convicted her of many falſehoods; and that, amongſt the reſt, ſhe gave a very bad deſcription of *Ravilliac* (1); which, however, is not very reconcileable to what he had before ſaid of her being in the ſame priſon with him, where, it is certain, he was but indifferently guarded. But it happens unfortunately for thoſe, who would repreſent the whole of this diſcovery as a calumny, that the duke *de Sulli* treats it in another light, from circumſtances conſiſtent with his own knowlege; he ſays that, ſome time before the death of *Henry* the fourth, Monſ. *Schomberg* being at his houſe, a page delivered him ſecretly a billet, which he ſhewed him, from Mrs. *de Gournai*, deſiring to ſee him immediately, upon an affair of importance. He went to her; returned in half an hour, and reported, that a woman, who was this very Mrs. *d'Eſtoman*, had diſcovered a conſpiracy againſt the king's life, the authors of which ſhe charged to be the marchioneſs of *Verneuil*, and Monſieur—for whoſe name a blank is left, probably Monſieur *d'Eſpernon*, with ſome others. The king was actually informed of this by Monſieur *Schomberg*. The duke *de Sulli* adds, that *Eſtoman* continued firm in the aſſertion of all ſhe had advanced as long as ſhe lived, and even at the point of death (2). Beſides this, there is an account given by one captain *de la Garde*, who ſaw *Ravilliac* at *Naples*, who told him that he brought a letter from the duke *d'Eſpernon* to the viceroy, of which the captain gave immediate notice to the *French* miniſter at *Venice*; ſo that it arrived time enough in *France* to be communicated to the king, who ſaw the captain after his return, thanked him for this ſervice, told him he had taken meaſures for his own ſecurity, and ſent him with a commiſſion into *Germany*, on his return from which he met with the news of the king's death, and upon his entry into *France* was attacked himſelf, and left for dead. Afterwards he was put into priſon, he knew not for what; and when the judges were on the point of ſetting him at liberty for want of proſecution, an exempt of the guards came and took him out of confinement, made him a preſent of an order, by which he received an annuity of ſix hundred livres, and of a commiſſion which fixed him in a good office in the exciſe; beſides, though the laſt examinations of *Ravilliac* are ſuppreſſed, yet the minutes of them remain in the *French* king's library, and we are from thence told, that it appears he endeavoured to amuſe his judges, and that on the other hand his judges were afraid to aſk him how he came to be known to the duke of *Eſpernon*.

(1) *Mercure Francois, Ann.* 1611. *p.* 14. (2) *Memoires de Sulli.*

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upon as a great misfortune to *France*; for he had not only ſhewn himſelf extremely faithful to *Henry* the fourth, but under the preſent reign had behaved himſelf with equal honour and integrity, declaring openly in council, that it little became princes and great men to act entirely from motives of intereſt, and upon his death-bed he charged his ſon to remain firm in his principles of religion and loyalty, and on that condition, and not otherwiſe, gave him his bleſſing [r]. Soon after died the duke of *Orleans*, the king's brother, who was but four years and a half old; and yet this had a great effect on the ſituation of things at court, his younger brother *Gaſton*, who had hitherto borne the title of *Anjou*, ſucceeding to that of *Orleans*, and being regarded as the preſumptive heir of the crown; the queen had ſhewn a remarkable coldneſs for the deceaſed prince, and as remarkable a fondneſs for him who ſucceeded to his title [s]. The Jeſuits, who were in great credit at court, were far from being in the ſame ſituation with reſpect either to the parliament or the people; *Mariana's* book had been burnt in the moſt infamous manner, for teaching thoſe principles upon which *Ravillac* had acted; ano-

[r] Memoire de la Regence. DUPL. Hiſtoire de Louis XIII. P. MATTH. Hiſtoire de Louis XIII. [s] Journal de l'ESTOILE. P. MATTHIEU Hiſtoire de Louis XIII. LE GRAIN.

It ſeems, however, that he poſitively denied his having been in *Italy*. We are alſo told that the marchioneſs *de Verneuil* and the duke *d'Eſpernon* had ſeveral meetings, in which things fell from their mouths that ſufficiently indicated a deſign againſt the king's life, which were overheard and reported to *Henry* the fourth, who either through infatuation or an exceſs of clemency, took no notice of it (3). We are never like to have this matter entirely cleared up, if the advice given by the editor of the late edition of *Sulli's* memoirs, that a veil ought to be drawn over this myſtery of iniquity, ſhould be taken, and he is pleaſed to preſs this very ſtrongly in the following words; "We "ought even to take this me- "thod, even if it ſhould be true, "as ſome people ſeem to be "perſuaded it is, that there are "a few cabinets in *Paris* from "whence new lights might be "furniſhed. Thoſe who have "ſuch ſort of pieces in their "cuſtody are very commenda- "ble in keeping them ſecret, "and ought to prevail upon "themſelves to commit them "to the flames." We ſhould have been obliged to this writer, if he had furniſhed us with his reaſons for being of this opinion, ſince the want of theſe lights may leave the memories of innocent perſons under heavy imputations, which the publication of them might remove.

(3) *Pieces Juſtificatives à la Suite du Journal de l'Eſtoile, vol.* iv.

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ther piece of cardinal *Bellarmin* was ſeized and ſuppreſſed, as being injurious to the power of the civil magiſtrate: on the other hand Dr. *Richer*, a member of the *Sorbonne*, wrote a celebrated treatiſe on the ſubject of eccleſiaſtical and political power, in which he treated the exorbitant claims of the pope to a ſuperiority over kings with great freedom, at which the clergy were extremely nettled, and, as we ſhall ſee hereafter, the court of *Rome* could not reſt, till, many years after, they found means to force that learned perſon to make a ſubmiſſion [t]. At the cloſe of the year, the Jeſuits preſented a petition for leave to open their college for the inſtruction of youth, which the parliament refuſed, upon the application of the univerſity of *Paris*. The Jeſuits, finding it was impoſſible to prevail any other way, ſubſcribed and promiſed obedience to thoſe ſtatutes; but the parliament, however, could not be brought to grant their requeſt; ſo that the opening their college was ſuſpended for ſome years [u]. A. D. 1611.

AT length the great change that had happened in the councils of *France* ſince the death of the king became public, by the declaring of the double marriage with the court of *Spain*, which had been chiefly negotiated by the pope and the duke of *Florence*, and, for this reaſon, was leſs acceptable to many; but the queen flattered herſelf that it would give a permanent ſupport to her power, and a ſtable ſecurity to her family. In order to give this meaſure all the luſtre poſſible, the duke of *Mayenne* was ſent embaſſador extraordinary to *Madrid*, where he ſigned the contract of marriage with the Infanta; and, on the other hand, the duke of *Paſtrana* came with the like pomp to *Paris*, to ſign the contract between *Philip* prince of *Aſturias* and the princeſs *Elizabeth* [w]. It was thought neceſſary to ſend over the duke of *Bouillon* to *England*, to pacify king *James*, and to propoſe a marriage for the princeſs *Chriſtina* with the prince of *Wales*; he was alſo charged with other affairs of great importance, in all of which, tho' he ſucceeded but indifferently, yet he did his own buſineſs very effectually, for what he had chiefly in view was propoſing a marriage between his nephew the elector *Palatine* and the princeſs *Elizabeth*, the king's eldeſt daughter, which was well received and afterwards took effect [x]. At home as well as abroad the double match was very far from being univerſally applauded; on the contrary, in the autumn, the prince of *Conde* and the count of

The D. of Bouillon ſent over to England, the P. of Condé and C. de Soiſſons retire from court.

[t] Mercure Francois. MALING. Journal de l'ESTOILE. [u] DUPLEIX, Hiſtoire de Louis XIII. P. MATTHIEU Hiſtoire de Louis XIII. LE GRAIN. [w] Memoires de la Regence. Mercure Francois. MALINGRE. [x] DUPL. Hiſtoire de Louis XIII. Journal de l'ESTOILE. Negotiations of Sir Thomas Edmondes.

Soiſſons left the court [y], and publiſhed their reaſons, which were very ſtrong: they ſaid, that the queen communicated her counſels to them for form ſake only, and not to receive or follow their opinions; that the double marriage was concluded without their advice; that her majeſty liſtened to foreigners, who were ignorant in, and diſaffected to, the true intereſts of *France*; that the treaſure collected by the late king had been ſacrificed to baſe purpoſes; and that governments were given to perſons without merit, and almoſt unknown; while the ancient and faithful ſervants of the crown were left without recompence. All this was true; but they ſeemed to forget that they were, in a great meaſure, authors of theſe miſchiefs themſelves, and therefore had the leſs right to complain [z]. In reality, the complaint itſelf, tho' founded in truth, was a mere amuſement, not at all calculated for amendment, but rather to increaſe the evil, by obtaining freſh favours and gratifications for themſelves, as appeared from their ſpeedy reconciliation afterwards; for the marquis *d'Ancre*, having hitherto governed by trimming between the miniſters and the princes, but being privately united to the latter, began now to ſteer another courſe, and to flatter the princes, who, upon the hopes he gave them, returned, tho' not thoroughly ſatisfied; but the count of *Soiſſons* dying at his houſe of *Blandi*, made things eaſier to the favourite, who began then to incline to the prince of *Condé*. Theſe were not all the troubles of that year, for the feuds amongſt the Proteſtants were productive of new diſturbances [a].

Diſturbances amongſt the Reformed, extraordinary edict.

If we ſpeak impartially, we muſt acknowlege that, even amongſt the Reformed, political were rather ſtronger than religious motives, and that the public frequently gave way to private intereſt. They had at their head at this juncture ſome of the greateſt men in *France*, and perhaps in *Europe*, ſuch as the duke of *Bouillon*, the duke of *Tremouille*, marſhal *de Leſdiguieres*, the duke of *Sulli*, the duke of *Rohan*, and Monſ. *du Pleſſis Mornay* [b]. But they were extremely divided in their ſentiments, which rendered them very troubleſome to the court, and much more ſo to themſelves. The duke of *Rohan*, who was a man of great fire, upon ſome plauſible pretences, ſeized the town of *St. John de Angeli*, which ſome have regarded as the firſt act of hoſtility in this reign, tho'

[y] Memoires de la Regence. MALINGRE. Memoires du Rohan. [z] DUPLEIX, Hiſtoire de Louis XIII. MALINGRE. LE GRAIN. [a] Vie de du Pleſſis Mornay. Memoires de la Regence. [b] Memoires du Duc de Rohan. Vie de du Pleſſis Mornay. WINWOOD's Memorials, vol. iii.

probably

probably that was what the duke did not intend, and the matter was afterwards compromiſed. But the marſhal duke *de Bouillon*, who now ſided with the court, and gave them hopes of a marriage with *England*, till prince *Henry* died, and even then revived the propoſition, with reſpect to his ſucceſſor *Charles*, gave the queen and her miniſters great lights into the affairs of the Reformed, and made his court at their expence; repreſenting their aſſemblies at *Privas* and *Rochelle* as ſeditious meetings [c]. As for the general ſituation of things, and the ſtate of the common people, though immediately after the king's death ſome heavy taxes were taken off, yet, by the example of the court, luxury and idleneſs were every-where ſo generally diffuſed, that univerſal poverty enſued, which produced a ſingular edict, forbidding all perſons, upon ſevere penalties, to give alms in the ſtreets, or to relieve common beggars; as if the ſhutting up men's bowels for the miſeries of their fellow creatures, could in any degree leſſen their diſtreſs. It might, indeed, oblige ſuch unhappy creatures to leave *Paris*, and thereby remove from the eyes of the miniſters a ſight that continually reproached them with want of capacity and want of concern [d]. A. D. 1612.

The chevalier de Guiſe kills the two barons de Lux, father and ſon, in the ſpace of a month.

It was very difficult, even for the wiſeſt and moſt expert perſon embarked in the intrigues of the court, to purſue his journey long through theſe labyrinths of diſſimulation and deceit with any tolerable ſafety. The baron *de Lux*, eſteemed in that reſpect one of the ableſt men in *France*, having quitted the party of the *Guiſes*, then attached to the miniſters, in order to join himſelf to the princes, this ſo provoked that family, that the chevalier *de Guiſe* (to whom the people of *Paris* gave the name of their city, on his being baptized there, ſoon after the execution of his father at *Blois*), attacked the baron in the ſtreets, tho' an old man, who ſhewed great unwillingneſs to fight, and, before he was well in a poſture of defence, killed him on the ſpot [e]. The queen ſhewed herſelf very much, as indeed ſhe was very juſtly, diſpleaſed; ordered the proſecution of the chevalier before the parliament, and diſperſed by her authority the meetings that were held at the houſe of the duke of *Guiſe*; but the chancellor was ſo dilatory and timid, that the proſecution was drawn into ſuch a length, that the queen's anger began to cool. However, a freſh accident, one would have thought, muſt have kindled it again: the young baron *de Lux*, perceiving that the high quality of his father's

[c] Memoires de la Regence. Memoires du Duc de Rohan. Mercure Francois. [d] Malingre. Memoires de la Regence. Winwood's Memorials, vol. iii. [e] Dupleix, Hiſtoire de Louis XIII. Le Grain.

murderer would ſecure him againſt the ſtroke of juſtice, notwithſtanding the ample promiſes made him by the queen when he went to throw himſelf at her feet, reſolved to follow the mode of the times, and to ſeek juſtice himſelf. Accordingly he challenged the chevalier *de Guiſe*, and met with the ſame fate from his hand that his father had done [f]. Inſtead of regarding with horror a man who had killed a father and ſon, both highly in her favour, in the compaſs of a month the queen concurred in the judgment of her court, that it was a high act of generoſity for a perſon of the chevalier *de Guiſe*'s quality to fight a gentleman, and not only granted him his pardon, but made him the king's lieutenant-general in *Provence*; after this, to make the inconſiſtency complete, iſſued a ſevere edict againſt duels [g]. The chevalier *de Guiſe* did not triumph long; for, about two months after, as he was firing a cannon, it burſt, and he was killed by a ſplinter [h].

Marquis d'Ancre enters into the intrigues of the court, and aſſociates with the princes.

THE marquis *d'Ancre* continued ſtill very cloſely united with the princes, and gave them all the aſſiſtance that was in his power to ruin the miniſters; but in this he failed, for they found means to have an audience of the queen, in which they made her ſenſible that her favourite preferred his own intereſt to her's; that by abandoning them, and reſigning himſelf into the hands of the princes, ſhe muſt neceſſarily have miniſters of their appointing, and, in a very ſhort time, loſe all her power, and preſerve only the empty title of regent [i]. The queen, fully convinced of this, withdrew her favour from the marquis, to whom it had been extended, not for his ſake, but for his wife *Galigai*'s, who had ſuch an amazing influence over this princeſs, that the vulgar, and, in complaiſance to them, as we ſhall ſee hereafter, the parliament, aſcribed it to witchcraft [k]. In this ſituation the marquis found himſelf extremely embarraſſed, and at length adviſed the princes to have recourſe to the old expedient of quitting the court, promiſing to watch every opportunity to render them ſervice in their abſence. They took his advice; and the prince of *Condé*, the duke of *Mayenne*, the duke of *Bouillon*, and the duke of *Nevers*, quitted the court at the inſtigation of a man, with whom, ten years

[f] Memoires de la Regence. Mercure Francois. WINWOOD's Memorials, vol. iii. [g] MALINGRE. Memoires de la Regence. DUPL. Hiſtoire de Louis XIII. [h] Mercure Francois. DUPL. Hiſtoire de Louis XIII. MALINGRE. [i] Hiſtoire de Mere & du Fils. Memoires de la Regence. WINWOOD's Memorials, vol. iii. [k] Memoires de la Regence. DUPL. Hiſtoire de Louis XIII. MALINGRE.

before,

before, they would ſcarce have converſed [l]. This meaſure not taking the effect they expected, the marquis had recourſe to another; treated with Mr. *de Villeroy* for the union of their intereſts, by the marriage of his daughter into *Villeroy*'s family, in conſequence of which he propoſed to reconcile the miniſters to the princes, of which new conjunction the duke *d'Eſpernon* and the houſe of *Guiſe* were to be the victims [m]. By this ſhort turn he recovered his credit with the queen, and, towards the cloſe of the year, upon the death of marſhal *de Fervaques*, his bâton, being firſt offered to Monſieur *de Souvre*, the king's governor, for form ſake, was at length beſtowed, to the amazement of all *France*, on *d'Ancre*, who now thought himſelf too great to marry his daughter into the family of *Villeroy*, and therefore, without much ceremony, broke that negotiation [n]. As a proof of the luxury and ſpirit of diſſipation that now prevailed, an edict was publiſhed to forbid the wearing of gold and ſilver, and a new court of juſtice erected for reforming the abuſes in hoſpitals, infirmaries, and other charitable foundations, which are always moſt liable to miſapplication in a ſeaſon of general diſtreſs [o]. A. D. 1613.

The princes retire from the court, in order to procure new gratifications.

On the laſt turn of affairs, the duke *d'Eſpernon*, who underſtood the intrigues of a court as well as any man of his time, retired to *Metz*, full of diſcontent. But the breach between the marſhal *d'Ancre* and Monſ. *de Villeroy* having again changed the face of things, the princes, without conſulting the marſhal *d'Ancre*, reſolved to retire from court, to aſſemble in a body, and to threaten a civil war, if the queen did not comply with their terms. The pretence for their taking this meaſure was reſpect to the public good, and a deſire of reſtoring the laws to their antient vigour. The genuine motive was the near approach of the king's majority, when actions of this kind might become leſs ſafe [p]. The prince of *Condé* retired firſt, after him the duke of *Mayenne*, then the duke of *Nevers* and the duke of *Luxemburgh*, and, laſtly, the duke of *Bouillon*, who had kept a correſpondence all the while with the court, and, at his departure, promiſed to uſe his good offices, in order to prevent the princes from departing from their duty. As for the duke *de Vendoſme* he had

[l] Mercure Francois. Memoires du Duc de Rohan. Malingre. [m] Hiſtoire de Mere & du Fils. Memoires de Baſſompiere. Memoires du Duc de Rohan. [n] Hiſtoire de Mere & du Fils. Memoires de la Regence. Malingre. [o] Dupleix, Hiſtoire de Louis XIII. Le Grain. Mercure Francois. [p] Hiſtoire de Mere & du Fils. Memoires de la Regence.

gone too, but that the queen cauſed him to be arreſted [q]. It was not long before the princes aſſembled at *Mezieres*, from whence the prince of *Condé* ſent the queen a manifeſto, in form of a letter, in which the old griefs were dreſſed in a new form, and repreſented with all the ſolemnity poſſible. The queen, by the advice of the miniſters, publiſhed an ample anſwer to this manifeſto, in which ſhe declared her intention to call an aſſembly of the ſtates, when the king her ſon came of age, denied moſt of the facts charged in the letter, and turned the artifice of profuſion, which could not be denied, upon themſelves, on whom the greateſt part of thoſe profuſions had fallen [r]. But things did not go long at this rate, the queen's council being divided. The duke *de Eſpernon*, who had been recalled from *Metz*, the duke of *Guiſe*, and Monſieur de *Villeroy*, were for ſupporting the queen's manifeſto by arms, the rather, becauſe none of the parliaments in the kingdom, to all of whom the princes manifeſto had been ſent, had returned them any anſwer; and many of the nobility had brought their packets, ſealed as they were, to the queen. But the chancellor and the marſhal *d'Ancre* were for a negotiation; the former through the natural timidity of his temper, and the latter that he might gratify the princes [s]. This laſt counſel, tho' certainly not the beſt, prevailed; and the duke *de Ventadour* was diſpatched to enter into a treaty, which was firſt begun at *Soiſſons*, and afterwards concluded at *St. Menehoud*, and the Sieur *de Bullion* ſent with it to the queen. By this treaty it was ſtipulated, that an aſſembly of the ſtates ſhould be called, and other grievances redreſſed; but the principal articles were of a private nature. The prince of *Condé* was to have the town of *Amboiſe*, as a place of ſurety, and four hundred and fifty thouſand livres in ready money; the duke *de Mayenne* three hundred thouſand livres, and the ſurvivance of the government of *Paris*; the duke *de Longueville* a penſion of one hundred thouſand livres; and the reſt, in like manner, what they thought fit; and, beſides all this, an approbation of their conduct from the government [t].

The treaty of St. Menehoud *confirmed.*

THIS treaty was but ill reliſhed at court. The princes had but a ſmall force, and the queen had, by this time, aſſembled a conſiderable body of troops, and, by giving the duke of *Rohan* an equivalent in money, had obtained the reſignation of his poſt of colonel general of the *Swiſs*, which was be-

[q] Mercure Francois. P. MATTH. Hiſtoire de Louis XIII. WINWOOD's Memorials vol. iii. [r] Hiſtoire de Mere & du Fils. DUP. Hiſtoire de Louis XIII. LE GRAIN. [s] Memoires de la Regence. DUPL. Hiſtoire de Louis XIII. Hiſtoire de Mere & du Fils. [t] Mercure Francois. P. MATTH. Hiſtoire de Louis XIII. Memoires de la Regence.

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ſtowed upon Monſieur *Baſſompier* [u]. The dukes of *Guiſe*, *Eſpernon*, and *Bellegarde*, cardinal *Joyeuſe*, and ſecretary *Villeroy*, were for rejecting the treaty, as derogatory to the royal authority, for the ſupport of which they profeſſed themſelves extremely zealous. The chancellor, marſhal *d'Ancre*, and preſident *Jeanin*, who had been one of the queen's commiſſioners, were for peace, to which, at firſt, the queen herſelf was not inclined; tho', on the firſt breaking out of theſe diſturbances, ſhe was ſo much alarmed at the ſcandals that were given out by the malecontents, that ſhe had thoughts of going to the parliament and reſigning the regency. *Barbin*, ſteward of her houſhold, after all her miniſters failed, prevailed upon her to lay aſide this ſcheme, by remonſtrating that ſhe was about to ſacrifice her eaſe, her reputation, and her ſon's ſafety, to gratify her enemies [w]. But now, having ſuperior forces, and hearing every day the ſentiments of *Eſpernon*, who in theſe matters was looked on as an oracle, ſhe expreſſed a firmneſs ſuitable to her dignity. Her inclinations were, however, quickly altered; the chancellor, who ſaw it was the poſtponing the double marriage that ſhe regretted moſt, ſuggeſted that this might be qualified to her ſatisfaction: marſhal *d'Ancre* let her into the ſecret, that, though they ſpoke exactly the ſame language, the dukes of *Eſpernon* and *Guiſe* hated each other mortally; and that all their loyalty proceeded from their deſire of having the conſtable's ſword, *Montmorenci* being juſt dead: but the preſident *Jeanin* had greateſt weight with her [x]. He obſerved that the princes had many ſecret friends; that the duke of *Rohan* would infallibly engage the Proteſtants to favour them; that the princes of *Germany*, the duke of *Lorrain*, and even his Catholic majeſty, had offered them aſſiſtance; ſo that it was better to pacify things, till the king was of age, more eſpecially as that was ſo near [y]. After all, it is doubtful what turn things might have taken, if *Villeroy* had not altered his ſentiments: he had broke of late with the chancellor, and had endeavoured to get him removed; but, finding this was not reliſhed, he ſtruck in again with the other party, and, in conſequence of the arguments he uſed, the queen, after the modification of the article as to the marriage, conſented to the treaty, which was ſigned, concluded, and publiſhed, about the middle of *May* [z].

[u] Memoires de Baſſompiere. Memoires du Duc de Rohan. [w] Hiſtoire de Mere & du Fils. Hiſtoire de la Vie du Duc d'Eſpernon. Memoires de la Regence. Le Grain. [x] P. Matthieu, Hiſt. Louis XIII. [y] Mercure Francois. [z] Dupleix, Hiſt. de Louis XIII.

Troubles in Bretagne, *by the endeavours of the D. of* Vendoſme.

THE troubles of *France* were not yet at an end: the duke of *Vendoſme*, who, as we have obſerved, had been confined to the *Louvre* about the middle of *February*, made his eſcape from thence, about the end of the month, and went directly into *Bretagne*, where he found the whole country in arms againſt him, the duke of *Montbazon* veſted with the king's authority, and the parliament inclined to ſupport it. He wanted not friends however, or, to ſpeak with greater propriety, he found ſo many well affected to the houſe of *Mercœur*, that he made himſelf maſter of *Blavet*, and began to fortify it, and, by degrees, his power increaſed ſo much, that he took no manner of notice of the treaty of *St. Menehoud*, though expreſsly included in it by the princes [a]. It alſo appeared in the ſpace of a few weeks, that the prince of *Condé*, though in poſſeſſion of *Amboiſe*, was labouring alſo to ſeize *Poictiers*. The queen then, for the firſt time, liſtened to wiſer counſels; and, having aſſembled a ſmall army of good troops, conducted her ſon firſt to *Poictiers*, and then into *Bretagne*, the conſequence of which convinced her that the preſence of the king at the head of his troops was the ſhorteſt and the ſafeſt way of appeaſing commotions. The prince of *Conde*, who but a little before had complained of the biſhop and mayor of *Poictiers* for their inſolence in keeping that town for the king, now ſubmitted, and demanded letters of abolition [b]. The duke of *Vendoſme* thought it convenient to take the like courſe, and deſired to be comprized in that treaty which he had ſo lately treated with contempt. The queen, having cauſed the fortreſs of *Blavet* to be demoliſhed, returned to *Paris* about the middle of *September*, and the king, being entered into his
A. D. 1614. fourteenth year, went to the parliament, and, as the firſt act of his majority, expedited a declaration, confirming the edict of *Nantes*, the laws againſt blaſphemers, and againſt duels [c]. The next day he went with great ſolemnity to the parliament, and, by a ſhort ſpeech, declared that he took upon himſelf the government of his dominions, and decided that the cardinals ſhould take place of the eccleſiaſtical peers, upon which the latter retired. According to the late treaty the ſtates were aſſembled at *Sens*, and from thence transferred to *Paris*, where they ſat long and did little. The queen-mother was now much more at her eaſe than ſhe had hitherto been, for,

[a] Hiſtoire de la Vie du Duc d'Eſpernon. Memoires de la Regence. Hiſtoire de Mere & du Fils. [b] DUPLEIX Hiſtoire de Louis XIII. MALINGRE. LE GRAIN. [c] Mercure Francois. DUPL. Hiſtoire de Louis XIII. Hiſtoire de Mere & du Fils.

though

though the king did nothing but by her advice, yet all was done in his name, and by his authority [d].

THE true deſign of the princes, in their inſiſting ſo much on the aſſembly of the ſtates, was their firm perſuaſion that they would enter into the capital points couched in the prince of *Conde*'s letter. But the miniſters underſtood them better; they left them entirely free to act at their pleaſure, convinced that the three corps would embarraſs one another, as they actually did, and ſeparated about the twenty-third of *February*, without performing any thing worth mentioning. One thing was thought very extraordinary; though they had complained loudly of the multiplicity of officers, yet the marſhal *d'Ancre* created three treaſurers of penſions, while they were ſitting, and, for that favour, exacted from them a very large ſum of money [e]. The princes then turned their eyes towards the parliament, who, having been groſsly affronted by the duke of *Eſpernon*, liſtened the more readily to their inſinuations, and gave ſome trouble to the miniſters by their remonſtrances [f]. The prince, as a mark of his cordiality, delivered up *Amboiſe*, which had been accorded him only to the ſitting of the ſtates. Marſhal *d'Ancre*, who had nothing ſo much in view as the preſervation of his own power, now raiſed to a degree of wonder, even againſt her will, prevailed upon the queen to beſtow this government upon a young man, who ſeemed to be riſing in the king's favour [g]. This was Monſieur *de Luynes*, whom he endeavoured to attach to his intereſts by this favour, not without hopes of obliging the king at the ſame time (D). The parliament went on with their deliberations,

An aſſembly of the ſtates in which nothing of importance is done.

[d] Memoires de la Regence. Hiſtoire de la Vie de Duc d'Eſpernon. P. MATTH. Hiſtoire Louis XIII. [e] Hiſtoire de Mere & du Fils. Memoires de la Regence. MALINGRE. [f] DUPLEIX, Hiſtoire de Louis XIII. Mercure Francois. LE GRAIN. [g] Memoires de la Regence. MALINGRE. Hiſtoire de Mere & du Fils.

(D) If we may credit thoſe who had reaſon to be well acquainted with the hiſtory of thoſe times, they aſſure us that the king's favourite, in point of birth, was rather inferior to his mother's. His grandfather was one Mr. *William Segur*, who was a canon of the church of *Marſeilles*; he had a houſekeeper or chambermaid, whoſe name was *Albert*, by whom he had a ſon, to whom he gave the name of *Luynes*, from a little houſe he had between *Aix* and *Marſeilles* (1). He had alſo a ſecond ſon,

(1) *Hiſtoire de Mere & du Fils, tom.* i. *p.* 282. *Bernard Hiſtoire de Louis* XIII. *liv.* iv. *Le Laboureur Additions aux Memoires de Caſtelnau, liv.* vi. *p.* 455.

who

rations, notwithſtanding they knew with what eye they were looked upon at court, and that the king had forbid the prince of *Condé* to aſſiſt at their debates, and, in the end pub-

who became a ſoldier, and having acquired ſome reputation, was known to the world by the name of captain *Luynes*; he acquired, in the courſe of his life, a ſmall fortune, not exceeding twelve hundred livres a year, ariſing from a meadow called *Brante*, and a little iſland in the *Rhoſne* called *Cadenet*. His eldeſt ſon was page to the count *de Lude*, and he quickly brought his two brothers into the ſame family, where, by their affability and diligence, they rendered themſelves reſpected, and were, in proceſs of time, recommended by Monſ. *de la Varenne* to *Henry* the fourth, who gave the eldeſt a penſion of four hundred crowns, upon which, however, all the three brothers lived till they were put about the Dauphin, and then the appointments of the eldeſt were advanced to twelve hundred crowns. The likeneſs of the two names *Albert* and *Albret*, made Monſ. *de Luynes* aſſume the airs of a perſon of high quality, and induced him to give his brothers the titles of Monſ. *de Cadenet* and Monſ. *de Brante*. He had ſo fine a perſon, that it was a common anſwer in *France*, when any body aſked how he came to riſe ſo ſoon and ſo high, "You "never ſaw him;" as if the ſight of him was ſufficient to have juſtified the favour of his maſter. Monſ. *de Luynes* meddled at firſt only with his maſter's pleaſures; and the firſt marks of diſtinction that were ſhewn him aroſe from his preſenting the king with a couple of magpies, that he had trained to ſtrike little birds in the ſame manner as hawks. It was by ſervices of this nature that he gained the good graces of *Lewis*, and it was by the ſhew he made of ſtudying nothing beyond boyiſh plays, that he wrought himſelf into the confidence of thoſe who otherwiſe would have taken immediate umbrage at his favour; but, believing that he was capable of nothing beyond what he made a ſhew to affect, and, not dreaming that this young falconer had a ſpirit to fly at higher game, they were the dupes of their own refinements, and of his dexterous artifice. This is very elegantly painted by a noble *Venetian* (z); but then the beauty of the colouring depends ſo much upon the expreſſion, that there is no tranſlating it: *Prevaleva, il Signor de* Luines, *gentilhuomo* d'Avignon, *di non alti natali, appunto introdotto appreſſo il rè, acciòche con le caccie, non gli uccelli, e con altri minuti piaceri lo trattenueſſe. Ma egli con queſti l'ireti, in modo tale, che face preſto tutto il regno ſua preda.* Fortune was no leſs fond of him than ſhe had been of *Conchini*, raiſed him much ſooner and much higher, and, when ſhe could ſoar with him no farther, killed him at a very critical conjuncture, as if ſhe had ſtudied to prevent his fall.

(z) *Hiſtoria della Republica di Venetia, per Batt. Nani, liv.* iii.

liſhed

liſhed an arret, which was ſuppreſſed by another of the council of ſtate. But, notwithſtanding this, the reverence to the parliament by the people held the court in awe [h].

ALL the time theſe diſputes ſubſiſted, the prince of *Condé* remained in a kind of retreat, but ſoon after he began to give freſh marks of diſcontent. He was at that time in *Picardy*, where marſhal *d'Ancre* had lately taken poſſeſſion of his government of *Amiens*, cauſed the mayor of the town, upon ſome ſlight diſlike, to be aſſaſſinated, and ordered the provoſt marſhal to be hanged, without any form of proceſs; but, upon the officers of the garriſon proteſting that they would quit the place, if he perſiſted in his deſign, he ordered the man to be diſmiſſed, though the rope was about his neck [i]. The prince of *Condé*, upon this, publiſhed a manifeſto, aſſigning the cauſes of his freſh diſcontent, at the head of which were the inſolences of this marſhal, the diſſipation of the royal treaſure, the little care taken to diſcover the authors of the late king's murder, the introduction of *Jews*, ſorcerers, and magicians, the diſregard of the natural allies of *France*, and the violation of the edicts in favour of the Hugonots, were likewiſe ſpecified; and, in the concluſion, he deſired that the king would poſtpone his marriage till the domeſtic affairs of his government were ſettled [k]. The king, or rather the queen his mother, perſiſting in her deſign of accompliſhing the double marriage, and of marching with an army to the frontiers for that purpoſe, engaged the young monarch to go in perſon to the *Baſtile*, in order to take out two millions and a half, which he did, and at the ſame time made a viſit to the count *d'Auvergne*, to whom he promiſed his liberty, tho' he did not obtain it till ſome years after. The princes who followed *Condé* were the dukes of *Longueville*, *Mayenne*, and *Bouillon*, and many of the nobility; on the other hand, the king had about him the dukes of *Guiſe*, *Elbœuf*, *Eſpernon*, and *Uzes*; and, having provided in the beſt manner he was able for the ſecurity of *Paris*, he began his journey, or rather his march, towards the frontiers, about the middle of *Auguſt*, eſcorted by twelve hundred horſe and four thouſand foot [l].

The prince of Condé *revolts afreſh, and lays open the ill conduct of the regent.*

THE army of the crown that was to oppoſe the princes, while the king marched to the frontiers, was commanded by the marſhal *Bois Dauphin*, and conſiſted of about twenty

Civil war carried on without

[h] MALINGRE. Mercure François. DUPLEIX, Hiſtoire de Louis XIII. [i] Mercure Francois. Memoires de la Regence. DUPLEIX Hiſtoire de Louis XIII. [k] MALING. Memoires de la Regence. P. MATTH. Hiſtoire de Louis XIII. [l] Memoires de la Regence. MALINGRE. Hiſtoire de Mere & du Fils.

thouſand

much effuſion of blood on either ſide.

thouſand men; notwithſtanding which the diſcontents of the people were ſo ſtrong, and the pretences of the malecontents ſo plauſible, if they had really intended what their manifeſtoes contained, that their forces increaſed every day, ſeveral advantages were gained over the king's army, and the dukes of *Nevers* and *Vendoſme* having at length ventured to own their cauſe, and the duke of *Bouillon* having procured a reinforcement of *German* horſe, the prince of *Condé* reſolved to paſs the *Loire*, in order to join the Proteſtant army, commanded by the duke of *Roban* [m]. In the heat of the civil war, the exchange of the two princeſſes was made in the iſland of *Pheaſants*; and the king, with his bride, having made their ſolemn entry into the city of *Bourdeaux*, received the nuptial benediction in that city, on the 27th of *November*. The remainder of the year was ſpent on one ſide in the concluſion of a treaty between the princes and the Proteſtants, notwithſtanding the king had declared the former rebels, and ſpecified the acts which he ſtiled high treaſon [n]. On the other hand, the king proſecuted his march from *Bourdeaux*, eſcorted by a ſmall force, commanded by the duke of *Guiſe*, which was ſo much the ſmaller, as all the Proteſtant *Swiſs* had quitted the king's ſervice, and retired home; which conduct of theirs is highly exclaimed againſt by ſome hiſtorians, tho' it was clearly conſiſtent with their capitulation, ſince they did not retire till after the Proteſtants in *France* had taken a part in the war; and conſequently, if they had acted at all, they muſt have acted againſt their brethren of the ſame religion. At the entrance of theſe troubles died queen *Margaret* of *Valois*, who, during this reign, had lived upon extreme good terms with the court [o] (E), and never took any ſhare in the factions or intrigues of ſtate.

It

[m] Memoires du Duc de Rohan. Hiſtoire de Mere & du Fils. Dupleix, Hiſtoire de Louis XIII. [n] Mercure Francois. Memoires du Duc de Rohan. Hiſtoire de Mere & du Fils. [o] Dupl. Hiſtoire de Louis XIII. Le Grain.

(E) We have ſpoken ſo often and ſo largely of this princeſs, conſidered in her public character, that here we are to confine ourſelves to her private life. In her perſon the hiſtorians of thoſe times are unanimous, that her rank as the daughter, the ſiſter, and the wife of a king, did not raiſe her higher above the reſt of her ſex than her beauty; or that than her accompliſhments. The vivacity of her wit, the ſweetneſs of her voice, the affability of her manners, the facility of her addreſs, the grandeur of her air, and that diſtinguiſhing dignity which accompanied

It has ſeldom happened that a prince ſo young, having his kingdom ſo embroiled, ſhould be able to put an end to ſuch domeſtic *Some on the court*

panied all her actions, and attended her to her grave, made her eſteemed incomparable, notwithſtanding all the errors in her conduct. Her brother *Henry* the third, who hated her, made her gallantries ſo public, that it was impoſſible for her huſband to continue ſo much as the exterior marks of a fair correſpondence. She was ſent to the caſtel of *Uſſon*, in *Auvergne*, where ſhe was under the care of the marquis *de Canillac*, who quickly became her priſoner, and is ſaid to have loſt his liberty by looking too long on the arms of this *Venus*; ſhe reſided there many years, and paſſed her time in a manner that hiſtory does not oblige us to relate. She gave her conſent to the declaring her marriage with the king null in terms that did her honour; "It is fit," ſaid ſhe, "that my will ſhould ſubmit to "his who has even ſubdued "fortune by his valour." After the birth of the Dauphin ſhe came to *Paris*, and lived at firſt in the *Hotel d'Sens*, till one of her favourites was ſtabbed at her coach door, and ſhe would never enter the houſe afterwards. She removed to the ſuburb of *St. Germain*, where ſhe built a new houſe, and kept her little court in more magnificence than order. She was the laſt of the royal houſe of *Valois*, and poſſeſſed the diſtinguiſhing quality of that houſe, beneficence, in a ſupreme degree. She never gave but ſhe excuſed the meanneſs of the gift, which, however large, how much ſoever ſurpaſſing the expectation of the perſon upon whom it was beſtowed, never ſatisfied herſelf, or left her unwilling to give more. It is true, ſhe often gave improperly; but that proceeded from her eſtabliſhed maxim, that it was better to gratify appearances often, than to diſappoint merit once. Her palace was the ſanctuary of the learned; and, by converſing conſtantly with men of parts and letters, ſhe attained a facility and correctneſs in ſpeaking, to which few women have attained. Her poems are inconteſtable proofs of her genius; her memoirs, in point of elegance and delicacy, have not been equalled; and, if ſhe had not been deficient in one virtue, ſhe might have been, with propriety, ſtiled either a muſe or a grace. It was amazing with how much ſpirit and conſtancy ſhe bore her misfortunes, or rather her change of fortunes, in which, if her condition was ſingular, ſhe ſuſtained that ſingularity of ſtation in a manner altogether extraordinary. The ducheſs of *Valois* drew all the duty and reſpect that could have been paid to a queen of *France*. Inſtead of ſhunning the king, the queen, or the court, ſhe ſecured their eſteem, and even conciliated their affection. By making the Dauphin her heir, he became, in ſome meaſure, her ſon: ſhe viſited him and the reſt of the king's children conſtantly, regularly, and with a decent degree of tenderneſs. In return, *Henry* ſometimes viſited her, the

queen

ſide, and the Proteſtants on the other, are averſe to peace.

domeſtic troubles without injury to the royal authority, and therefore we ought to be the leſs ſurprized at the iſſue of this war, which was, indeed, no other than what might well be expected. There were ſome about their majeſties who preſſed them to proſecute the war with vigour, and, once for all, eſtabliſh the royal authority on the ruin of whatever oppoſed it [p]. But others repreſented that the ruin of the whole or of any part of *France* could never be advantageous to the king; that the iſſue of war was always uncertain; that the Proteſtants would have recourſe to foreign aſſiſtance; that a conqueſt would elevate the power of certain perſons to a dangerous height; and that, after all, a pacification, even upon indifferent terms, was better than a long and ruinous war. On the other hand, the prince of *Condé*, the duke of *Bouillon*, and ſome others, as the *French* writers ſay, were deſirous of peace, for the ſake of private advantages; but the dukes of *Rohan*, *Sulli*, and *Tremouille*, with all the Proteſtants, were averſe to any accommodation. The truth of the matter is, the latter acted with wiſdom and ſpirit; they told the prince of *Condé*, that, having gone ſo far, he could never truſt the court any more; that, having drawn his ſword againſt his maſter, there was no ſheathing it, but by procuring ſuch terms as left him nothing to fear, and living for the future in his government, where, being ſurrounded by the Proteſtants, it would be no eaſy matter to force him [q]. But, perceiving that he was inclined to a negotiation, they inſiſted upon preſcribing ſuch terms as might conduce to a ſolid peace.

A treaty concluded at Loudon.

In the beginning of the year the king came to his army, as if he meant to ſignalize his firſt campaign by a battle, and yet, ſoon after, conſented that ſome overtures of accommodation ſhould be made by the interpoſition of Sir *Thomas Edmondes*,

[p] Hiſtoire de la Vie du Duc d'Eſpernon. Dupl. Hiſtoire de Louis XIII. Hiſtoire de Mere & du Fils. [q] Memoires du Duc de Rohan. Malingre. Le Grain.

queen more frequently, and, after the king's death, they lived like ſiſters. She was unequal in her temper to the laſt, mingling pleaſures with devotion, the love of letters with that of vanity, a high ſpirit of charity with not a little injuſtice; for though ſhe viſited churches frequently, beſtowed more or leſs upon almoſt every religious houſe in *Paris*, and directed her remains to be interred in the chapel of a monaſtery of her own foundation, yet ſhe left her debts unpaid. She expired the 27th of *March*, 1615, when ſhe was upwards of threeſcore (9).

(9) *Dupleix. P. Daniel. Le Gendre.*

the *Britiſh* miniſter. Upon this occaſion a meeting of the princes was neceſſary, and a very deep ſcheme was laid for ſurprizing them when together, the execution of which was committed to the duke of *Guiſe*; and, becauſe it failed, it is ſuppoſed that he gave them notice, in which, if he did, he ſhewed more honour than thoſe who, under colour of a treaty, would have done what they deſpaired of doing by open war. At length *Loudon* was fixed for the place of treaty, and a ſuſpenſion of arms agreed upon [r]. The duke of *Vendoſme*, who had affected a kind of neutrality, and had obtained ſome ſupplies of money from the court, upon profeſſions of ſervice, took no notice of the ſuſpenſion, upon which the king ſent a body of forces to attack him, which forced him to throw off the maſk, and to declare on the ſide of the princes, that he might enjoy their protection. It is unneceſſary to enter into a long detail of theſe negotiations: it is ſufficient to ſay, that the princes prevailed in almoſt all their demands; the redreſs of public grivances was promiſed, the moſt ample ſecurity given to the reformed, the government of *Amiens* taken from the marſhal *d'Ancre*, and all the edicts and declarations, by which thoſe in arms had been ſtigmatized as rebels, were recalled [s]. What pleaſed the prince of *Condé* beſt was his being placed at the head of the council, which he took to be placing him at the head of the government, but which thoſe who prevailed upon the queen to paſs this article placed in quite another light. This treaty was concluded in the beginning of *May*; and, what was very extraordinary, excluſive of fifty-ſeven articles, contained in the edict which was ſent to the parliament of *Paris*, in order to confirm it, there was a ſchedule of ſecret articles, which contained the private gratifications that were ſent to them ſealed up. The parliament were very unwilling to grant their verification to they knew not what, but upon aſſurances given them that they contained nothing beyond the ſecret articles of the edict of *Nantes*, and, for the ſake of reſtoring peace to the kingdom, they at length conſented to let them paſs [t]. The prince of *Condé* was in reality the dupe of this negotiation, and that through his own fault, ſince he parted with his government of *Guienne* for that of *Berri* and *Touraine*, and a gratification of a million and a half of livres.

[r] Mercure Francois. Memoires de la Regence. Hiſtoire de Mere & du Fils. Winwood's Memorials, vol. iii. Negotiations of Sir Thomas Edmondes. [s] Memoires de la Regence. Dupl. Hiſtoire de Louis XIII. Le Grain. [t] Memoires du Duc de Rohan. Memoires de Baſſompiere. Hiſtoire de Mere & du Fils.

On

Marſhal d'Ancre receives a ſevere check from the parliament of Paris.

ON the concluſion of the treaty the prince did not come immediately to court, where ſome conſiderable changes were made. The chancellor had formerly done the ſecretary *Villeroy* ſome prejudice, and the ſecretary, in conjunction with the preſident *Jeanin*, had taken ſo much pains to expoſe his timidity and want of general knowlege, that the queen reſolved to be rid of him [u]. The chancellor no ſooner perceived this, than he addreſſed himſelf to *Villeroy* and *Jeanin*; he told them they were miſtaken in reſpect to themſelves, to him, and the perſon they intended for his ſucceſſor, and that his diſgrace would only prove a prelude to their own. They laboured upon this to preſerve him, but to no purpoſe; the queen took the ſeals from him, and gave them to *William du Vair*, preſident of the parliament of *Aix*, a man of great abilities in his profeſſion, and who would have been thought ſuperior to the dignity, if he had never enjoyed it. Marſhal *d'Ancre* met with a great mortification from the parliament; during the abſence of the court he had reſided at *Paris*, and attempting to go out of town one day, with a great retinue, he was ſtopped at one of the gates by the city guard, commanded by a ſhoemaker, who told him that he could not go out without a proper paſſport, purſuant to the king's orders: the marſhal had recourſe to offers of money and threats, but all in vain, upon which he returned. Now ſeeing the peace made, he ordered two of his footmen to take an opportunity of chaſtiſing the ſhoemaker, and they did it ſo ſeverely that they left him for dead; the people aſſembling upon his cries, ſeized them, and carried them to priſon; but the upper ſervant who delivered them the orders made his eſcape. By due courſe of law the footmen were brought to the gallows by ſentence from the parliament; and though the marſhal and his wife ſpared no pains to ſave them, it was to no purpoſe, and ſerved only to increaſe the violence of that hatred which was borne them [w]. The dukes of *Mayenne* and *Bouillon*, by their intrigues, hindered the prince of *Condé* from coming to court, that they might have the greater power, which piqued the marſhal *d'Ancre*, who had a fond reliance on the prince of *Condé* without any juſt grounds. At length the prince arrived, and, chiefly by the influence of the marſhal, had almoſt the ſole direction of affairs, to which they both proved themſelves very unequal; for the marſhal, proud of the prince's protection, firſt ſlighted his new friends, the dukes of *Mayenne* and *Bouillon*, and then, with a view of making court to the prince

[u] Memoires de la Regence. Memoires de Baſſompiere. Hiſtoire de Louis XIII. Hiſtoire de Mere & du Fils.

[w] Mercure Francois. DUPL.

of

of *Condé*, broke with his old friends the dukes of *Guiſe* and *Eſpernon* [x]. The duke of *Bouillon*, who abſolutely governed the prince, obliged him to ſend marſhal *d'Ancre* a meſſage that he was no longer his friend, which ſo frightened that favourite, that he retired immediately into *Normandy*, and his wife fell ſick [y].

THE prince, who had it in his power to do every thing, did nothing; he affected to ſhew that he had ſeparated from the Proteſtants, and yet remained as much as ever in the hands of *Bouillon*, who, in ſome of their conſultations, hinted the poſſibility of the prince's being placed upon the throne, provided he would have recourſe to *Biron*'s old ſcheme, and canton out the kingdom into independent governments. This coming to the ears of the court, the queen-mother cauſed the prince of *Condé* to be arreſted in the *Louvre*, by Monſ. *Themmis*, who, for this ſervice, was made marſhal of *France* [z]. At this time lord *Hay*, afterwards earl of *Carliſle*, was embaſſador extraordinary from king *James*, to compliment the king on his marriage, and he demanded an audience upon this occaſion, to know the reaſons of treating in this manner the firſt prince of the blood, and being not pleaſed with his anſwer, for the court had a ſuſpicion of his having ſome intelligence with the prince of *Condé*, obtained leave from his own court to return home [a]. The prince of *Condé*'s impriſonment alarmed ſeveral great men to ſuch a degree, that the dukes of *Vendoſme*, *Guiſe*, *Mayenne*, *Nevers*, *Rohan*, *Sulli*, *la Tremouille*, *Candale*, the eldeſt ſon of the duke of *Eſpernon*, the marſhal *de Bouillon*, the marquis *de Cœuvres*, and *Nicholas le Jay*, preſident of the parliament of *Paris*, retired from court. After ſome weeks confinement, the prince was transferred to the *Baſtile*, and ſome farther changes were made in the miniſtry; *Du Vair* was removed from being keeper of the ſeals for ſpeaking his mind too freely, and was replaced by *Mangot*, who had been made ſecretary of ſtate in the room of *Villeroy*, who was now ſucceeded by the biſhop of *Lucon*, afterwards the famous cardinal *de Richlieu*; and *Barbin*, who had been ſteward of the queen's houſhold, was made comptroller of the finances [b]. Theſe were all brought in by marſhal *d'Ancre*, whoſe houſe, with that of his ſecretary, was pulled down to

Condé arreſted, and the miniſtry changed.

[x] MALINGRE. Memoires de la Regence. Hiſtoire de Mere & du Fils. [y] Memoires de la Regence. Hiſtoire de Mere & du Fils. MALINGRE. [z] Memoires du Duc de Rohan. Memoires de la Regence. Hiſtoire de Mere & du Fils. [a] Memoires de la Regence. Mercure Francois. Negotiations of Sir Thomas Edmondes. [b] Memoires de Baſſompiere. Hiſtoire de Mere & de Fils.

the ground by the mob of *Paris*, on the firſt news of the prince's confinement, of which there is no doubt that he was extremely glad, and of which, for that reaſon, he was preſumed to be the author. His vanity made him not unwilling to be thought ſo, and, forgetting how lately he was deceived when he fanſied himſelf abſolutely ſecure, and under the protection of the prince of *Condé*, he fell into the ſame error again, believing that the princes being retired from court, and having the ſeals, the pen, and the treaſure in the hands of thoſe to whom he had confided them, his fortune was ſecure, ſeeing the queen-regent, in whom he had ſo great an intereſt, was, for the preſent, triumphant, and the detaching the duke and family of *Guiſe* from the confederate princes confirmed him ſo ſtrongly in this ſentiment, that he no longer preſerved any meaſures, but ſpoke and acted as if all was at his command [c].

A. D. 1616.

The queen-mother prepares to reduce the princes by force.

THE queen-mother, who, though ſhe really loved *Galigai*, and for her ſake ſuffered the impertinencies of the marſhal, took, in all affairs of importance, the advice of abler heads, and more eſpecially of *Barbin* and the biſhop of *Lucon*; by their counſel ſhe cauſed a declaration to be publiſhed in the king's name, in which, after ſetting forth all the compliances that had been uſed to quiet the princes, there was a ſpecific account of what had been paid them in ready money, that the people of *France* might apprehend clearly the motives and merits of theſe patriots. This ſtep was taken for reſtoring domeſtic quiet. In regard to foreign affairs the baron *de Tour* was ſent to *London*, to ſatisfy king *James*, who had a great regard for the prince and for the duke of *Bouillon* [d]. M. *de la Noue* was ſent into *Holland*, to prevent the republic from intereſting themſelves in theſe diſputes, and the count *de Schomberg* was ſent to the elector *Palatine*, and other princes of *Germany*, not barely to acquaint them with the motives of the king's conduct, but alſo to raiſe a ſmall corps of horſe and and a great body of foot. Laſtly, three potent armies were formed, and received orders to act againſt the princes, in the king's name, and with the utmoſt vigour; the firſt, which marched into *Champagne*, was compoſed of twelve thouſand foot and two thouſand horſe, commanded by the duke of *Guiſe*, and the marſhals *Themmis* and *Praſlin*: they took the field about the middle of *February*, and reduced ſeveral places belonging to the duke of *Nevers*, and particularly *Chateau Porcien* and *Rethel*, which occupied them till towards the

[c] DUP. Hiſtoire de Louis XIII. P. MATTH. Hiſtoire de Louis XIII. LE GRAIN. [d] Negotiations of Sir Thomas Edmondes.

end

end of *March*. The ſecond, which acted in the *Nivernois*, was compoſed of about nine thouſand men, and was commanded by the marſhal *de Montigne*, who proceeded with the like ſucceſs, having made the ſecond ſon of the duke *de Nevers* priſoner, and reduced the ducheſs to capitulate [e]. The third army was commanded by the count *d'Auvergne*, whom the queen had taken out of the *Baſtile*, after his long confinement, and placed at the head of an army of about fourteen thouſand men; with which, having firſt cleared the *Iſle of France*, he at length blocked up the duke of *Mayenne* in *Soiſſons*. Having received a train of artillery from the *Baſtile*, he battered the place; and, having make a ſufficient breach, was on the point of making a general aſſault, when the face of affairs changed in ſo extraordinary a manner, that thoſe who had hitherto been conſidered as rebels, were, all of a ſudden, owned for the king's friends, and his beſt ſubjects; but ſome of the wiſeſt heads in *France* ſaw not the neceſſity of making this ſhort turn [f].

Marſhal d'Ancre, believing himſelf ſecure, gives a looſe to his own temper.

We have already mentioned the ſtrange conduct of the marſhal *d'Ancre*, who was every day ſolliciting and haſtening his own ruin, by the very methods he took to divert and prevent it. He had raiſed *Barbin* and the biſhop of *Lucon* to the great employments they held; he became ſuſpicious of them, traduced and did them ſo many private injuries, that, for the ſake of peace, they were deſirous of laying down their employments [g]. He could not but know how much he was hated by the common people, and yet he was remarkably buſy in puſhing whatever might exaſperate them: he procured the baron *de Huertevan* to be beheaded for high treaſon, for correſponding with the princes who were in arms, tho' he had often done the ſame thing, and interfered more warmly to procure the like fate to one *Stuart*, a perfect youth, eſteemed one of the handſomeſt men of his time, who had been extremely well received at court [h]. At the ſame time he was upon very ill terms with *Luynes*, who had entirely engroſſed the king's favour, and who had offered to match his brother with the marſhal's niece, which was hindered by his wife, who was jealous of his having any intereſt in the king's court, for fear he would be then leſs dependent on her. *Luynes*, who took it in quite another ſenſe, and apprehended that the marſhal rejected his alliance becauſe he intended to remove him, whiſpered all his ſuſpicions to the king, who,

[e] Mercure Francois. Memoires de la Regence. P. Matth. Hiſtoire de Louis XIII.
[f] Memoires du Duc de Rohan.
[g] Memoires de Baſſompiere.
[h] Dupl. Hiſtoire de Louis XIII.

tho' but fifteen years of age, began to diſcover that jealouſy which was the predominant quality in his conſtitution [i].

The Sieur Luynes contrives the marſhal's deſtruction.

He told him that this *Italian*, whom his father hated, but could never remove, now governed his kingdom; that the miniſters were all of his choice or recommendation; that the princes were perſecuted only becauſe they would not tamely ſubmit to this arrogant ſtranger; that, not contented with being at the head of the government, and diſpoſing of great employments at his pleaſure, he was on the point of removing his majeſty's own ſervants, and ſurrounding him with his own creatures. When he ſaw what impreſſion this made on the young monarch, he went farther, and threw out hints of the queen's exorbitant love of power, of the little ſhare that ſhe allowed him to take even in the placing of his own ſervants, and her extraordinary fondneſs for the duke of *Orleans*. What, though in itſelf a trivial and accidental thing, ſeemed to give a colour of truth to theſe reports, was the queen's ſtopping a troop of horſe, that bore her name, in their march to the camp before *Soiſſons*, to remain about her own and the king's perſon, as they had then no cavalry to cover the little excurſions of pleaſure which the king now and then made into the country, and to this *Luynes* gave the malicious turn of her making uſe of them to ſecure his royal perſon [k]. The firſt expedient deviſed by this young prince for delivering himſelf out of what was now ſtiled a captivity, was to put himſelf at the head of this troop of horſe, to go in perſon to the ſiege of *Soiſſons*, and finding means to get into that place, to declare the duke of *Mayenne* his lieutenant-general againſt marſhal *d'Ancre* and his adherents. This, upon examination, was found to be impracticable. In the mean time ſome overtures were made to the queen-mother by her faithful ſervants, to part with the marſhal and his wife, as perſons grown abſolutely inſupportable, to which ſhe ſhewed herſelf very inclineable [l]. Some of the friends of *Galigai* inſinuated to her the prudence of a retreat, to which ſhe willingly conſented, and immediately began to order her moſt valuable effects to be ſent to *Italy*. But when this matter came to be mentioned to the marſhal, he was ſo far from hearing it with any tolerable patience, that he is ſaid to have made this ſtrange anſwer; "I have hitherto been the minion of for-
"tune, who has never deſerted me, nor will I deſert her, but,
"following where-ever ſhe conducts, will let the world ſee

[i] Dupleix Hiſt. de Louis XIII. P. Matth. Hiſt. de Louis XIII. Le Grain. [k] Mercure Francois. Hiſtoire de Mere & du Fils. [l] Memoires de la Regence. Hiſtoire de Mere & du Fils.

"to

" to what height a man may be raiſed, who has the courage " to purſue her [m]." It is not impoſſible but he might have been brought in time to alter his ſentiments: but *Luynes*, who had the ſame ambition, did not leave him that time; he was continually puſhing his maſter to rid himſelf of all reſtraints, and at length pointed out the means by which it was effected.

He propoſed to the king giving his orders to have the marſhal either diſpatched or delivered to the parliament, that they might have no more trouble with him; the king choſe the latter, and his favourite immediately propoſed that *Vitri*, who was captain of the guards, ſhould arreſt him, to which the king aſſented [n]. *Luynes* ſpoke to *Vitri*, and aſked him if he had the courage to execute whatever the king commanded? *Vitri* made no ſcruple of promiſing, even upon oath; upon which *Luynes* told him that there might be danger in their holding a long converſation, but that, at ſuch an hour of the night, in ſuch a place, he ſhould meet with certain men, and directed him to receive and follow their orders, as if they were given by the mouth of the king. *Vitri* was punctual to the appointment, and ſaw with amazement *Tronſon*, a man of a very indifferent character, *Marſillac*, who had betrayed the prince of *Conde*, *Deagen*, who was clerk to the comptroller-general *Barbin*, and a gardener of the *Thuilleries*. However, he was embarked, and of them he learned what was expected from him. The thing was three weeks in agitation, during which it was communicated to a great many perſons, without ever being divulged. At length the 24th of *April* was fixed, and *Vitri* cauſed ſeveral gentlemen of determined courage to be introduced, under various pretences, into the *Louvre* [o]. Amongſt theſe was his brother *Hellier*, his brother in law *Perſan*, *Bournonville*, *Perſan*'s brother-in law, *Guichaumont* and *Rigaud*, exempts of the guard, and ſome others. About ten in the morning the marſhal came to the *Louvre*, preceded by about forty gentlemen, to whom he gave penſions, and followed at a diſtance by as many more, but the gates of the *Louvre* being ſhut as ſoon as he was in, excluded the latter. He ſtopped upon the bridge of the *Louvre*, and leaning his arm upon the rail, was reading a letter, when *Vitri*, followed by his friends, for whom the marſhal's gentlemen, ſuppoſing the king behind, had made a lane, laying his

Marſhal d'Ancre is arreſted and ſlain.

[m] Hiſtoire de Mere & du Fils. Memoires de la Regence. Hiſtoria della Republica Veneta di B. Nani. [n] Mercure François. Malin. Hiſtoire de Mere & du Fils. [o] Memoires de la Regence. Malingre. Memoires de Baſſompiere.

hand upon his ſhoulder, ſaid, "I arreſt you, Sir, in the king's "name." "What, me," returned the marſhal, in a quick tone; "Yes, you, Sir," replied *Vitri*, with a loud voice and an oath. The marſhal, retiring back, laid his hand on his ſword, *Vitri*, turning his head, cried, "Kill him," upon which *Hellier* diſcharged a piſtol through his heart, *Perſan* another through his head, and *Guichaumont* a third into his belly [p].

All his employments, together with his eſtates, are beſtowed upon the Sieur de Luynes.

VITRI's aſſociates began immediately to cry *Vive le Roy*, till the king appeared at a window, made a ſignal with his hat that he accepted their ſervices, and then they were ſilent. The marquis *de Pene*, ſon to the marſhal, was immediately arreſted; and his wife *Galigai* was conducted to the room where the prince of *Conde* had been confined [q]. The queen's guards were removed, and thoſe of the king placed in their ſtead, by which ſhe underſtood herſelf to be a priſoner. The king wrote the ſame day three letters to the parliament, the firſt with an account of the death of the marſhal, the ſecond to avow that what had been done was by his order, the third to create the office of counſellor of the ſhort robe in favour of the baron *de Vitri*, that he might be ſecured a ſeat in that aſſembly, before he took his oath as marſhal of *France*, taking up the bâton that *d'Ancre* had let fall [r]. A total change followed; *Mangot* was removed, *Barbin* was confined, the ſeals were reſtored to *du Vair*, *Villeroy* returned to his office as ſecretary of ſtate, *Jeanin* came again into favour, the king wrote to the duke of *Longueville*, who was neareſt, to come to court: he wrote alſo to the reſt of the princes; the duke of *Moyenne* ſent his majeſty the keys of *Soiſſons*, after ſetting the gates open to the king's troops, and returned in a few days with the count *d'Auvergne*. The proceſs was made for the unfortunate *Galigai*, who fell with a fortitude that buried all her follies in oblivion, and the queen-mother was exiled to *Blois* [s]. Monſ. *Luynes* had the confiſcation of the marſhal's eſtate, to an immenſe value; he likewiſe ſucceeded him as firſt gentleman of the chamber, as the king's lieutenant in *Normandy*, and in his governments. *Vitri*, as we before obſerved, had his ſtaff, *Hellier* had the company of guards which the new marſhal had commanded, and *Perſan* was entruſted with the *Baſtile*. M. *de Luynes* would have preſerved *Richlieu*, but it was not in his

[p] Memoires de la Regence. MALINGRE. Hiſtoire di BATT. NANI, Hiſtoire de Mere & du Fils. [q] DUPL. Hiſtoire de Louis XIII. P. MATTH. Hiſtoire de Louis XIII. MALINGRE. [r] Memoires de la Regence. Hiſtoire de Mere & du Fils. Memoires de AMELOT DE LA HOUSSAYE. [s] MALINGRE. Hiſtoire de Louis XIII. Hiſtoire de Mere & du Fils. Hiſtoria di BATT. NANI.

power,

power, the old ſecretaries were to be reſtored; but he kept his ſeat in the council, and was ordered to attend the queen-mother [t].

Some ſingular events which followed the death of d'Ancre.

ALL the princes who had engaged in the league, were received into favour, without the ceremony of a treaty, and the king was prevailed upon by his new favourite to ſend a declaration to the parliament, in which he affirmed himſelf ſatisfied with their ſervices, and annulled whatever had been done againſt them: this was regiſtered, as the former letters had been, without any diſpute; for there ſeemed now to be a great diſpoſition of doing honour to the king's entrance upon his government, of which ſpirit we may judge by the attributing to him the ſurname of *Juſt*, from the fate of the marſhal *d'Ancre*, and that of his widow, though at the ſame time there happened ſome other ſtrokes of juſtice, which, in order to to ſet this period of hiſtory in its true light, it is neceſſary we ſhould mention [u]. Amongſt thoſe who had been intruſted with the ſecret of the marſhal's ruin, there was one *Travail*, who had abjured the Proteſtant religion, turned Capuchin, and had done no credit to that order. This man had great parts, without the leaſt tincture of probity. He had been promiſed, or at leaſt he had promiſed himſelf, the archbiſhoprick of *Bourges*; but, when the prelate who poſſeſſed this ſee was conſtrained to reſign it, and *Travail* ſaw it beſtowed upon another perſon, it inflamed him with ſuch reſentment, that he went to the Sieur *Breſſieux*, one of the queen-mother's principal officers, and confided to him an infamous deſign he had formed. He was arreſted upon this, and condemned upon poſitive teſtimony, that he had laboured to perſuade *Breſſieux* to poiſon the queen; others ſay, with more probability, that he acquainted him with his reſolution to diſpatch *Luynes*, out of pure compaſſion, as he pretended, for the queen-mother; however that might be, he was broke alive [w]. One *Gignier* amuſed *Luynes* with a pretended conſpiracy of the princes againſt him, and againſt the king; and even went ſo far as to charge the duke of *Vendoſme* with an intention to poiſon them both at his daughter's chriſtening, to which they were invited. The king being informed of this, pretended to have the cholic, to avoid going thither: but the duke obſerving ſome ſymptoms of diſtruſt, went to *Luynes*, inſiſted upon making himſelf priſoner, and examining the mat-

[t] Hiſtoire de Mere & du Fils. DUPL. Hiſtoire de Louis XIII. MALINGRE. [u] Hiſtoria di BATT. NANI. DUPLEIX Hiſtoire de Louis XIII. MALINGRE. [w] Mercure Francois. Memoires de la Regence. Hiſtoire de Mere & du Fils.

ter, whatever it was, to the bottom. This brought the whole buſineſs to light, which coſt *Gignier* his head, who, at his death, fairly confeſſed that, ſeeing plots in faſhion, he had made one for his own benefit, which, taking a wrong turn, had brought him to the block [x].

Marſhal Leſdiguieres ſaves the D. of Savoy from being overwhelmed by the power of Spain.

WHILE the affairs of *France* were thus ſtrangely embarraſſed, the *Spaniards* had attacked the duke of *Savoy*, not without ſome plauſible pretences; but the real motive was to eſtabliſh their ſovereignty in *Italy*, and to bar the entrance of the *French* into that country for ever. The marſhal duke *de Leſdiguieres*, the duke's old antagoniſt, levied an army for his aſſiſtance. The *Spaniſh* embaſſador complained of this at court, before the queen was diveſted of the regency. Upon this orders were ſent to *Leſdiguieres* to diſband his forces. The marſhal, who had been long accuſtomed to think for himſelf, and who was alſo perſuaded that he underſtood the intereſts of his country much better than thoſe who ſent him ſuch orders, put them in his pocket, and marched directly into *Piedmont* [y]. His appearance ſaved the duke, but, after he had rendered him great ſervice, he was obliged to return into *Dauphine*, upon the revolt of the princes: that being ſuddenly over in the manner which we have before related, *Leſdiguieres* received freſh orders from court to return into *Savoy*, and, while he was preparing for it, was joined by ſome of the nobleſt and braveſt perſons in the kingdom, who piqued themſelves on learning the trade of war under ſuch a commander. The marſhal found the duke of *Savoy* on the very point of being undone, Don *Pedro de Toledo* being in the heart of his country with a ſuperior army. *Leſdiguieres* ſaw, from the manner in which theſe troops were poſted, that they might be attacked almoſt without hazard. The duke left him at liberty to act as he pleaſed; and, in the ſpace of a week, the old man diſſipated them all, and made between four and five thouſand priſoners. After this he aſſembled twenty thouſand men, and was on the very point of entering the duchy of *Milan*, when a courier from court brought him a peace, which, as things then ſtood, the duke of *Savoy* thought it his intereſt to ſign [z].

An aſſembly of the ſtates held at Rouen.

IT was natural for Monſ. *Luynes* to deſire the ſettlement of his adminiſtration on the firmeſt baſis poſſible, to wiſh the entrance on his new poſt of the king's lieutenant in *Normandy*, and yet he ſaw the neceſſity of not leaving the king's perſon.

[x] MALINGRE. DUPL. Hiſtoire de Louis XIII. Mercure Francois. [y] LE GRAIN. MALINGRE. Hiſtoria di BATT. NANI. [z] Memoires de Leſdiguieres. DUPLEIX Hiſtoire de Louis XIII. Hiſtoire de Mere & du Fils.

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He had either good parts or was capable of liſtening to right counſels, ſince he found the means of uniting all theſe, by engaging the king to call an aſſembly of the notables to be held at *Rouen*, in the month of *December* [a]. There he obtained every thing he could deſire with reſpect to the approbation of that revolution which he had brought about; many good things were likewiſe propoſed for the benefit of the nation, which the king received in the moſt gracious manner, and promiſed to adviſe with his council of ſtate how they might beſt be carried into execution. The royal preſence reſtored tranquility to the province, and gave Monſ. *de Luynes* the opportunity he wanted of ſecuring his ſeveral governments. In this journey of the court died the famous Monſieur *Villeroy*, who, with ſome interruptions, had executed the office of ſecretary of ſtate upwards of fifty years; a man of great parts, unaſſiſted with learning; an able negotiator, and a conſummate miniſter; difficult in making promiſes, but punctual in the performance of them; born to a good fortune, to which, in his long ſervice, he did not add above two hundred pounds a year [b]. This year was alſo fatal to the preſident *de Thou*, whoſe reputation as an hiſtorian will laſt for ever.

which gives de Luynes an opportunity of taking poſſeſſion of his government of Normandy.

To ſupport his greatneſs, Monſ. *de Luynes* ſaw nothing wanting but a proper marriage. He had thoughts of eſpouſing madame *de Vendoſme*, and becoming thereby, in ſome ſort, the brother-in-law of the king; but perceiving that this would be attended with great envy, he very prudently yielded that princeſs to the duke *d'Elbœuf*, and contented himſelf with the daughter of the duke *de Montbazon* [c]. In all this, though he conducted himſelf with much addreſs, and conſidering the power he had over his maſter, confirmed by the management of his confeſſor, a Jeſuit, who is ſaid to have ſworn him to do nothing without the conſent of Monſ. *de Luynes*, he could not ſecure the applauſe of the public, or entirely ſilence the voice of envy. On the contrary, there ran whiſpers everywhere to his prejudice, and, amongſt other cenſures, the populace took the liberty of ſaying that the ſame tavern was ſtill open, and that they had only burnt the old buſh; while others, with equal acrimony and leſs reverence, lamented that the tyranny was unextinguiſhed, and that the nation had only changed one tyrant for another. His two brothers ſharing his favour and his power, a ticket was fixed on their apart-

He marries the daughter of the D. of Montbazon, and becomes the object of public envy.

A. D. 1617.

[a] Dupleix Hiſtoire de Louis XIII. Le Grain. P. Dan. Journal Hiſtorique de Louis XIII. [b] Mercure Francois. Malingre. Hiſtoire de Mere & du Fils. [c] Memoires de la Regence. Memoires du Duc de Rohan. Memoires de Baſſompierre.

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ment in the palace, with theſe words; "Here dwell the "three kings." But he might eaſily pardon theſe ſtrokes of ſatire, which, in reality, did him ſervice, if they had taught him caution [d].

[d] P. Matthieu Hiſtoire de Louis XIII. Batt. Nani. Malingre.

SECT. XII.

The Remainder of the Reign of Lewis *the Thirteenth, ſurnamed the* Juſt, *from his aſſuming the Government to his Death.*

Artifices uſed by Luynes to keep the queen-mother from court and in confinement.

THE queen-mother, who had ſeen herſelf a kind of priſoner in the palace of her ſon, found herſelf not at all in a better ſituation at *Blois*, though, at her departure, the king had given her the ſtrongeſt aſſurances of behaving towards her with all the reſpect and duty poſſible. The favourite *Luynes* endeavoured alſo to recover her good graces, and made uſe of his father-in-law the duke *de Montbazon*, and the duke of *Rohan*, to whom he was allied by marriage, and who was one of the wiſeſt and worthieſt men in *France*, to this purpoſe [a]. But as in reality he had no ſuch intentions, from an apprehenſion that, if once a reconciliation was brought about, the queen would quickly recover her authority, he had recourſe to meaſures of another kind, and which he thought would anſwer his purpoſes better. In the firſt place, he held it neceſſary to remove *Richelieu*, biſhop of *Luçon*, from about the queen, though a perſon for whom he had expreſſed great kindneſs, not only becauſe he knew that he had lived in a ſtrict intimacy with marſhal *d'Ancre*, but becauſe he was thoroughly perſuaded of his attachment to the queen, and of his ſuperior capacity, ſo that nothing was to be expected from his practices, while a perſon of ſo much penetration was near her, and therefore he had orders to retire to an abbey of his in *Anjou* [b]. There, that he might find ſome employment for his active genius, he compoſed a book of devotion: his application to his ſtudies being known at court, they had ſo little idea of things of that nature, that they took it for granted he muſt be compoſing memoires for the ſervice,

[a] Hiſtoire de Mere & du Fils, Dupleix Hiſtoire de Louis XIII. Memoires du Duc de Rohan. [b] Memoires de Baſſompiere: Bernard Hiſtoire de Louis XIII. Le Grain. Decade contenant l'Hiſtoire de Louis XIII,

and

and apologies for the conduct, of the queen regent, and therefore baniſhed him and his brother to *Avignon* [c]. When he was at this diſtance, *Luynes* thought he might begin his operations with ſafety. He bribed moſt of the ladies and women about her; he ſuffered *Barbin*, who was all this time a priſoner in the *Baſtile*, to receive letters from, and to write to, her, which papers, paſſing through the hands of a biſhop, he betrayed them to *Luynes*, who, when he had made all the uſe of them he thought proper, directed a criminal proſecution againſt *Barbin*, and, not being able to reach his life, cauſed him to be condemned to baniſhment, and, under pretence of alleviating, engaged the king to aggravate, the ſentence, by changing it into perpetual impriſonment [d]. He then poſted troops at ſome diſtance about *Blois*, reſtrained the queen-mother more ſtrictly than he had done, and at length ſent Father *Arnoux*, a Jeſuit, and the king's confeſſor, to reconcile her to this uſage, and to perſuade her that he was taking all the pains poſſible to reſtore her to the king's favour, in order to which it was neceſſary to draw up an act of ſubmiſſion upon oath, in which ſhe promiſed to ſubmit to enter into no intrigues, to diſcover any that came to her knowlege, to hold no foreign correſpondencies, and not to attempt to leave *Blois* without the king's leave [e]. With this inſtrument *Arnoux* returned to court; and the queen's confeſſor, who was a Jeſuit alſo, perceiving his brother's artifice, aſſured her her oath was void, and that, as *Luynes* would probably depend much upon this inſtrument, ſhe might from thence find means to facilitate her eſcape [f], as her emiſſaries would be leſs expoſed to danger.

WHILE *Luynes* was taking ſo many precautions to ſecure the king entirely to himſelf, as the only means of maintaining his power, and amuſed alike thoſe, who wiſhed the deliverance of the prince of *Conde*, and thoſe who deſired the deliverance of the queen, with fair but falſe promiſes, he opened the way to both by the meaſures he took to prevent them. The duke *d'Eſpernon* had fallen out with the keeper of the ſeals about precedency, and had brought ſeveral dukes and peers to concur with him, which at length roſe ſo high, that ſome warm words paſſed in the king's preſence, who upon that occaſion, though alone, ſpoke to the duke in very quick terms, and did more than his miniſters could have done; for it ſtruck him with ſuch fear, that he reſolved to quit the court,

Duke of Eſpernon *quarrels with* du Vair, *and retires to* Metz.

[c] Mercure Francois. P. MATTH. Hiſtoire de Louis XIII. LE GEND. [d] Hiſtoire de la Mere & du Fils. Memoires du Duc de Rohan. P. DAN. Journal Hiſtorique de Louis XIII. [e] DU PL. Hiſtoire de Louis XIII. [f] Memoires de Baſſompiere.

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and, having procured leave, retired to *Metz*, of which, tho' the king's governor, he lived and acted therein as a ſovereign [g]. The true reaſon of his quarrelling with Monſ. *du Vair* was to conceal the real motive of his differing with the court, which was that *Luynes* had procured for Monſ. *de Gondi*, ſo well known afterwards by the title of the cardinal *de Retz*, a hat, which had been promiſed to the duke's ſon, the archbiſhop of *Toulouſe* [h].

The abbe de Ruccellay engages him to attempt the queen's deliverance from Blois.

AMONGST the agents of the queen-mother was the abbe *Ruccellay*, an *Italian*, whoſe father, having been employed in the finances, had procured him benefices to the amount of thirty thouſand livres a year, and left him, at his deceaſe, as much more. He was of a reſtleſs buſy temper, capable of aſſuming any character, and, except the qualities before-mentioned, had none of his own. He had been a favourite with the marſhal *d'Ancre*, and had followed the queen to *Blois*; but, not liking ſo melancholy a ſituation, returned to court, where he lived under the protection of *Baſſompiere* [i]. He had perſuaded himſelf that the duke *de Bouillon*, who had been always eſteemed the ableſt head, in point of intrigue, in *France*, was the only perſon that could reſtore the queen; he cauſed ſuch informations to be given againſt himſelf to *Luyne* as induced the favourite to order him to retire to his abbey, which being but a ſmall diſtance from *Sedan*, gave him the opportunity he wanted of entering into a correſpondence with that duke. *Bouillon*, tho' he had, by no means, any good opinion of him, yet received him civilly, and, in a little time, he acquired a certain degree of confidence; inſomuch that he told him, his age, his infirmities, and his great diſtance, rendered it impoſſible for him to act; but that he would indicate a proper perſon to procure the queen's freedom, and this was the duke of *Eſpernon* [k]. This was far from being acceptable to *Ruccellay*, who had differed with the ſon of the duke, who, upon hearing ſomething of it, had threatened to chaſtize him, and beſides the dukes of *Bouillon* and *Eſpernon* were not friends; ſo that no aſſiſtance could be received from this quarter. He returned however to his abbey, and, charging the ſecretary of marſhal *d'Ancre*, who was juſt releaſed from priſon, with the queen's commiſſion, ſent him to *Metz*, where, by the aſſiſtance of the marquis *de la Valette*, and the archbiſhop of *Toulouſe*, he ſucceeded with their father beyond all expecta-

[g] Hiſtoire de la Vie du Duc d'Eſpernon, tom. ii. liv. vii. Hiſtoire de Mere & du Fils. DUPL. Hiſtoire de Louis XIII.
[h] Memoires de Baſſompiere. Memoires du Duc de Rohan.
[i] LE GRAIN. BERNARD.
[k] Memoires de AMELOT DE LA HOUSSAYE.

tion.

tion [l]. When things were pretty far advanced, *Ruccellay* went himſelf to a village not far from *Metz*, and ſent a meſſage to the duke, who flew into a violent paſſion, and declared to his ſons he would have nothing to do with that *Italian*, who, he knew, owed him a grudge, and would not therefore put it in his power to take his revenge. *Ruccellay* being told this, informed the duke that the ſecretary was but his agent, that he was poſſeſſed of his cyphers, had ſeen his letters, and therefore, if he had ſought revenge, had him intirely in his power [m]. Upon this the duke ſent for him to *Metz*, concealed him a whole month in his palace, and having ſettled with him the ſcheme of operations, ſent him away as ſecretly as he came; ſo that, notwithſtanding *Luynes* had ſpies at *Metz*, and about the perſon of the duke, they were not able to give him any intelligence, tho', for other reaſons, he held the abbe *Ruccellay* in the greateſt ſuſpicion [n].

IN reſpect to affairs of a more public nature, *Luynes*, at the beginning of the year, had cauſed the tax called the *Paulette* to be ſuppreſſed, and promiſed to put an end to the venality of officers, which, however, he did not perform [o]. In the reſignation of his government of *Guienne* was demanded from the prince of *Conde*, in priſon at *Vincennes*, and immediately beſtowed upon the duke of *Mayenne*. The king's lieutenancy in thoſe parts was given to marſhal *Ornano*, who preſently exchanged it for the lieutenancy of *Normandy*; and the Sieur *de Luynes*, who had that, obtained the government of the *Iſle of France*, which the duke of *Mayenne* had quitted [p]. The king propoſed reſtoring the church lands to the popiſh clergy in *Bearn*, which met with great oppoſition; it was, in truth, one of the projects of *Luynes*, to form a party for his own ſupport, and was the ſpecimen of that deſign which characterized his adminiſtration, the deſtruction of the Proteſtants. He knew well enough that this would recommend him to the clergy, and to the violent Catholics; and, by ſowing diſſentions amongſt the Proteſtants, and a dexterous application of bribes and promiſes, he thought the thing might be gradually performed, without exciting a new civil-war, in which, though he was ſomewhat miſtaken, yet his ſchemes, as we ſhall ſee hereafter, fatally prevailed [q]. Prince

The Paulette *ſuppreſſed, and the Jeſuits open their college of* Clermont.

[l] DUPLEIX Hiſtoire de Louis XIII. Hiſtoire de la Vie du D. d'Eſpernon, tom. ii. LE GEND. [m] Hiſtoire de Mere & du Fils. Memoires de Baſſompiere. Hiſtoire de la Vie du Duc d'Eſpernon. [n] DUPLEIX Hiſtoire de Louis XIII. Hiſt. du Duc d'Eſpernon. [o] Mercure Francois. MALINGRE Hiſtoire de Louis XIII. [p] Memoires du Duc de Rohan. [q] P. MATTH. Hiſtoire de Louis XIII.

Maurice of *Naſſau* becoming, by the death of his brother, prince of *Orange*, offered his homage to the queen, but, under pretence of finding ſome new title, the king refuſed to accept it in the old manner, and the prince, not being diſpoſed to comply with the method preſcribed, this homage was not received at all [r]. A chiaux arrived from *Conſtantinople*, to renew the ancient treaties, and to make ſome excuſes for the ill uſage the *French* miniſter had received at the *Porte*; and, towards the cloſe of the year, to reward the good ſervices of Father *Arnoux*, the Jeſuits, by the ſole interpoſition of the royal authority, had leave to open their college for the inſtruction of youth [s].

A. D. 1618.

The queen-mother eſcapes from Blois, *and is conducted to* Angouleſme *by the D. of* Eſpernon.

AFTER having endeavoured in vain to procure the king's leave to quit *Metz*, to go to his government of *Xaintonge*, the duke of *Eſpernon*, at the opening of the new year, took the reſolution of proceeding in his deſign, notwithſtanding the king's expreſs orders not to leave *Metz*. He took very extraordinary precautions; he cauſed his equipage to parade every day for a fortnight together, going out every day at a different gate; in the mean time, as if he had laid aſide all thoughts of departing, he ſent away his ſon the archbiſhop of *Thoulouſe*. At length, confiding the care of the city to the marquis *de la Valette*, with ſtrict injunctions not to ſuffer the gates to be opened for three days, and to keep a conſtant patrol round the place, he put himſelf at the head of one hundred horſe, and began his march [t]. In his paſſage by *Dijon* he conferred with the duke of *Bellegarde*'s lieutenant, and bid him write his maſter word that hunger had driven him out of *Metz*, pretending that he was not able to ſubſiſt there for want of money; adding, that he ſhould take it as a favour if he made no great haſte to write, which he promiſed, but diſpatched a courier immediately to his maſter, and this was the firſt news the court had of his leaving *Metz*. As it was to no purpoſe to purſue him, *Luynes* diſpatched one of his gentlemen with a very kind letter to the duke, including the king's approbation [u]. *Eſpernon* executed his deſign happily, but was ſurprized to hear nothing from the queen. This was occaſioned by a very extraordinary accident: one *de Lorine*, a ſervant, whom the abbe *Ruccellay* had often truſted before, being diſpatched with letters containing the ſcheme of the duke's deſign, and promiſed great things if he delivered them ſafe to the

[r] DUPLEIX Hiſtoire de Louis XIII. [s] Mercure François. BERNARD. LE GENDRE. [t] Hiſtoire de la Vie du Duc d'Eſpernon, tom. ii. Memoires de Baſſompiere. [u] Memoires du Duc de Rohan. Hiſtoire de la Vie du Duc d'Eſpernon. MALINGRE.

queen,

queen, thought he might bring them ſtill to a better market if he carried them to the Sieur *Luynes*. Accordingly, inſtead of going to *Blois*, he took the route to *Paris*, and was, for three days together, at the houſe of *Luynes*, ſolliciting an audience. A counſellor of the parliament of *Paris*, who was deeply in the queen's intereſt, hearing of this by chance, and ſuſpecting the truth, ſent a gentleman to ſpeak to him, who, by the help of a conſiderable ſum of money, obtained the letters, and the man was diſpoſed of ſoon after in ſuch a manner as prevented his telling tales [w]. This was the reaſon that the queen-mother had no intelligence of the duke's arrival, till brought by one of his domeſtics; however, ſhe was no ſooner informed of it than ſhe took a reſolution of eſcaping from *Blois*, which ſhe effected on the twenty-ſecond of *February*, by getting out of a window ſo high, that two ladders were requiſite in her deſcending [x]; and being met upon the road by the archbiſhop of *Thouloufe*, ſon of the duke, was conducted to *Loches*, where he received her in perſon, at the head of three hundred gentlemen on horſeback, and conducted her in ſafety to *Angouleſme* [y], at the very time they were concerting meaſures at court to remove her to *Amboiſe*, and to make her a cloſe priſoner in the caſtle there; ſo that her eſcape was as well-timed as it was happily executed.

The court alarmed at the queen's eſcape.

In the midſt of the rejoicings at court for the marriage of the prince of *Piedmont* with the princeſs *Chriſtina*, the king's ſiſter, there came advice of the queen-mother's eſcape, which ſtruck the court with the utmoſt aſtoniſhment: at firſt that monarch and his miniſters gave a looſe to paſſion, talked of marching one hundred thouſand men to recover the queen, and puniſh the duke of *Eſpernon*, orders being given on one ſide to the duke of *Mayenne* and the count *de Schombergh* to begin the war, and on the other to the duke of *Nevers* to form an army to beſiege *Metz* [z]. The king, however, thought it requiſite to conſult the duke of *Bouillon*, who, after repreſenting to him, in the moſt reſpectful manner, that any who ſhould give him ſuch counſels, as making war upon his mother, and declaring perſons of the higheſt quality rebels, barely for giving a widow, and the mother of their king, protection, were enemies to the ſtate: he ſuggeſted that there was no ſuitable method but that of an accommodation, and concluded

[w] Dupl. Hiſtoire de Louis XIII. Hiſtoire de la Vie du Duc d'Eſpernon, tom. ii. [x] Memoires de Baſſompiere. Hiſt. de la Vie du D. d'Eſpernon. Malingre. Le Grain. [y] Dupl. Hiſtoire de Louis XIII. P. Matth. Hiſtoire de Louis XIII. [z] Memoires du Duc de Rohan. Hiſtoire de la Vie du Duc d'Eſpernon, tom. ii. liv. viii.

with

with the ſtrongeſt aſſurances of his own fidelity [a]. A negotiation was accordingly ſet on foot, and carried on, notwithſtanding the declarations publiſhed by the queen, conceived in the moſt bitter terms, accuſing *Luynes* and his brethren of abuſing the king's tender years, ſubverting juſtice in the death of the marchioneſs *d'Ancre*, and ſeveral other perſons, procuring their confiſcations, robbing the king's treaſury of millions, baniſhing the widow of *Henry* the fourth, propoſing to thruſt her into a monaſtery or a priſon for life, and keeping the prince and princeſs of *Conde* in priſon, of whoſe innocence ſhe was long ago convinced [b]. The treaty going on very ſlowly, *Luynes* propoſed the recalling the biſhop of *Lucon*, andthe king thereupon wrote to him with his own hand [c]. This prelate was but ill received at *Angouleſme* by every body but the queen. *Ruccellay* hated him as a rival, *Eſpernon* had no confidence in him. At firſt they refuſed him a ſeat in the council; then they excluded him, after conſenting to his admiſſion. But things ſoon changed their face; *Ruccellay* adviſed the queen to ſeize *Angouleſme*, and to make her peace by abandoning the duke of *Eſpernon*; *Mary de Medicis* rejected the advice, deſpiſed the author, and acquainted the duke with his danger [d].

By the dexterity of the biſhop of Lucon, *a peace is concluded.*

On the other hand, *Eſpernon*, perceiving that none of the great lords joined the queen, began to have a better opinion of the biſhop of *Lucon*'s counſels, who adviſed arming ſilently, and diſapproved invectives. In the mean time the king's forces took ſeveral places, and a plot was contrived for blowing up the caſtle of *Angouleſme*, and the queen in it [e]. The peace was at length made, to the great ſatisfaction of the court, and with great advantages to the queen and thoſe of her party, for they were, without exception, to be reſtored to their offices, their appointments, and the king's favour. The queen was to be at liberty to live where ſhe pleaſed, to have the intire direction of her own court and domain, and, upon her reſignation of the government of *Normandy*, was to have that of *Anjou*, with the caſtle of *Angers*, *Pont de Ce*, and *Chinon*, for

[a] Hiſtoire de Mere & du Fils, tom. ii. p. 335. Lettres du Mareſchal de Bouillon au Roy, le 4 Mars, 1619. [b] Extrait des raiſons & plaintes que la Reine Mere du Roy fait au Roy ſon Fils, in 8°, 1619. [c] Hiſtoire du Regne de Louis XIII. Roy de France, & des principaux evenemens arrivez pendant ce Regne dans tout le Pais du Monde, tom. iii. p. 137. [d] Hiſt. de la Vie du Duc d'Eſpernon, tom. ii. liv. viii. Hiſtoire de Mere & du Fils, tom. ii. p. 358—360. [e] Memoires du Duc de Rohan. Dupleix Hiſtoire de Louis XIII. Le Grain. Malingre.

her

her security [f]. The enemies of *Richlieu* have positively asserted, that, upon this occasion, he betrayed his mistress, and sacrificed her's to his own interest; but this does not at all appear; for though the government she surrendered was much superior to that she obtained, yet it was better situated for her security, as being in the neighbourhood of the duke of *Espernon* and the Protestants. All that was obtained was derived from the authority of the queen's name, the natural affection of the king, and the apprehensions of *Luynes*, not from any force that the queen either had or could raise. Besides, this peace was entirely to the satisfaction of the duke *de Espernon*; and it does not appear that the bishop of *Lucon* derived to himself any thing in consequence of making the peace, but from the queen-mother, who gave the government of *Angers* to his brother; who being killed out of mere envy by the marquis *de Themmis*, captain of her guards, she gave it to the uncle of *Richlieu*, and disposed of the other places at his recommendation.

That procures many advantages for the queen-mother.

But though the peace was concluded in *April*, and the queen-mother, in consequence of it, was expected at court, she discovered no great willingness to go thither, and was in other respects backward enough in doing what was required, which the court attributed to the bishop of *Lucon*, and with reason, for the peace being once made, he judged that it was to be equally executed on both sides. This produced fresh negotiations, in all which the queen met with success. The plot for blowing up the castle of *Angoulesme*, though concerted before, was not discovered till after, the peace; but the queen would not punish the offenders; and the king, for his own honour, was obliged to do it, though what they had done or promised was by his minister's orders [h]. Letters of abolition were granted to the duke of *Espernon*, and all the queen's adherents [i]. The king, indeed, scrupled taking back two captains of the guards who had quitted him to serve his mother, but she remained firm, and he was at length obliged to comply. At length, all scruples removed, she consented to

[f] Traites de la Paix par l'heureux accord & amiable reconciliation du Roy avec la Reine sa Mere: Ensemble tout ce qui s'est passé tant d'une part, que d'autre à ce sujet depuis le voyage du Roy jusqu' à present, à Paris, 1619, in 8°. [g] Memoires du Duc de Rohan. [h] Procés verbal de la conspiration faite en la ville d'Angoulesme ensemble l'execution publique, qui s'en est ensuive, à Paris, 1618. Memoires du Duc de Rohan. Dupl. Histoire de Louis XIII. P. Matth. Histoire de Louis XIII. [i] Articles accordez à Monsieur le Duc d'Espernon, à Paris, 1619. Histoire de la Vie du Duc d'Espernon, tom. ii. liv. viii.

an interview with her ſon; and, being accompanied by the duke of *Eſpernon* to the frontiers of his government, ſhe preſented him at parting with a very fine diamond ring from her finger [k], which was all he ever had for the expence of two hundred thouſand crowns, and the riſk of his fame, his family, and fortune. The interview being fixed, the queen ſet out for, and the king from, *Tours*; they met at *Couſieres*, a houſe belonging to the duke of *Montbazon*, with a great appearance of tenderneſs and affection on both ſides [l]: they proceeded together to *Tours*, and continued there eleven days; but the queen-mother could not be brought to think of returning to *Paris*, ſaying, in plain terms, when preſſed to it, that ſhe was not inclined to be led in triumph, but, however, promiſed to come at a convenient time. The queen then returned to *Angers*, and the court to *Paris* [m]. The grandeur of the favourite and his family roſe daily higher, and yet it did not ſeem to be placed on the moſt ſecure and ſolid baſis.

Prince of Conde *releaſed, who joins the D. of* Loynes.

THE favourite, doubting of his own ſituation, apprehenſive of the queen's recovering her influence, and inſtigated by thoſe who had more reaſon to fear it than he, reſolved at length upon a meaſure which he had long meditated. He went in perſon to the caſtle of *Vincennes*, on the 20th of *October*, and ſet the prince of *Conde* at liberty [n]; who, as a mark of his gratitude and reſpect, accompanied his deliverer to the parliament, where he was received as duke and peer of *France*, the eſtate of *Maille*, near *Tours*, which was transfetred to him by his brother, being erected into a duchy in his favour [o]. But the terms of the king's declaration on the releaſe of the prince of *Conde* being conceived in ſuch a manner as to cenſure the regency, extremely offended the queen, who fixed upon the declaration rather than the meaſure, and expreſſed herſelf ſo ſtrongly upon it, that the diſputes between the two courts roſe again very high; ſo that the peace of the kingdom was once more in danger [p]. Theſe diſturbances had all along a very indifferent influence upon foreign affairs, as appeared more eſpecially from the death of penſionary *Barnevelt* in *Holland*, for whom the king interceded, and interceded in vain.

A. D. 1619.

[k] Vie du Cardinal de Richlieu. P. MATTH. Hiſtoire de Louis XIII. Hiſtoire de la Vie de Duc d'Eſpernon, tom. ii. liv. viii. [l] Hiſtoire de la Mere & du Fils, tom. ii. p. 385, 386. [m] Memoires de Baſſompiere. Hiſtoire Univerſalle de ce qui s'eſt paſsé es années 1619 & 1620, à Paris. [n] DUPL. Hiſtoire de Louis XIII. [o] Memoires du Duc de Rohan. [p] BERNARD. LE GRAIN.

AT

AT the opening of the year, the king made the firſt promotion of knights of his order, in which there were fifty-nine included; but the duke *de Luynes*, to avoid creating enemies, deſired a kind of election, which method has been followed ſince [q]. It did not intirely anſwer his end; for himſelf and both his brothers being included in this promotion, many who had, or who thought they had, as good a right to it, were diſpleaſed. The Proteſtants had aſſembled at *Loudon*, not only without the king's permiſſion, but continued aſſembled, notwithſtanding he had ſent them orders to diſperſe, and, which perhaps gave as much offence, ſent ſome of their deputies to pay their reſpects to the queen-mother, who inſiſted peremptorily upon a declaration that might juſtify her conduct, at leaſt in the ſame degree that had been uſed with reſpect to the prince [r]. The king's coffers being empty, ſome edicts were prepared for new taxes, to which *du Vair*, keeper of the ſeals, made ſome oppoſition, but, for fear of loſing his office, complied. The king carried thoſe edicts to the parliament, and cauſed them to be verified in his preſence, notwithſtanding the firſt preſident *Verdun*, and the advocate general *Servin*, remonſtrated againſt them boldly [s]. The attachment of the prince to *Luynes*, and the credit this gave him with the king, excited a ſecret diſcontent amongſt the princes and great lords, who thought their ſervices but ill requited; and this humour ſpread itſelf, in a ſhort time, to ſuch a degree, that, about the month of *April*, moſt of them left the court. The duke of *Mayenne* retired to his government, the count *de Soiſſons*, the duke of *Vendoſme* his brother, the grand prior, the dukes of *Nevers*, *Tremouille*, *Rohan*, *Retz*, and others, went directly to *Angers*, to pay their court to the queen-mother, who appeared to be now at the head of a powerful and well connected party [t]. This alarmed the king exceedingly, and the favourite much more; eſpecially when he underſtood that the duke *d'Eſpernon*, to whom he had rendered very eſſential ſervices, entered entirely into the views of the queen-mother. The endeavours uſed to appeaſe that princeſs had no effect: ſhe complained that the promiſes made to her had never been kept; and that, in caſe of any future agreements, ſhe expected that either ſome foreign power, or at leaſt the parliament

The queen-mother again diſpleaſed, the Proteſtants court her, and many of the great nobility.

[q] Mercure Francois. DUPL. Hiſtoire de Louis XIII. [r] Memoires du Duc de Rohan. [s] Harangue fait au Roy par M. le premier Preſident en la Grande Chambre, le 18 Fevrier 1620, à Paris, 1620, in 8°. Remonſtrances fait au Roy, par M. Louis Servin, ſon Advocat General en ſa Cour de Parliament, en ſon Lit. de Juſtice, le Mardi, 18 Fevrier 1620. in 8°. [t] Memoires de Baſſompiere.

of the kingdom, ſhould become the guarantees of it, which aſtoniſhed *Luynes* as much as it diſpleaſed the king.

Her affairs ſo managed as that ſhe is conſtrained to conclude a peace.

IT is certain that in this ſtruggle the queen-mother had great advantages, and might have made very advantageous terms for herſelf and her adherents; but the prince of *Conde* and others about the king perſuaded him to continue negotiating, but in the mean time to march with what forces he could collect into *Normandy*, where the duke of *Longueville*, who had exchanged that government for *Picardy*, which he yielded to the duke *de Luynes*, was endeavouring to ſecure all the ſtrong places for the queen [w]. He entered into this meaſure with great ſpirit; and, after communicating his deſign to the parliament of *Paris*, diſpatching his orders to ſuch as ſtill remained firm in their obedience, he marched directly to *Rouen* in the beginning of *July*. The duke of *Longueville* abandoned the place upon his approach, and retired to *Dieppe*. *Caen* likewiſe opened her gates, and the caſtle was reduced in a few days [x]. This ſucceſs increaſed the king's vigour, who began now to act of himſelf, gave his orders frequently without conſulting any-body, and excited a new ſpirit in his forces, by rejecting all timid counſels, and beſtowing the governments of the places he took upon ſuch as diſtinguiſhed themſelves in his ſervice. It is inconceivable what an effect this had, and how much it contributed to augment the force and the courage of his army; ſo that, in the ſpace of leſs than a month, he advanced into the neighbourhood of *Pont de Ce*, on the preſervation of which the queen's ſafety depended. If ſhe had followed the advice of the duke of *Rohan*, the king would have found it very difficult to finiſh this diſpute. That prudent and great man perſuaded her to retire to *Bourdeaux*, where ſhe was ſure of having her cauſe owned by that parliament, and might have interpoſed an army of thirty thouſand men between her and the king [y]. The queen was well inclined to this, and it is not a little uncertain how ſhe came to decline ſo right a meaſure, or to take ſo wrong a ſtep as to remain at *Angers*. Some ſay the duke of *Eſpernon* diſſuaded her, from an apprehenſion that, if ſhe was once in the hands of the duke of *Mayenne*, he ſhould loſe his influence; others aſcribe this counſel to the biſhop of *Lucon* from the ſame motive [z]. It is not impoſſible that the duke was the author of

[w] Memoires du Duc de Rohan. BERNARD. MALINGRE.
[x] Le Voyage du Roy en Normandie & la Reduction du Chateau de Caën à l'Obeiſance de ſa Majeſte ſelon les avis auvray de ce qui s'y eſt paſſe, à Paris 8°. Mercure Francois. [y] Memoires du Duc de Rohan. [z] Hiſtoire de la Vie du Duc d'Eſpernon. DUPL. Hiſtoire de Louis XIII.

the

the meaſure, and that the prelate, foreſeeing the conſequences, engaged the queen-mother to conclude the treaty that had been ſo long negotiating, before things came to extremities. It was accordingly ſigned on the 7th of *Auguſt* [a]; but the king not receiving, or elſe diſſembling any knowlege of it, ordered *Pont de Ce* to be attacked on the 8th, which was very ill defended by the duke of *Retz* [b]; and with this action the war ended; for on the 9th the peace was proclaimed. The enemies of *Richlieu* ſay that he ſacrificed the queen and her party to his ambition; the friends of that great miniſter, on the contrary, aſſert, that he ſaved both her and them from the bad effects of their own imprudence: what afterwards happened has made the former ſentiment generally prevail, tho' not ſupported by any concluſive evidence.

Luynes ſacrifices the intereſt of France to his own.

By this treaty that of *Angouleſme* was confirmed. Thoſe who had taken arms for the queen had an amneſty upon laying them down, and were continued in their poſts, excepting ſuch as the king had beſtowed during the war. It was ſtipulated privately that the king ſhould demand a cardinal's hat for the biſhop of *Lucon*, and that prelate alſo promiſed his favourite niece to the nephew of the duke *de Luynes*. Their majeſties had an interview at *Briſac* [c], where the queen ſeemed to be thoroughly reconciled, and had many fair promiſes made her. *Lewis*, charmed with the ſucceſs of this expedition, and very deſirous of putting an end to theſe confederacies, advanced in the month of *September* to *Bourdeaux*, in order to curtail the power of the duke of *Mayenne*, and, after ſettling his authority in thoſe parts, marched into the principality of *Bearn*, to reſtore the church lands, and to eſtabliſh the Catholic religion in a country where there were no Catholics, and at *Navarins* he cauſed maſs to be ſaid in his preſence, fifty years after it had been aboliſhed [d]. If the marquis *de la Force*, who was governor of that province, had not trimmed at firſt, and tried to reconcile his intereſt and his conſcience, all this might have been prevented by the aſſiſtance of the Proteſtants, who then held an aſſembly at *Rochelle*; but now there was no remedy. In order to pacify the minds of the people, and prevent an effuſion of blood, they were promiſed the continuanee of their privileges, and the preſervation of their old form of govern-

[a] Mercure Francois. Articles accordez par le Roy à la Reine ſa Mere, & en ſa faveur à ceux qui l'ont aſſiſtée en ces dernieres mouvemens, à Paris, 1620, 8vo. [b] Memoires du Duc de Rohan. [c] Hiſtoire de la Vie du Duc d'Eſpernon, tom. ii. liv. viii. Dupleix Hiſtoire de Louis XIII. L'entrev'ue du Roy & de la Reine ſa Mere au Château de Briſſac & du depuis à Tours, à Paris, 1620, 8vo. [d] Bern. Hiſt. de Louis XIII.

ment; but, as ſoon as the king found himſelf abſolute maſter, he, by a new edict, united the principality of *Bearn* to the crown of *France*, erected the chancery of *Pau* into a parliament, and, by changing their form of government, ſuppreſſed their privileges at once [e]. In order to fix this eſtabliſhment, he left garriſons in moſt of the ſtrong places, and then returned to *Bourdeaux*, and, after a ſhort ſtay, to *Paris*. Yet, notwithſtanding theſe great exploits, the aſſembly of the Proteſtants continued ſitting at *Rochelle*, though they had been ordered to diſperſe, under pain of being declared rebels [f]. Monſ. *de Cadenet*, ſecond brother to *Luynes*, had the ſtaff of marſhal of *France* [g], and the viſcount *d'Aubterre* was likewiſe advanced to the ſame dignity, and had three hundred thouſand livres given him, upon his ſurrendering the government of *Blaye*, which was given to the favourite's brother, and, which was more diſhonourable for *France*, upon *Cadenet's* being ſuffered to carry away the counteſs of *Chaumes* from the *Netherlands*. His brother *Luynes* undertook that no aſſiſtance ſhould be given to the elector *Palatine*, who was lately become king of *Bohemia*; and ſeveral other ſteps were taken directly oppoſite to what was eſteemed the true intereſt of *France*, from the ſame motives that had induced the court, the year before, to abandon the *Arminian* party in *Holland*, with ſo much viſible diſcredit.

A. D. 1620.

Cauſes of the firſt civil-war againſt the Proteſtants during this reign.

As the aſſembly at *Rochelle* continued ſitting, notwithſtanding the king's repeated orders to diſſolve, they were conſidered as rebels [h], and the great object of the king's council was to deviſe ways and means for their utter deſtruction. According to the *French* hiſtorians in general, they drew this upon themſelves, by throwing off the royal authority, eſtabliſhing a ſovereign council, dividing the provinces into circles, and, in ſhort, eſtabliſhing a republic agreeable to the genius of their religion in the heart of the monarchy [i]. This moſt certainly is a very proper picture of their conduct, ſuppoſing it drawn with a view, as it moſt apparently is, to juſtify the uſage they met with; but, with the pencil of truth, we may deſcribe it in very different colours. Theſe Hugonots, republicans from the principles of their religion, had ſacrificed their lives and fortunes to ſet *Henry* the fourth upon the throne, and had even conſented to his change of religion,

[e] Memoires de Baſſompiere. Memoires du Duc de Rohan. P. Dan. Journal Hiſtorique de Louis XIII. [f] Hiſtoire du Conneſtable de Leſdiguieres. [g] Hiſtoire du Regne de Louis XIII. tom. iv. p. 155. [h] Memoires de Amelot de la Houssaye. [i] Memoires Jaques de Chaſſenet, Sieur de Puyſegur.

that he might ſit there in peace, by which they had merited a legal eſtabliſhment, which they obtained by the edict of *Nantes*, carefully drawn, maturely conſidered, fortified by the royal authority, regiſtered by the parliament of *Paris*, and, in ſhort, rendered ſtable and authentic by every method the law could deviſe [k].

NOTWITHSTANDING this, the court had begun to ſow diſcord among their chiefs, were endeavouring to bribe ſome, to menace others, and, under various ſpecious pretences, were ſapping the very foundations of their eſtabliſhment, in conſequence of *Luynes*'s plan, to ingratiate himſelf with the clergy and the zealous Catholics, in order to have a certain ſupport, in caſe the royal favour ſhould at any time fail [l]. This the very ſame writers confeſs, while they ſtigmatize with the odious name of rebellion, what, in reality, flowed from the natural deſire of ſelf-preſervation. But the year before the queen-mother and the great lords of her party had formed a ſcheme, which, with full as much reaſon, might have been ſtiled a ſubverſion of the *French* conſtitution, as it conſiſted in the framing four great councils, with the aſſiſtance and by the advice of which the king was to regulate all public affairs [m]. What the queen and her partizans were moved to from principles of convenience, the aſſembly at *Rochelle* were driven to from motives of neceſſity; and as the former were inſtigated by the deſire of ſharing in power, authority, and wealth, with the king's favourite; the latter ſought for the defence of their juſt rights, animated thereto by the moſt laudable of all principles, thoſe of religion and law [n]. But of theſe the court had but a ſlender opinion, as having on their ſide notions of an oppoſite nature, the aſſumed powers of a church pretending to infallibility, and the dictates of young men who eſteemed every thing lawful that tended to gratify their paſſions. Theſe, as far as we are able to judge, were the real cauſes of this deſtructive civil war.

Vindication of the Proteſtants againſt the French *hiſtorians.*

IN order to accompliſh this deſign of abaſing, or rather of cruſhing the Hugonots, it was thought neceſſary to detach from their party the greateſt man they had, who was, at the ſame time, the greateſt man in *France*. This was the marſhal duke *de Leſdiguieres*, who, from a volunteer, had raiſed

Leſdiguieres *is detached from the Proteſtants.*

[k] Memoires de M. Deageant. GRAMOND Hiſtoria Gallicæ. Memoires du Duc de Rohan. [l] BERNARD Hiſtoire de Louis XIII. AUBERI Hiſtoire du Cardinal Richlieu. Memoires de M. Deageant. [m] Memoires de la Reine-mere l'Etabliſſement de pluſieurs Counſeils fait á Angers, le 8 Juillet 1620. [n] Vie de du Pleſſis Mornay. Memoires du Duc de Rohan. Hiſt. du Conneſtable de Leſdiguieres.

himſelf by his valour and capacity to the firſt honours, none of which he had ever ſought. For the ſtaff and the letters patent for duke and peer of *France* had been ſent him, and now it was reſolved to offer him the ſword of conſtable, if he would qualify himſelf for it by embracing the tenets of the church of *Rome* [o]. It was a nice and delicate commiſſion; and *Luynes*, guided by better heads than his own, made choice of one of the greateſt maſters of intrigue, the famous *Deageant*, who being clerk to *Barbin* had undermined his maſter, contrived the ruin of *d'Ancre*, planned the greatneſs of *Luynes*, and was now alike hated and feared by him and all the miniſters; yet ſo much eſteemed by their maſter, that they durſt not attempt his removal, but in this oblique manner, in giving him a commiſſion to which no other man was equal. He had always lived in confidence with *Leſdiguieres*; he knew the difficulty of the commiſſion, and their motives for employing him; but he accepted it nevertheleſs [p]. He told them that it was impoſſible for him to ſucceed, if the marſhal ſuſpected his errand, and this obliged them to purchaſe for him the poſt of firſt preſident in the chamber of accounts at *Grenoble*, where *Leſdiguieres* reſided in quality of governor of *Dauphine*. Thither he went to take poſſeſſion of his new employment, nor was it long before he accompliſhed the arduous affair with which he was charged [q]. But by that time the views of the favourite were changed, and *Bouillon*, another inſtrument of his, was ſent to incline *Leſdiguieres* to decline the very honour they had preſſed upon him, that it might be given to *Luynes*: this negotiation was to have been a ſecret to *Deageant*, but the marſhal conſulted him upon it immediately, complained of his ill uſage, and threatened to reſent it [r]. *Deageant*, after aggravating the provocation, and obſerving that he alſo had cauſe to be diſpleaſed, told him that revenge was beneath a man of his character, whoſe merit ſet him above all honours; that, by aſking the poſt of conſtable for *Luynes*, he would in reality beſtow it, which was far greater than accepting it; and that by contenting himſelf with the office of marſhal-de camp general, he would retain the power, and make it viſible to the world, that the king had given his favourite a gilded ſcabbard, inſtead of a ſword, which he could not wield, and that, tho' with an inferior title, was intruſted with him. *Leſdiguieres* took his advice, and, accepting the ſolid favours that were of-

[o] Bernard Hiſtoire de Louis XIII. Memoires de M. Deageant. Memoires de Baſſompiere. Hiſtoire du Regne de Louis XIII. tom. iv. p. 142—144. [p] Dupleix Hiſtoire de Louis XIII. [q] Memoires de M. Deageant. [r] Hiſtoire du Conneſtable de Leſdiguieres. Bernard.

fered

fered him, yielded a title to the favourite, which at once covered him with the envy of the court, and which, inſtead of the affection he had hitherto borne him, brought upon him firſt the ſuſpicion, and then the hatred of the king [s], who was jealous of an authority he could not manage, and quickly hated thoſe to whom he truſted it for his own eaſe.

ON the ſecond of *April* the duke *de Luynes* was, with great ceremony, inſtalled conſtable of *France* [t]; the ſcabbard and the pomel of the ſword being adorned with jewels of the crown, to the value of thirty thouſand crowns. His brother, who was already marſhal of *France*, and who was juſt returned from his embaſſy into *England*, was made duke and peer of *France*, by his wife's title of *Chaulnes*; and his ſecond brother, having married the heireſs of that illuſtrious family, aſſumed the title of the duke of *Luxemburgh*. The king took the field in the beginning of *May*, accompanied by the new conſtable, the prince of *Conde*, the old count *d'Auvergne*, now duke of *Angouleſme*, the count *de Soiſſons*, the marſhals *de Chaulnes*, *Roquelaure*, *du Pleſſis Praſlin*, *Leſdiguieres*, and *St. Geran* [u]. The duke of *Mayenne* acted likewiſe under his orders, and the duke *d'Eſpernon* had already driven the marquis *de la Force* out of *Bearn* [w]. Indeed the great operations were begun long before, by bribing, promiſing, threatening, and exciting jealouſies amongſt the principal officers of the Proteſtants, as if the whole force of *France* had been too little, unleſs they had aſſiſted to reduce themſelves. About the middle of the month the town and caſtle of *Saumur*, their moſt important paſs upon the *Loire*, was ſeized. Monſieur *du Pleſſis Mornay* making a ſcruple to reſiſt the king [x], a multitude of other places were reduced, taken, and burnt. About the middle of *June* the king beſieged *St. Jean d'Angeli* in form; it was defended by Monſieur *Soubize*, brother to the duke of *Rohan*, and made a glorious defence; but, after a ſiege of thirty-five days, it was forced to ſubmit, and the king ſpared the garriſon, though without a capitulation [y]. The

Luynes *made conſtable of* France, *and dies ſoon after.*

[s] Memoires de Baſſompiere. DUPL. Hiſtoire de Louis XIII.

[t] Les Ceremonies Royales faites en Baillant, par les mains du Roy l'epee de Conneſtable à M. le Duc de Luynes, à Paris, 1621, in 8vo.

[u] Le Voyage du Roy à Calais, l'Ambaſſade de Monſ. de Cadenet en Angleterre, à Paris, 1621. 8vo. BERNARD Hiſt. de Louis XIII.

[w] Hiſtoire de la Vie du Duc d'Eſpernon. DUPLEIX Hiſtoire de Louis XIII. LE GRAIN. MALING.

[x] Memoires du Duc de Rohan. Vie de Du Pleſſis Mornay. Mercure Francois.

[y] Memoires du Duc de Rohan. Memoires de Baſſompiere. Veritable parte de ce qui s'eſt paſſe au ſiege de Saint Jean d Angeli tant dehors, que dedans la ville, par R. F. MANCEAU, à Bordeaux, 1621, in 8vo.

dukes

dukes of *Bouillon* and *Tremouille*, and Monſ. *Chatillon*, deſerted the Proteſtants on this occaſion. *Clerac* was taken after a ſhort ſiege, but vigorous defence; and, on the 17th of *Auguſt*, the king inveſted *Montauban*, perſuaded that the loſs of this place would break the ſpirits of the Proteſtants. His army conſiſted of twenty-five thouſand men; the place was ſtrong, had a numerous garriſon, commanded by the marquis *de la Force*, who defended it with equal conduct and reſolution. The ſiege was long and bloody, and, after remaining before it three months, the king was obliged to raiſe the ſiege, which coſt the duke of *Mayenne* his life, with ſeveral other perſons of diſtinction, and the new conſtable his reputation and his favour. The laſt ſtroke of his credit was the diſgracing Father *Arnoux*, and the laſt negotiation of conſequence was an attempt to detach the duke of *Rohan* from the Proteſtant intereſt, in which he failed *. The laſt great office he obtained was that of keeper of the ſeals, on the death of Monſ. *du Vair*, the chancellor having refuſed to accept of them when offered him. The king, after the fatigues of a long and bloody campaign againſt his own ſubjects, which ended with leſs ſucceſs than it began, and which, in every inſtance of this diſpute, gave him convincing proofs that he was extirpating the braveſt and beſt of his people, returned to *Paris* gloomy and diſſatisfied, notwithſtanding the acclamations of his courtiers, who would have perſuaded him that he equalled *Cæſar* in courage and *Cato* in virtue. It was indeed true, that in point of perſonal valour, and of ſkill too as an officer of foot, the king had acquired a juſt reputation; but he was ſenſible that it was at too great an expence, and that it was impoſſible to lay the foundation of true greatneſs in the ruin of his kingdom. Yet the prieſts and thoſe
A. D. 1621. in their intereſt beſieged him ſo cloſely, that he would not liſten to a general peace, but perſiſted in endeavouring to foment animoſities amongſt the Proteſtants, and to corrupt ſuch as, whatever they pretended, had no religion but their intereſt, and no views but for themſelves. By degrees this ſpirit univerſally prevailed, and, inſtead of virtue, honour, and regard for the public good, nothing but cabal and intrigue was to be ſeen, even amongſt thoſe whoſe birth and rank ought to have taught them other paths to greatneſs.

* Hiſtoire particuliere des plus memorables choſes qui ſe ſont paſſees au ſiege de Montauban, & de l'achemmement d'icelui dreſſe en forme de journal, à Leide, 1624. Memoires de Baſſompiere. Bernard Hiſt. de Louis XIII. Le Grain. Le Gend. P. Henault.

THE king entered *Paris* in the month of *January*, having left the command of the forces about *Montauban* to the duke of *Angoulesme*, and the marshal *de Themmines* [a]. The cardinal *de Retz* and the count *de Schomberg* were at the head of affairs. The queen-mother had some degree of favour, but very little credit [b]. The policy of the ministers at this time, except with regard to the Protestants, whom they hated heartily and persecuted furiously, was weak and full of duplicity: for while the king's ambassador, by his order, sollicited at *Rome* a hat for the bishop of *Lucon*, the king himself informed the pontif that he could not oblige him more than by refusing it [c]. The prince of *Conde*, who loved money and power, sollicited *Retz* and *Schomberg* to admit him as their companion, that they might form a triumvirate, which he thought no intrigue could break. The war was carried on in another manner, even in the depth of winter, marshal *Themmines* forced *Bourniquet* and *Negrepelisse*, but the inhabitants of the latter rose upon the garrison, and cut them off to a man [d]. The duke *d'Elbœuf* beat the marquis *de la Force* on the first of *February*, and, before the end of the month, the marquis *de Lesignan*, with a small body of Protestants, recovered *Clerac*; the marshal *Lesdiguieres* and the duke *de Montmorency* were also in the field. The former, who still wore the appearance of a Protestant, and who had a real concern for the miseries of his country, made use of his interest at court to suggest pacific counsels, and, at the same time, insinuated, that the war was now carried on with such circumstances of rage and fury, as was rather fit to depopulate countries than to reduce them [e]. The king caused this point to be debated in council, where the queen-mother, the chancellor *de Silleri*, the keeper of the seals, Monsr. *de Vic*, and Monsr. *de Puisseux*, argued very pathetically for peace. They were opposed by the prince of *Conde*, the cardinal *de Retz*, the duke *de Guise*, and the count *de Schomberg*, who insisted on the continuance of the war, in which they had all a visible interest; and, notwithstanding this, their arguments prevailed, chiefly by irritating the king by declamatory representations against the disloyalty of the Hugonots, and the cruelties they had exercised, all which might have been easily answered, if the marshal de *Lesdi-*

A debate in the king's council, where those who were for continuing the war prevail.

[a] BERNARD Histoire de Louis XIII. LE GRAIN. LE GEND. [b] Memoires du Duc de Rohan. Memoires de Puysegur. [c] Vittoria Siri. Memoires recondite. Memoires Historique & Critique, par AMELOT DE LA HOUSSAYE. AUBERI Histoire du Cardinal Richlieu. [d] Memoires du Duc de Rohan. BERNARD Hist. de Louis XIII. [e] Hist. du Connestable de Lesdiguieres. DUPLEIX Hist. de Louis XIII.

guieres

guieres had been preſent: as it ſtood, the king was provoked, and reſolved to command in perſon [f].

The king defeats M. Soubize.

THE two circumſtances that moſt affected the king were the death of the preſident *du Croſſe* and the invaſion of *Poitou*. The preſident had been ſent by the duke *de Leſdiguieres* to treat with the duke of *Rohan*, at *Montpelier*; he was firſt preſident of the parliament of *Grenoble*, a Proteſtant, and a perſon of great temper and moderation. The inhabitants of *Montpelier*, who placed all their hopes in the duke of *Rohan*, who knew *Leſdiguieres* had left them, and who ſuſpected the preſident, ſurmiſed that, under colour of a treaty of peace, he was come to detach *Rohan* from their intereſts, and, in the heat of this imagination, forty of them entered into a conſpiracy to murder him, which they effected, in the moſt baſe and barbarous manner [g]. The duke of *Rohan* took all the pains imaginable to detect the offenders, but was able to ſeize no more than four, who were condemned and executed. The invaſion of *Poitou* was made by M. *Soubize*, whom the king had treated with lenity at *St. Jean d'Angeli*. The forces he commanded were indigent; and, as it was not in his power to pay them, he could not prevent their plundering, which was attended with circumſtances of violence and cruelty. The king, having aſſembled a ſmall army of eight thouſand foot and a thouſand horſe, marched directly towards him in the beginning of *April*, upon which *Soubize* retired into the iſle of *Re*, with about ſeven thouſand men, and fortified himſelf there in the beſt manner he was able [h]. This iſland was ſeparated from the continent by a ſmall arm of the ſea, which was fordable at low-water, but with great hazard. The king, accompanied by the prince of *Conde*, the flower of the nobility, and the beſt officers in his ſervice, attacked him in the night, forced his intrenchments, and obliged him to eſcape with about four hundred men by ſwimming. Of his troops about fifteen hundred were killed, as many taken priſoners and ſent to the gallies, the reſt were knocked on the head by the peaſants [i]. The courage and conduct of the king upon this occaſion are highly magnified by *Baſſompiere*.

General peace concluded.

IN the beginning of *May*, the duke *d'Elbœuf* beſieged *Tomeins*, which had been taken by the marquis *de la Force*, who twice attempted to relieve it in the ſpace of forty days that it was defended. When taken it was burnt to aſhes, in revenge

[f] Memoires de Baſſompiere. Memoires du Duc de Rohan. BERNARD Hiſt. de Louis XIII. [g] GRAMOND Hiſt. Galliæ. Hiſt du Leſdignieres. Memoires de Puyſegur. [h] Memoires de Baſſompiere. [i] Memoires de Puyſegur. Memoires de Baſſompiere.

for

for the blood that had been ſpilt in reducing it. *Roan* was taken in ſixty days by marſhal *Vitri* and the duke *d'Eſpernon*, but with conſiderable loſs, and even of ſome perſons of diſtinction. The marquis *de la Force* had thrown himſelf into the town of *St. Foix*. When ſummoned he declared he would ſurrender only to the king, which he did upon very favourable terms for the inhabitants; we may gueſs at the importance of his ſubmiſſion by the reward of it. He received from *Lewis* the ſtaff of marſhal of *France*, and two hundred thouſand crowns in money, in conſideration of the government of *Bearn*, which he had loſt [k]. This had its effect; ſome of the greateſt lords amongſt the Hugonots, and particularly the duke of *Sulli*, came in and rendered the places they had. *Negrepeliſſe* was attacked in the beginning of *June* by the prince of *Conde*. It was reſolved to make an example of the place and of the people, and, which is ſtrange, it ſeemed to be reſolved on both ſides; for the inhabitants, when ſummoned, refuſed to accept of any terms: they ſold their lives very dear, but at length it was forced, and the inhabitants, without reſpect of rank, ſex, or age, except ten men, were put to the ſword. When they were brought into the king's preſence, he told them they did not deſerve mercy; they anſwered they would not receive it; that the only favour they aſked was to be hanged upon the trees in their own gardens, which was granted, and the place reduced to aſhes [l]. The town of *St. Antoinin* was obſtinately defended for twelve days, and was at length taken by ſtorm, but it coſt the lives of a great number of gallant officers. The count *de Soiſſons* was ſent, towards the cloſe of the month of *June*, to form the blockade of *Rochelle*. In *July* and *Auguſt* ſeveral places were taken by the king, the prince of *Conde*, and the duke of *Vendoſme*; but in *September* the king's forces were obliged to raiſe the ſiege of *Briteſte*, which did not hinder the king's being prevailed upon to beſiege *Montpelier*, notwithſtanding the inhabitants offered to admit the duke *de Leſdiguieres*. The prince, ever deſirous of command, and ever unfortunate, here loſt his credit and the king's troops. There fell before the place the young duke *de Fronſac*, Meſſieurs *Beuvron*, *Canillac*, *Zamet*, *Senecei*, *Fabrigues*, *St. Blez*, *Luſſun*, and *Monbrun*. We may from this ſpecimen gueſs at the miſerable conſequences of this war; to put an end to which, and to obtain an entrance into *Montpelier*, a general

[k] Memoires de Baſſompiere. Bernard Hiſt. de Louis XIII. Malingre. Le Gendre. [l] Memoires de Duc de Rohan. Memoires de Puyſegur. Dupl. Hiſt. de Louis XIII. Memoires de Baſſompiere.

treaty

treaty was concluded with the duke of *Rohan* [m], by which the edict of *Nantes* was confirmed, and, conſidering the ſad events of the war, and the want of any reſource, he obtained good terms for his party, with ſome advantage to himſelf, receiving a large ſum of money for the places he had loſt; but, as this was owing to his credit with the chancellor and Monſieur *Puiſieux*, he loſt all intereſt at court when they were diſgraced.

The king viſits ſeveral provinces and returns to Paris.

By the concluſion of this peace it appeared that the prince of *Conde* had loſt his credit. He was diſpleaſed at the giving the marſhal's ſtaff to the marquis *de la Force*, much more diſturbed at the beſtowing the conſtable's ſtaff upon *Leſdiguieres*, not at all leſs at the ſeals being given to *Commartin*, but the peace ſo chagrined him, that he reſolved to make a tour into *Italy*, being no longer able to ſupport himſelf after the death of the cardinal *de Retz*. The biſhop of *Lucon* at laſt received his hat, and is henceforward to be ſtiled cardinal *Richlieu* [n].

A. D. 1622.

The ſee of *Paris* was this year raiſed to the rank of an archbiſhoprick by *Gregory* the fifteenth, the biſhops of *Chartres*, *Meaux*, and *Orleans*, being appointed his ſuffragans, and to them the biſhop of *Blois* has been added ſince [o]. Beſides the marquis *de la Force*, *Charles de Crequi*, who married ſucceſſively two daughters of the conſtable *Leſdiguieres*, *Gaſpard de Coligni*, the Sieur *de Chatillon*, grandſon to the famous admiral, and the gallant *Francis de Baſſompiere*, were declared marſhals of *France* [p]. The king made a public entry into *Montpelier*, *Arles*, *Lyons*, and *Avignon*, and, after paſſing part of the winter in the provinces, returned, at the cloſe of the year, to *Paris*, where he was welcomed as a conqueror, though he came from the ſlaughter and deſtruction of his own ſubjects.

Quarrels among the miniſters gradually ruin them all.

The war being over, made way for diſturbance and intrigue; the chancellor and his ſon Monſieur *de Puiſieux* were in great credit, and very deſirous of turning out the count *de Schomberg*, who was at the head of the finances, and, during the war with the Proteſtants, acted as maſter of the ordnance; and this had been effected much ſooner than it was, if he had not been ſupported by the marſhal *de Baſſompiere*, to whom he had rendered many ill offices, and who did him this ſervice from a mere principle of generoſity, becauſe he was his old acquaintance, and ill uſed [q]. The Proteſtants began again to murmur; for the chancellor and *Puiſieux*, being warm Ca-

[m] Memoires de Duc de Rohan. [n] Aubery Hiſtoire du Cardinal Richlieu. [o] Bernard Hiſtoire de Louis XIII. [p] Memoires de Baſſompiere. Memoires du Duc de Rohan. [q] Memoires de Baſſompiere.

tholics,

tholics, and having a ſtrong biaſs in favour of *Spain*, were for tampering with the treaty of *Montpelier*, and trying to render the operations of peace, though more ſilently, yet not leſs deſtructive than thoſe of war. The wiſe duke of *Rohan*, endeavouring to oppoſe this, was arreſted at *Montpelier*, but, being equally able to do himſelf juſtice with his pen and with his ſword, the king diſavowed his miniſters, and things were for a ſhort time ſet to rights, though nothing was done towards a radical cure [r]. The queen-mother entered the privy council, upon condition that her cardinal did not [s], which, from his temper, it will be eaſily conceived he could not bear. But it does not appear that he made any great efforts to force a paſſage into the council, believing that, as things then ſtood, and as the miniſters and favourites were continually thwarting and expoſing each other, it could not be long before the embarraſſed ſtate of affairs would oblige the king and his miniſters to court his aſſiſtance, which hitherto, out of prejudice or envy, they had declined. Some, indeed, ſay, that, to amuſe his chagrin, he compoſed ſome of thoſe hiſtories and cenſures on the times, which ſerved to expoſe the blunders of the miniſters, and to make it evident how dearly the public paid for the proſperity of a few private families. If this be true, he ſacrificed his reaſon to his reſentment, ſince it is very certain, that not only his own adminiſtration was attacked in the ſame manner, but ſome of the very pieces aſcribed to him were reprinted againſt him in his turn. Yet be this as it will, there is no doubt to be made, that, in the conduct of foreign affairs, and perhaps in the management of the finances, theſe miniſters acted upon a plan more ſuitable to their own intereſts than to thoſe of their maſter. Inſtead of taking advantage of the troubles in *Germany*, where they might have employed the Proteſtants in ſupport of the king of *Bohemia*, and prevented thereby the union of that kingdom to the hereditary dominions of the houſe of *Auſtria*, they did not interfere at all, but ſuffered the emperor to overwhelm the *Bohemian* monarch, and not only ſtrip him of that country, to which he had all the right that election could give, but to deprive him alſo of his hereditary dominions, and even of his title of elector. They took no pains to undeceive king *James*, but ſuffered him to perſiſt in his idle and ill-judged ſcheme of a *Spaniſh* marriage, which, if it had taken effect, would ſcarce have been more prejudicial to his own intereſt than to theirs;

[r] Dupl. Hiſtoire de Louis XIII. Bernard Hiſtoire de Louis XIII. Memoires du Duc de Rohan. Mercure Francois.
[s] Auberi Hiſtoire du Cardinal Richlieu. Memoires de Baſſompiere.

nay,

nay, they fell directly into the ſame error, and, either thro' the fear of provoking, or the deſire of obliging, *Spain*, acted an under and inconſiſtent part in *Italy*. This year was fatal to the marſhal duke *de Bouillon*, the marſhal *de St. Geran*, and the famous *Peter Jeanin*, preſident of the parliament of *Burgundy*, who died at the age of eighty-four years [t].

A. D. 1623.

The chancellor, his ſon, and Monſieur de Vieuville, *diſgraced.*

Upon the death of *Commartin*, keeper of the ſeals, the king reſtored them to the chancellor *de Sillery*, who, with his ſon Monſieur *de Puiſieux*, ſecretary of ſtate, continued to manage all things in conjunction with the marquis, afterwards duke, *de Vieuville*, whom they had raiſed to the direction of the finances, in the room of the count *de Schomberg*, who had been their enemy, and to whom they were no friends [u]. The gratitude of *Vieuville*, if he ever had any, did not ſubſiſt long; he began to give the king ill impreſſions of many people about him, but chiefly of the chancellor and his ſon: with reſpect to the former, amongſt the mildeſt of his ſuggeſtions, were his infirmities and incapacity; in reference to the latter, he objected his preſumption, and his ſending inſtructions to ambaſſadors at foreign courts, often without the advice of the council, ſometimes without ſpeaking to his majeſty, and other things, which, by degrees, ſunk into the king's mind. As a proof of it he gave the ſeals to Monſieur *Aligre*, at the beginning of the year; ſoon after he gave audiences to foreign miniſters, when Monſieur *de Puiſieux* was not preſent [w]. This was ſuch a mark of that family's declining, as encouraged all their enemies to communicate their ſentiments to the king: amongſt theſe was the queen-mother, and the prince of *Conde*, now returned from *Italy*, who, though they could concur in nothing elſe, agreed well enough in running down the chancellor and his ſon: the queen diſliked them for not allowing her a larger ſhare of power; the prince of *Conde* for the ſame reaſon, but chiefly becauſe they had adviſed the peace, by which he loſt his influence. At length, in the month of *February*, the king ſent them a meſſage to retire from court, adding, that he had received many accuſations againſt them, into which he was unwilling to inquire; that they might juſtify themſelves if they pleaſed, but at their peril. The chancellor, old and worn out, ſubmitted without reply; but Monſieur *Puiſieux* anſwered, the accuſations were calumnies, and that he was both able and wil-

[t] Mercure Francois. Le Grain. Malingre. Le Gend.
[u] Dupl. Hiſtoire de Louis XIII. Bernard Hiſtoire de Louis XIII. [w] Memoires du Duc de Rohan. Memoires de Baſſompiere.

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ling to defend himself, however they both retired [x]. The departments of war and of foreign affairs, both of which were in the hands of *Puisieux*, were, for the present, divided amongst three secretaries. The king's cabinet council consisted at this time of the cardinal *de la Rochefoucault*, the constable *de Lesdiguieres*, the keeper of the seals *Aligre*, the duke *de Vieuville*, sur-intendant of the finances, and Monsieur *de Bouillon* [y]. The queen-mother laid hold of this opportunity to press the admission of *Richelieu* into the council, to which *Vieuville* was extremely averse; but the queen-mother, to whom he had great obligations, being very importunate, he told her that she did not know the man, and that he foresaw his own ruin, and feared her's; but that, as she contributed to his fortune, he would risk it rather than lose her favour [z]. The king himself was little inclined to it, and to qualify it, declared that he admitted him only as a member who was to speak his sentiments of what came before the council, and who was not to confer with embassadors, or transact any other business as a minister at his own house [a]. The cardinal, in accepting this limitation, converted it into a favour; he told his friends that the weakness of his constitution rendered him unfit for the load of public business, which had induced his majesty to render it as easy to him as possible, by annexing a condition for which he was more grateful than for the honour of entering into the council. This, however, was no small honour, since, in virtue of his ecclesiastical dignity, he was seated over against the cardinal *de Rochefoucault*, and above the constable, tho' the secretaries had formerly disputed with him the precedency [b].

Cardinal Richelieu, *once introduced, soon comes to be at the head of the council.*

A TREATY of marriage had been some time depending between *Charles* prince of *Wales* and the princess *Henrietta-Maria*, the youngest sister of the king. The earls of *Holland* and *Carlisle* were sent over ambassadors from *England* upon this occasion; and, notwithstanding the limitation before-mentioned, the nature of the thing made it requisite to put the cardinal at the head of the committee of council who were to manage this alliance, and the great address he shewed in conducting this affair, which was violently opposed by the court of *Rome*, placed him at the head of the administration [c].

[x] BERNARD Histoire de Louis XIII. Memoires de Bassompiere. [y] Mercure Francois. DUPLEIX Histoire de Louis XIII. [z] Histoire du Regne de Louis XIII. tom. v. p. 343, 344. [a] Memoires pour l'Histoire du Cardinal de Richlieu. Memoires de Deageant. [b] AUBERI Histoire du Cardinal Richlieu. BERNARD. [c] Memoires de Deageant. LE GRAIN.

Vieuville had long affected that poſt, and, by endeavouring either to ruin or remove ſuch as he diſliked, or who diſliked him, he excited ſuch a number of complaints, that the cardinal found it no difficult matter to diſpoſſeſs him of the king's favour, and even to ſend him priſoner to the caſtle of *Amboiſe*[d], as he had done colonel *Ornano*, governor to the king's brother, to the *Baſtile*. On his diſgrace *Marillac* came into the direction of the finances; but the cardinal took care to have ſuch a diſtinct account of all their departments, that the leſſer miniſters had it not in their power to conduct things at their pleaſure, or to diſpute the orders of the cardinal[e], any more than of the king. But though he diſgraced his rivals, or rather procured their diſgrace, he paid a proper regard to the merit of their plans, and on this ſcore he adopted that of *Luynes* for the ſuppreſſion of the Proteſtants, provoking them, by the breach of ſeveral articles of the laſt treaty, to take up arms, that they might be ſaid to bring the war upon themſelves. From the like motive he purſued the meaſures which *Vieuville* had begun, for giving a new turn to the affairs of *Italy*; where, though a treaty had been entered into with the *Venetians* and the duke of *Savoy* for abaſing the power of the *Spaniards*, yet hitherto nothing had been done towards carrying it into execution: but *Richelieu* no ſooner entered into power, than he ſent the marquis *de Cœuvres*, with the title of ambaſſador-extraordinary, to the *Griſons*, where, inſtead of negotiating, he put himſelf at the head of an army, and, expelling the pope's troops, made himſelf maſter of the *Valteline*[f]. This occaſioned ſome warm expoſtulations at *Rome*, which, however, made no impreſſion upon *Richelieu*, who roundly told the nuncio that he had the character of the king's miniſter, as well as a prince of the church, and that he meant to ſupport both; it produced as ſtrong expoſtulations on the ſide of the *Spaniards*; but the cardinal having concluded a treaty of ſubſidy with the ſtates general, and knowing how well the *Engliſh* were diſpoſed to enter into a league againſt *Spain*, was as little moved by them[g].

A. D. 1624. At home, the old chancellor dying in *October*, the ſeals were given to *Aligre*[h]. The king being upon ill terms with his conſort, and extremely jealous of his brother, found it neceſſary to live in perfect harmony with the queen-mother, ſo that the cardinal was ſafe from all intrigues in appearance,

[d] Memoires du Duc de Rohan. [e] Memoires de Baſſompiere. Memoires de Deageant. [f] AUBERI Hiſtoire du Cardinal Richlieu. DUPL. Hiſtoire de Louis XIII. [g] Memoires de Deageant. Memoires de Baſſompiere. BERNARD Hiſtoire de Louis XIII. [h] Memoires du Duc de Rohan. DUPL. Hiſtoire de Louis XIII.

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and, it may be, in his own opinion; but this calm did not continue long.

As the prudence and political ſkill of the miniſter had been exerciſed in the preceding year, ſo his courage and diligence were employed in this, both by a civil and a foreign war. But before we ſpeak of theſe, let us obſerve that the marriage between the prince of *Wales* and the princeſs *Henrietta-Maria*, which had been concluded in the preceding *November*, was now celebrated with great pomp, on the 11th of *May*, the nuptial benediction being given by cardinal *de Rochefoucault*, the duke *de Chevreuſe* being proxy for *Charles*, now become king of *England*[l]. Her *Britannic* majeſty quitted that city ſoon after, and was conducted by the court to *Amiens*, where ſhe was met by the king's great confident, who, upon this occaſion behaved ſo imprudently, as to incur the deep reſentment of cardinal *Richelieu*, and the general hatred of the *French* nation[k]. At this time, as a very judicious *Italian* hiſtorian[l] truly obſerves, the misfortunes of *Europe* began under three young kings, none of whom wanted talents for government if they would have employed them, and who, notwithſtanding, gave themſelves up to a kind of implicit obedience towards their favourites, *Lewis* the thirteenth to cardinal *Richelieu*, *Philip* the fourth to the conde *Olivarez*, and *Charles* the firſt to the duke of *Buckingham*. Of theſe the ſecond was the moſt indefatigable, the latter the moſt open and generous, the firſt, beyond queſtion, the wiſeſt and moſt fortunate.

Charles I. of England marries the princeſs Henrietta-Maria of France.

If we credit the *French* hiſtorians, the ſecond war with the Proteſtants in this reign was begun by Monſieur *de Soubiſe*, even without the concurrence of his own party, in contempt of the royal authority, and in a time of full peace. The truth of the matter is this; by the treaty of *Montpelier* that town was to be left free, and *Rochelle* in the ſame condition as before the war; but, notwithſtanding, a garriſon had been hitherto left in the former, and *Fort Lewis*, which had been erected during the war, had a ſtrong garriſon left in it to curb the latter[m]. But the immediate cauſe of the ſecond rupture was the equipping a ſquadron of the king's ſhips, in the port of *Blovet*, now *l'Orient*, in order to block up *Rochelle*; in this critical ſituation Monſieur *de Soubiſe* offered with a few ſhips to enter into that port, take or deſtroy the veſſels that he found there, and ruin the magazines prepared for their deſtruction.

The ſecond war with the Proteſtants in this reign ended by the peace of Rochelle.

[l] Mercure Francois. Bernard Hiſtoire de Louis XIII. Le Grain. Malingre. [k] Dupleix Hiſtoire de Louis XIII. Bernard. Le Gendre. [l] Batt. Nani. [m] Dupleix Hiſtoire de Louis XIII. Le Grain. Malingre.

He conſented, in caſe he miſcarried, to be diſowned, chuſing rather certain ruin to himſelf than to hazard the Proteſtant intereſt. His enterprize was betrayed; he executed it notwithſtanding, entered the port, took the ſhips, and, after being blocked up there many weeks with the advantage of a ſtrong wind, forced a paſſage, and carried out his own ſquadron and his prizes, except two that were loſt [n]. His brother the duke of *Rohan* ſoon after took up arms [o], and the war was carried on with great vivacity, though the beſt part of the Proteſtants were afraid to own the cauſe of the two brothers, who from thence were expoſed to many misfortunes. About the middle of *September*, the maritime powers being then in alliance with *France*, the duke *de Montmorency*, with a fleet compoſed of *French*, *Engliſh*, and *Dutch* ſhips, attacked that of *Rochelle*, and beat them, not without great loſs, after which he reduced the iſlands of *Rhé* and *Oleron* [p]. However, the clamours of the nation having obliged king *Charles* to promiſe ſuccour to the *Rochellers*, the earl of *Holland* and Sir *Dudly Carleton* were ſent over to mediate a peace, which had been already granted to the reſt of the Reformed; and, having ſucceeded in this, at the beginning of the enſuing year, the king of *Great Britain*, by the conſent of *Lewis* the thirteenth, became guarantee for the performance of it, of which the principal article was, that *Fort Lewis* ſhould be demoliſhed in ſix months; ſo that, notwithſtanding their loſſes by the war, the Proteſtants were gainers by the peace [q].

Treaty of Moncon.

As to the war in *Italy*, the conſtable *Leſdiguieres*, and his ſon the marſhal *Crequi*, carried it on in quality of auxiliaries to the duke of *Savoy*, in ſhew againſt the *Genoeſe*, in fact againſt the *Spaniards*, at firſt with great ſucceſs, afterwards with ſome loſs; but the *Spaniards*, entering *Piedmont*, and beſieging *Verue*, were forced to raiſe it, and the army of the duke of *Feria* was beat in its retreat [r]. The *Spaniſh* court cauſed all the *French* veſſels in the harbours of its dominions to be ſeized, and all the goods belonging to *French* ſubjects, in the month of *April*; and in *May Lewis* the thirteenth cauſed the ſhips and effects of all *Spaniſh* ſubjects to be ſeized in his dominions [s]. The pope ſent cardinal *Barberini* to prevent a rupture between the two crowns, to which they were well enough inclined; and, in the ſpring of the ſucceeding year, there was a treaty concluded at *Moncon* [t], but without the

[n] Gramond Hiſtor. Galliæ. [o] Memoires du Duc de Rohan. [p] Memoires de Puyſegur. [q] Clarendon's Hiſtory of the Rebellion. [r] Hiſtoire du Conneſtable de Leſdiguieres. [s] Dupl. Hiſtoire du Louis XIII. Le Grain. [t] Memoires du Duc de Rohan.

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interpoſition of the legate, by which the ſovereignty of the *Valteline* was ſecured to the *Griſons*, the paſſages were left to their diſpoſition, and the exerciſe of the popiſh religion excluſively was eſtabliſhed, which terms were not ſo favourable to *France* and her allies, as thoſe of the former treaty; but the ſituation of things made a peace at that time neceſſary, for reaſons that will appear hereafter, though it ſeemed more explicit to carry on the account of theſe wars to their period, than to embarraſs the reader with the termination of them in the exact order of time. Within the courſe of this year the marſhal's ſtaff was given at length to *Henry* count *de Schomberg* [u], a man of great abilities in civil and military affairs, who had been employed in many embaſſies with credit, who had ſerved as maſter of the ordnance, and as ſur-intendant of the finances, and who was equally capable of deciding in the cabinet and commanding in the field. A. D. 1625.

The cauſe of Lewis XIII*th's jealouſy of his only brother.*

As the cardinal had incurred the hatred of all the zealous Catholics, and of the partizans of *Spain*, by entering into the war of *Italy*, ſo, by the concluſion of the peace before-mentioned, he exaſperated the allies of *France*, and raiſed up many new enemies, without recovering any of thoſe whom he ſought to oblige. In reality there never were worſe or more wicked times, or a court in which men were more attached to their intereſts and their vices, or had leſs tincture of honour, virtue, and religion, than this; the king had been very early jealous of his brother, and that from the meaneſt principle poſſible, the apprehenſion of ſuperior parts, accompanied with a moſt engaging and affable behaviour, and ſupported by noble and generous ſentiments. The Sieur *de Breves*, who was his governor [w], was removed without any reaſon given, there being no colour to be aſſigned; and the true reaſon who could give? He had a gratification of fifty thouſand crowns, and *Luynes*, who was then the favourite, placed about him his own old maſter the count *de Lude*, who quickly tainted his pupil with the love of pleaſure, and, among other unprincely qualities, taught him to ſwear. On the death of that nobleman he was committed to the care of colonel *Ornano*, who, inſtead of taking any pains to efface the ill impreſſion made by his predeceſſor, acquired an influence over him, by a condeſcenſion fatal to perſons of his rank [x]. To gratify his own ambition, he put him upon demanding entrance into the council of ſtate when he was ſcarce ſixteen, and it was for this

[u] Dupl. Hiſtoire de Louis XIII. Memoire recondite. Memoires de Baſſompiere. Bernard Hiſtor . . . II [w] Vittorio Siri [x] Memoires de Deageant. Memoires du Duc de Rohan.

that *Vieuville* cauſed *Ornano* to be arreſted. Monſieur expreſſed great concern; and when *Richelieu* entered into the miniſtry he cauſed him to be ſet at liberty, and reſtored to his office; notwithſtanding which, *Ornano* now ſet him at the head of a party, into which all the cardinal's enemies entered, and certainly meditated very bad deſigns. The pretence, for it was no more, was an oppoſition to his marriage.

Who becomes the head of a faction againſt the cardinal, who ruins it.

HIS father *Henry* the fourth, upon the death of the duke of *Montpenſier*, who left an only daughter, had expreſſed a deſire, that, if his ſon lived, he ſhould marry her, as a princeſs of the blood, and one of the greateſt heireſſes in *France*. The queen-mother had this always in view, the cardinal miniſter promoted it for that reaſon; the duke of *Guiſe*, who had married the ducheſs-dowager of *Montpenſier*, was very deſirous of it likewiſe. The cabal formed againſt it acted only from motives of intereſt and ambition. At the head of it was the queen, who was afraid of ſeeing the iſſue of that marriage when ſhe had none of her own: the duke of *Savoy* went into this oppoſition, out of reſentment to the late peace, and offered him ſecretly, by the abbe *Scaglia* his ambaſſador, the young princeſs of *Mantua*, his grand-daughter. The prince of *Conde* and the count *de Soiſſons* were vehemently againſt it, from the common motive of its removing them farther from the ſucceſſion; the duke of *Vendoſme*, and his brother the grand prior, from their hatred of the cardinal miniſter; and many others from the ſame principle; and the king himſelf, from the natural jealouſy of his temper, was at firſt little inclined to it; but his favourite, *Barradas*, having hinted, whether true or falſe, that there was a faction formed, which had in view the ſhutting him up in a monaſtery, placing his brother upon throne, and marrying him to the queen, he changed his opinion, and became very warm in favour of the princeſs of *Montpenſier* [y]. In order to engage *Ornano* to employ his influence with Monſieur, he was promiſed the ſtaff of marſhal of *France*; and this giving his pupil a fair occaſion, he preſſed the performance of it ſo vehemently, that it was given him in the beginning of *April* [z]; notwithſtanding which he entered into the ſcheme formed by the abbe *Scaglia* to murder the cardinal at a hunting match, which was prevented by the information of *Henry de Tallerande*, count of *Chalais*, maſter of the wardrobe to the king, who was drawn into

[y] VITTORIO SIRI Memoire recondite. Memoires de Dageant. Memoires du Duc de Rohan. BATT. NANI. AUBERI Hiſtoire du Cardinal Richelieu. Memoires de M. DE LA ROCHEFOUCAULT. Memoires d'un Favori du Duc d'Orleans. [z] Memoires du Duc de Rohan. DUPL. Hiſtoire de Louis XIII.

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it by his miſtreſs the ducheſs of *Chevreuſe*. The cardinal avoided the danger, and concealed the intelligence [a]. Soon after marſhal *de Ornano* was arreſted and ſent to the *Baſtile*, which irritated Monſieur extremely. He demanded of cardinal *Richelieu* whether it was done by his advice? "Yes, Sir," anſwered the cardinal, "I was one of thoſe who adviſed it [b]." He put the ſame queſtion to the chancellor, who, through want of courage, denied it [c], upon which the ſeals were immediately taken from him, and given to *Marillac*, a creature of the queen-mother's. Monſieur, by the advice of his confederates, and particularly of the count of *Chalais*, whom the ducheſs had again embarked, formed a new deſign of ſeizing the perſon of the cardinal, and exchanging him for the marſhal *de Ornano*; but this likewiſe proved abortive [d]. The king making a journey to *Blois*, and leaving *Richelieu* behind, an opinion prevailed that he was diſgraced; but this was only a feint to draw the duke of *Vendoſme* thither, who, with his brother the grand prior, was arreſted and ſent priſoner to the caſtle of *Vincennes* [e]. The count *de Chalais* was likewiſe ſeized, *Deageant*, *Modena*, and ſome others ſent to the *Baſtile*, upon which the count *de Soiſſons* withdrew from court, and ſoon after retired into *Italy* [f].

MONSIEUR being left to himſelf, and the princeſs of *Montpenſier*, who had been left at *Paris*, coming to join the court at *Nantes*, he either conceived a ſudden paſſion for her, or thought to mollify his brother by his marriage, which he concluded privately, on the 6th of *Auguſt*, cardinal *Richelieu* giving the nuptial benediction [g]. In reſpect to himſelf, it had very good effects; the duchies of *Orleans* and *Chartres*, and the county of *Blois*, were ſettled upon him as his appenage; the princeſs brought him the duchies of *Montpenſier* and *Chattelleraut*; and he had alſo very conſiderable penſions aſſigned on the treaſury [h]. But with reſpect to his friends, it wrought no ſuch favourable operations as he expected. A ſpecial commiſſion was appointed for the trial of the count de *Chalais*, by whom he was condemned as guilty of high treaſon, for having adviſed Monſieur to retire out of his brother's dominions,

He marries the princeſs of Montpenſier, *but his favourites ſuffer notwithſtanding.*

[a] AUBERI Hiſtoire du Cardinal Richelieu. [b] Memoires du Duc de Rohan. VITTORIO SIRI Memoire recondite. Memoires de Baſſompiere. [c] Memoires du Duc de Rohan. [d] AUBERI Hiſtoire du Cardinal Richelieu. [e] Memoires du Duc de Rohan. VITTORIO SIRI Memoire recondite. [f] Memoires de Deageant. Memoires de Baſſompiere. [g] AUBERI Hiſtoire du Cardinal Richelieu. [h] DUPL. Hiſtoire de Louis XIII. BERNARD Hiſtoire de Louis XIII. LE GEND.

though himſelf was in the king's immediate ſervice. *Chalais*, either through hopes of life, through weakneſs of mind, or to unburthen his conſcience, made a very ample confeſſion, which availed him nothing, for he loſt his head, and died with great ſteadineſs and conſtancy [i]. Marſhal *Ornano* had probably ſhared the ſame fate, if he had not died of a fever and retention of urine in the *Baſtile*, where, in the moſt ſolemn manner, and in the laſt moments of his life, he diſclaimed all knowlege of any treaſonable practices [k]. The enemies of *Richelieu* ſay, that, as he was enamoured of the ducheſs of *Chevreuſe*, he gave a looſe to his reſentment on this occaſion; that, by giving *Chalais* falſe hopes, he drew him to confeſs what he would, and then abandoned him to his ſentence; and that his intrigues in the courſe of this affair were as inexcuſable as the conduct of the conſpirators. Theſe, however, are but ſuſpicions, or aſſertions at the moſt; whereas the facts ſtand upon record, verified by undoubted evidence. But they ſay the truth, that he acted very ill, in having recourſe to a ſpecial commiſſion, where the criminal might have been convicted in the ordinary courſe of juſtice, ſetting up a dangerous precedent, of which too much uſe was afterwards made. Be that as it will, he turned the ſtorm his enemies had raiſed, upon themſelves, eſtabliſhed himſelf more firmly than ever in his adminiſtration, created an opinion in the king that his power was abſolutely requiſite to his majeſty's preſervation, and procured, for the ſafety of his own perſon, a new and very ſingular prerogative, by having guards aſſigned him, who accompanied him every-where, even when he went to court [l].

A quarrel with England, *death of* Leſdiguieres, *and aſſembly of notables.*

THE diſſipation of this conſpiracy did not hinder its having very untoward conſequences. The ducheſs *de Chevreuſe*, the widow of the conſtable *Luynes*, for whom the king had once a ſtrong affection, and who, after ſhe was hated by him, had an abſolute influence over his queen, and might have had it over his miniſter, retired into *Lorrain*, and ſet on foot freſh intrigues [m]. The count *de Soiſſons* was not idle at *Rome*: but the perſon who did the moſt miſchief was the abbe *Scaglia*, whom his maſter the duke of *Savoy* ſent over into *England*, where he wrought himſelf into the good graces of the duke of *Buckingham*, induced him to prevail upon the king his maſter to ſend home all his conſort's *French* ſervants, except the chaplain, which produced ſuch a miſunderſtanding between the courts, as obliged *Lewis* the thirteenth to ſend over marſhal *Baſſom-*

[i] Memoires de Baſſompiere. VITTORIO SIRI Memoire recondite. [k] Memoires du Duc de Rohan. [l] AUBERI Hiſtoire du Cardinal Richelieu. [m] DUPL. Hiſtoire de Louis XIII.

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piere to negotiate a reconciliation [n]. But neither was this all; for that active and artful *Italian*, bent upon making a war between the two nations, induced the ſame *Engliſh* favourite to enter into a ſtrict correſpondence with the duke of *Rohan*; and having the fair pretence of his *Britannic* majeſty's being guarantee of the laſt treaty with the Proteſtants, gave him ſuch hopes as proved the ſource of freſh troubles [o]. Several perſons of great rank died this year, particularly the conſtable *Leſdiguieres*, who, if he had not ſullied his many great qualities by as great vices, might have been very juſtly conſidered as one of the moſt illuſtrious, as well as one of the moſt fortunate, perſons this kingdom ever produced. The marſhals *de Raquelaure*, *du Pleſſis Praſlin*, and *Souvre*, died likewiſe [p]. Towards the end of the year there was an aſſembly of the notables held at the *Thuilleries*, from whence, though great things were expected, yet very little was produced, except an edict againſt duels, by which the offenders were degraded from their nobility. The government of *Bretagne* being taken from the duke of *Vendoſme*, was, by the advice of *Richelieu*, conferred on the marſhal *de Themmines*, which was thought ſo much the more extraordinary, as his ſon had killed the cardinal's brother [q].

The cardinal runs great hazard by venturing to change his political ſyſtem.

THE king being informed of the bad ſtate of his marine, and, at the ſame time, being unwilling to aggrandize the duke of *Montmorency*, who was at that time admiral, obtained his reſignation of that high office for an equivalent, and then ſupprelſed it, as he likewiſe did that of conſtable, by an edict at the beginning of the year. It was never intended to revive the latter, but the affairs of the marine were immediately committed to cardinal *Richelieu*, who, ſome months after, had in effect the power of admiral conferred upon him, with the title of grand-maſter and ſur-intendant of navigation [r], calculated to leſſen the envy of this new dignity, without diminution of his power. Another effect of his influence was the diſgrace of *Barradas*, the king's favourite, who began to preſume too much on his maſter's inclination towards him; but, becauſe he could not be without a favourite, *St. Simon* was introduced in his room. As the former had enjoyed his favour but ſix months, the fortune of *Barradas* is become proverbial in *France* for a ſhort-lived proſperity. It was likewiſe found convenient for the court to change, or at leaſt

[n] Memoires du Duc de Rohan. RUSHWORTH's Collection, tom. i. p. 423. [o] BERNARD Hiſtoire de Louis XIII. [p] DUPLEIX Hiſtoire de Louis XIII. [q] AUBERI Hiſtoire du Cardinal Richelieu. [r] Memoires de Baſſompiere. AUBERI Hiſtoire du Cardinal Richelieu.

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to ſeem to change, its maxims; and, becauſe this is a point of great importance to the right underſtanding of this hiſtory, the reader will not be diſpleaſed if we beſtow ſome pains to ſet it in a right light, the rather, becauſe we know not whither to refer him for competent ſatisfaction. All writers agree, that cardinal *Richelieu*, from the time he entered into the adminiſtration, had two great points in view, the humbling the Proteſtants, and ruining the power of the houſe of *Auſtria*; and they all agree that he perſiſted firmly in the execution of both parts of his ſcheme, and at length brought them to bear [a]. We agree with them in all this; but we think there is ſomething in the manner of his doing it, which very much wants to be explained. The matter is no more than this: at his firſt entrance into the miniſtry, he intended to begin with reducing the power of the houſe of *Auſtria*, to which he had many juſt motives, yet had been neglected by *Luynes*, from perſonal conſiderations: it was become highly formidable to *France*, as the emperor aimed at an abſolute ſovereignty in *Germany*, at the ſame time that the king of *Spain* was on the very point of completing the like deſign in *Italy*; it might be attempted with conveniency, becauſe the princes in *Germany*, in *Italy*, the crown of *Great Britain*, and the republic of *Holland*, were very well diſpoſed to enter into a league with *France* for this purpoſe. The cardinal, therefore, like an able politician as he was, reſolved to avail himſelf of theſe advantages, and began to do it vigorouſly, by ſending the marquis *de Cœuvres* to recover the *Valteline*, and by aſſiſting the duke of *Savoy*.

This matter fully explained.

BUT when he found that, in conſequence of theſe ſteps, the court of *Rome* took the alarm in as high a degree as the court of *Madrid*, and began to treat him as a heretic, or at leaſt as a friend to heretics, and that this gave great ſpirits to the remainder of the *Spaniſh* faction in *France*, he thought it requiſite to alter his conduct, that is, as to the manner of executing his projects, though not as to the projects themſelves. He had before endeavoured to cajole the Proteſtants, by inſinuating his inclination to curb the power of *Spain*; he now gave the emiſſaries of *Rome* and *Spain* to underſtand that they ſhould proceed, though more ſlowly, yet more ſurely, againſt the Hugonots, under a ſhew of peace than in a time of war, and if he abandoned the duke of *Savoy*, it was to ſave the *Valteline*, which he thought abſolutely neceſſary, to preſerve things in the ſituation they were in, till he ſhould be in a con-

[a] DUPLEIX Hiſtoire de Louis XIII. BERNARD Hiſtoire de Louis XIII. LE GRAIN MARIN. Memoires de Baſſompiere. VITT. SIRI Memoire recondite.

dition

dition to execute the other part of his plan. He certainly executed his ſcheme with all the prudence imaginable; but notwithſtanding this, he found, as we have ſhewn before, almoſt as much danger in this ſudden tranſition as in adhering to his former plan [t]. The *Spaniards* did not in the leaſt abate of their ſuſpicions; the duke of *Savoy* was equally violent and implacable in his reſentments, the *Engliſh*, with good reaſon, charged him with inſincerity; as having given them hopes, and, it may be, aſſurances, of joining with them againſt *Spain*; and the princes of *Germany* were no leſs offended, as being diſappointed in reference to the hopes they had entertained of a general confederacy, which was negotiating at the *Hague*, and which proved ineffectual, from this change in the cardinal's meaſures. But above all, the Proteſtants in *France* were moſt alarmed, and with moſt reaſon. They ſaw many of their cautionary places taken from them, popiſh magiſtrates introduced in moſt of their great towns, a citadel building at *Montpelier*, and the port of *Rochelle* in a manner blocked up by the fort of *St. Lewis*, and by the garriſon in the iſle of *Oleron*, in which the fortifications were erected, and the garriſon paid, at the cardinal's own expence [u].

Source of the war with England and the Proteſtants in his own dominions.

We have before obſerved, that, by the advice of the duke of *Buckingham*, who governed all in the *Engliſh* court, overtures had been made to the Proteſtants in *France* of aſſiſtance from *England*. Theſe were made through the duke of *Soubiſe*, who then lived an exile there, and, as it was very natural, were made by him to his brother the duke of *Rohan*, who declined a correſpondence with the duke of *Buckingham*, as it might prove dangerous to him, conſidering that his own court held him in continual ſuſpicion; but he ſent over Monſieur *St. Blancard* to lay before the *Engliſh* court the ſtate of their affairs, and afterwards received an agent from the duke of *Buckingham*, with whom he conſulted every thing [w]. The *Engliſh* agent, if we may depend upon the duke of *Rohan*, promiſed more than it was poſſible to perform; for he gave him hopes of three invaſions, one in *Dauphine*, one at *Rochelle*, and another at the mouth of the *Garonne*: on the other hand, the duke of *Rohan* promiſed to join the *Engliſh* with a conſiderable body of troops as ſoon as they were landed; and there is good reaſon to believe that the *Engliſh* court underſtood that the duke of *Rohan* treated for the whole

[t] Dupleix Hiſtoire de Louis XIII. Bernard Hiſtoire de Louis XIII. Auberi Hiſtoire du Cardinal Richelieu. [u] Memoires du Duc de Rohan. [w] Memoires de Baſſompiere. Rushworth's Collection, tom. i. p. 424.

Proteſtants

Proteſtant intereſt in *France* [x]. In conſequence of this negotiation, the *Engliſh* began to ſeize and take *French* ſhips; and the duke of *Buckingham*, framing to himſelf an idea of making ſome impreſſion upon that court by talking high, came over in quality of ambaſſador; but whatever his notions were in this reſpect, he found himſelf much miſtaken, returned full of reſentment [y], and the court of *France* having made repriſals, a rupture preſently followed, though without the uſual formality of declarations [z]. The *French* attribute this conduct of *Buckingham* to his paſſion for the firſt lady in the *French* court in the firſt place, and in the next to his violent averſion to the cardinal, of which there is no doubt. But it may not be amiſs to obſerve, that there was ſomething more, and the duke's conduct was not quite ſo extravagant as it is generally repreſented. We have ſeen that, at the time of king *Charles*'s marriage with the ſiſter of *Lewis* the thirteenth, the firſt public tranſaction of *Richelieu*'s miniſtry, and in which he acted with ſo much vigour as to threaten the court of *Rome* to proceed without a diſpenſation if they continued to delay it, there was all along a tacit preſumption that *France* would concur with *England* in the war againſt *Spain*, and, upon the cardinal's ſuggeſting that it was impoſſible for him to take this meaſure, if the people of *Rochelle* were not obliged to accept a peace, *Buckingham* was drawn in to ſend ſome of his maſter's ſhips to the aſſiſtance of the *French*, which raiſed the ſpirit of the whole *Engliſh* nation againſt him, and was made one of the principal grounds of an impeachment. Upon this *Buckingham*, like *Richelieu*, changed his plan, and urged the *French* court to conclude a reaſonable peace with the *Rochellers*, and became ſecurity to them for its performance, in caſe they accepted it. But after they had accepted it, and he found that *France* would neither concur with *England* in carrying on the war againſt *Spain*, nor perform the treaty with the Proteſtants, *Buckingham* had no other way left, more eſpecially after the miſcarriage of the fleet he ſent againſt *Cadiz*, of making his peace with the *Engliſh* nation, but to break, as he did, with the *French* court, in ſupport of the *French* Proteſtants; and it was not ſo much a miſtake in his meaſures, as his miſconduct in the execution of them, that ruined this favourite [a]. The cardinal, on the other

[x] Memoires du Duc de Rohan. RUSHWORTH's Collection, tom. i. [y] Memoires du Duc de Rohan, liv. iv. [z] DUPLEIX Hiſtoire de Louis XIII. [a] VITT. SIRI Memoire recondite. Memoires de Baſſompiere. Lord CLARENDON's Hiſtory of the Rebellion.

hand,

land, ever preſent to himſelf, and equal in all reſpects to the vaſt deſigns he had in hand, laid hold of this opportunity to conclude a treaty with *Spain* [b] againſt the *Engliſh*, by which he brought the *Spaniſh* faction in *France* to act with him. At the ſame time he concluded another treaty with *Holland*, by which he granted them an annual ſubſidy of a million for the ſupport of their war againſt *Spain* [c]; and, when the *Spaniards* repreſented againſt this, he told them that it was only to prevent their giving aſſiſtance to *England* and to the *Rochellers*; whereas he meant it as a temporary aſſiſtance, till he had brought affairs into ſuch order as would enable him to make uſe of their alliance for the other parts of his plan.

Death of the ducheſs of Orleans (Montpenſiere), *and the conſequences to the ſtate.*

In the midſt of theſe political intrigues, the ducheſs of *Orleans*, after being delivered on the 29th of *May* of a daughter, died on the 4th of *June* following, which was an event of very great conſequence [d]. The duke, after his marriage, loved his conſort with ſo warm and ſo ſteady an affection, and ſhe behaved ſo prudently, that, inſtead of thoſe jealouſies and diſquiets which hitherto had diſturbed and diſtracted the royal family, all was perfectly quiet and ſerene. But with her this peace might be ſaid to expire. His old humours revived in the king; he could not forbear expreſſing an indecent ſatisfaction, that the child was a daughter and not a ſon, with which alſo the queen ſeemed pleaſed [e]. Hints were given to the duke of *Orleans*'s favourites that they ſhould ſpare no pains to amuſe and divert him, and that, if any extraordinary ſums were neceſſary to enliven his pleaſures, they ſhould be ſupplied. The cardinal alſo, in order to contribute to this, parted with his houſe at *Limours* to him; and it was beſides intimated to the queen-mother, that ſhe ſhould not diſturb herſelf too much with the thoughts of finding another conſort for her ſon, a piece of advice ſhe could not either reliſh or excuſe [f]. But, to ſhew how little ſtrength there is in the beſt-laid ſchemes, theſe precautions were ſcarce conceived before it was found neceſſary to lay them aſide. The king fell dangerouſly ill [g], and the news coming of the *Engliſh* invaſion, it from thence became requiſite to put the duke of *Orleans* at the head of the army, a meaſure to which the miniſter was little inclined, and which, however, he knew not how to avoid. The dukes of *Buckingham* and *Rohan* might have derived from

[b] Dupl. Hiſtoire de Louis XIII. [c] Aub. Hiſtoire du Cardinal Richelieu. Bernard Hiſtoire de Louis XIII. [d] Memoires de Baſſompiere. Memoires du Duc de Rohan. Memoires de Deageant. Mercure Francois. [e] Vitt Siri Memoire recondite. [f] Memoires de Baſſompiere. [g] Dupl. Hiſtoire de Louis XIII.

hence and from other circumſtances conſiderable advantages, if their ſchemes had been better conducted; but, as we ſhall ſee, they were either ſo ill concerted, or were attended with ſuch a ſeries of inevitable misfortunes, as put it out of their power to draw any advantage from an armament, very puiſſant in itſelf, and which had been furniſhed by the crown of *England* at an immenſe expence.

Duke of Buckingham *comes before* Rochelle *with a powerful fleet and army.*

THE duke came before *Rochelle* on the 20th of *July*, with a fleet of upwards of one hundred ſail of men of war and tranſports, and between ſeven and eight thouſand land forces on board [h]. But, to his ſurprize, the people of *Rochelle* ſhut their gate and their port againſt him, taking all poſſible precautions to prevent his ſending ſo much as a meſſenger into the place [i]. The duke of *Rohan* ſays expreſly, that the cauſe of this was the mayor and principal magiſtrates being in the intereſt of the court; but, whatever the cauſe of it might be, the fleet proved equally fatal to the *Rochellers* and to himſelf. The conſort of the duke of *Rohan* and his mother, having fled to *Rochelle* for ſhelter, found means, with great difficulty, to bring in Monſieur *Soubiſe*, who came over with *Buckingham*, and he at laſt prevailed for the admiſſion of Sir *William Beecher*, the agent of that duke, to declare to them the end and deſign of his coming, which he did in very pathetic terms [k], alleging that the king of *Great Britain*, having induced them to make a peace on the ſtrongeſt aſſurances of liberty and ſecurity, being informed that they had neither, that they were in the utmoſt danger of being blocked up, and knew not how to prevent it, or to defend themſelves, and having, in vain, endeavoured to procure the advantages ſtipulated by them, for the treaty, through the interpoſition of his good offices with the court of *France*, had ſent the lord high admiral of *England* to effect by force what had been denied him in quality of ambaſſador. The magiſtrates and people of *Rochelle* returned their thanks to his *Britannic* majeſty for his care and kindneſs; ſaid they were a part only of the Proteſtant body in *France*; that they muſt conſult their brethren before they could return him any definitive anſwer [l]; and thus the duke was left to take what meaſures he judged moſt expedient. If, as the duke of *Rohan* truly obſerves, the *Rochellers*, inſtead of aſking the advice of their brethren, had demanded their aſſiſtance, they had done their buſineſs

[h] RUSHWORTH's Collection, tom. i. p. 425. [i] Memoires du Duc de Rohan. [k] RUSHWORTH's Collection, tom. i. p. 426. [l] Memoires de Baſſompiere. VITTORIO SIRI Memoire recondite. RUSHWORTH's Collection, tom. i. p. 426.

before

before the court could have been in any condition to have oppoſed them [m]; or if the duke of *Buckingham* had followed the advice given him by the duke of *Soubiſe*, who unfortunately left him, to go and confer with the chiefs of the Proteſtant party, and had made a deſcent in the iſland of *Oleron*, which is very fertile, was in a manner intirely inhabited by Proteſtants, where the fortifications were not half raiſed, and in which there were but few troops, he could not have failed of ſucceſs, and of obliging the *French* to abandon the iſle of *Rhe*, which he might have attacked on all ſides. But ſo it was, that he changed his mind, made a deſcent in that iſland, where Monſieur *Thoiras* commanded, and, having beat him at his landing, might, if he had followed his victory, have carried the only place of ſtrength in the iſland by ſurprize [n]; but, waſting ſome days in encamping his troops and landing his equipage, Monſieur *de Thoiras* carried in all the proviſion he could collect into his fortreſs, and made the beſt diſpoſition poſſible for ſuſtaining a ſiege in a fort of four baſtions, two of which were but half finiſhed.

The D. of Buckingham *retires out of the iſle of* Rhe *with diſhonour.*

As this affair was unluckily begun, it was proſecuted in all reſpects with the ſame ill fortune, and, to ſay the truth, with the ſame ill conduct. The duke of *Buckingham* beſieged fort *St. Martin*'s in form, but without taking the precautions that were neceſſary. The beſieged had at firſt abandoned a well which was abſolutely neceſſary for them, but they ſpeedily recovered and fortified it. The duke thought it beneath him to attack the ſmall fort of *la Pree*, which, however, covered the landing-place, enabled the ſmall ſuccours that were ſent to the fort to paſs in ſafety, and kept the *Engliſh* veſſels at a diſtance. But the greateſt error of all was, that the duke ſuffered himſelf to be amuſed by a treaty, which Monſieur *Thoiras* ſet on foot, purely to gain time, which the duke was complaiſant enough to give him. In the mean time the cardinal acted with that ſpirit and prudence which were the characteriſtics of his miniſtry. He ſent a ſmall body of horſe into the neighbourhood of fort *Lewis*, ſupported by three thouſand foot, under the command of the duke of *Angouleſme*. At firſt he made the *Rochellers* believe that they were not intended againſt them, but to guard the coaſt againſt the *Engliſh*, which made them more remiſs. Soon after he cauſed quarters to be marked in the villages about *Rochelle* for five-and-twenty thouſand men; of which the *Rochellers* giving notice to the *Engliſh* fleet, hindered them from attacking fort

[m] Memoires du Duc de Rohan. [n] RUSHWORTH's Collection, tom. i. p. 426, 427. DUPLEIX Hiſtoire de Louis XIII.

Lewis,

Lewis, that otherwiſe might have been taken in a day's time. In order to quicken the preparations, and that nothing might be wanting, he not only advanced his own money, but ſold his plate and jewels, that ſupplies might be procured for the ſervice [o]. Some ſay this was not neceſſary, but all admit that it was done diſcreetly, and that, by his expreſs directions, two conſiderable convoys were ſent to *St. Martin's* [p]. The duke of *Rohan*, who fulfilled his engagements, and took up arms, met with incredible difficulties, and infinite diſappointments: on the one hand he was declared guilty of high treaſon by the parliament; on the other he was diſavowed by the greater part of the Proteſtants, through timidity, ſelf-intereſt, and corruption [q]. In *October* the cardinal brought the king, accompanied by his brother, the count *de Soiſſons*, the dukes of *Guiſe*, *Angouleſme*, and *Nemours*, the marſhals *Schomberg*, *Baſſompiere*, and *d'Eſtrees*, the dukes of *Tremouille*, *Bellegarde*, *Crequi*, *Cheureuſe*, *Montbazon*, *Retz*, and *Rochefoucault*, with the flower of the nobility of *France*, and a conſiderable army, before *Rochelle* [r]. On the ſixth of *November*, the duke of *Buckingham*, having received a conſiderable reinforcement from *England*, cauſed a general aſſault to be given to the fort of *St. Martin*, in which he was repulſed with conſiderable loſs [s]. Two days after marſhal *Schomberg* landed with a body of troops ſuperior to his army, ſo that he ſuffered conſiderably in his retreat, though his troops behaved well. At length, having embarked every thing, he ſailed for *England* on the 17th of the ſame month, having done nothing worthy his own high titles, or the reputation of his countrymen [t]. The royal army, notwithſtanding the inclemency of the ſeaſon, and the intrigues of all *Richelieu's* enemies, continued before *Rochelle*, and he had intereſt enough with his maſter to keep him there likewiſe, though ſo lately recovered from a dangerous illneſs, and of a conſtitution weak in itſelf, and very apt to be diſordered by the vigorous exerciſes either of the mind or body [u].

[o] Dupleix Hiſtoire de Louis XIII. Bernard Hiſtoire de Louis XIII. Rushworth's Collection, vol. i. Memoires du Duc de Rohan. [p] Aubery Hiſtoire du Cardinal Richelieu. Dupleix Hiſtoire de Louis XIII. Memoires du Duc de Rohan. Memoires de Baſſompiere. Bernard Hiſtoire de Louis XIII. Memoires de Puyſegur. [q] Rushworth's Collection, vol. i. Vitt. Siri Memoire recondite. Memoires de Puyſegur. [r] Rushworth's Collection, vol. i. [s] Dupleix Hiſtoire de Louis XIII. Memoires du Duc de Rohan.

It

IT is said that cardinal *Richelieu* had meditated the siege of *Rochelle* for ten years; it is at least as certain that he might have speculated upon it for ten years more, if his good fortune had not furnished him with this opportunity, when, by their unseasonable diffidences, and as unseasonable confidence, the *Rochellers* and the duke of *Buckingham* had ruined each other. *Richelieu* was exactly informed of the situation things were in, saw his opportunity, and took it. He determined to besiege a place of great extent, and extremely well fortified, furnished with a numerous artillery, abundantly supplied with military stores, full of a martial, religious, and determined people, under the government of Monf. *Guitton* their mayor, a man of excellent sense, great experience, and invincible fortitude. The army did not consist of above twenty-three thousand men. The king, as we have observed, graced the siege with his person, but the cardinal commanded, assisted by the duke of *Angoulesme*, and the marshals *Bassompiere* and *Schomberg* [w]. The lines of circumvallation were nine miles in extent, fortified by thirteen forts of different sizes, well furnished with artillery, and which flanked one another. He opened no trenches, he raised, for a long time, no batteries. The great point was to shut up the port; trials were made by driving vast stakes to embarrass the entrance, but to little purpose. Some attempts were made to construct a boom, which also miscarried. The cardinal himself, considering what *Cæsar* had done at *Durazzo*, and *Alexander the Great* when he besieged *Tyre*, resolved upon a dyke. When he first proposed it, those who ought to have been the best judges treated it with ridicule; they said there were many things made a great figure in books, that had but a paltry appearance when they came to be put in practice. At last (for their names ought to be remembered), *Lewis Metezeau* and *John Tiriot* undertook to execute what the cardinal had proposed. This was begun on the 2d of *December*, and the scheme was to run a solid wall across a gulph seven hundred and forty toises broad, into which the sea rolled with great force, and, when the winds were high, with an impetuosity to which it seemed ridiculous to think of opposing any work of man. It was begun by throwing in great rocks to lay a kind of foundation; upon these were laid vast stones, which were cemented by the mud thrown up by the sea. Before and behind it was supported by beams of an enormous size, at twelve feet distance, driven into the bottom with incredible

State of Rochelle *when besieged by* Lewis XIII.

[w] BERNARD Histoire de Louis XIII. Memoires de Bassompiere. VITT. SIRI Memoire recondite. Memoires de Puysegur.

labour. It was raiſed ſo high, that the ſoldiers were not incommoded by the water, even at ſpring tides; the platform was near five toiſes in breadth, but the foundation was full fifteen; ſo that it was built in the manner of a glacis. At each extremity there was a ſtrong fort, in the middle there was an open paſſage of one hundred and fifty paces, ſeveral veſſels being ſunk immediately before it, together with high ſtakes in a double row, and before theſe thirty-five veſſels linked together, which made a kind of floating paliſade. This amazing dyke was finiſhed in the month of *May* [x]. This work entirely eclipſed what was done on ſhore, though that would otherwiſe have appeared very extraordinary; the troops were well lodged, regularly paid, and, from time to time, both officers and ſoldiers had conſiderable gratifications; beſides which the latter had hats, ſhoes, and watch-coats, delivered them whenever it was neceſſary. A ſtrict diſcipline kept their markets full, ſo that neceſſaries and refreſhments were never wanting; as for the ſick and wounded, of the latter of which there were but very few, all poſſible care was taken of them in the hoſpitals, which the king, the cardinal, and the marſhals often viſited in perſon [y].

The place taken by famine.

As the reduction of *Rochelle* appeared to be a thing ſtill at a great diſtance, the king found it expedient to return to *Paris*, and, upon this occaſion, appointed the cardinal his lieutenant-general by a ſpecial commiſſion, directing the duke of *Angouleſme* and the two marſhals to obey him in all things [z]. About the middle of *May* came the *Engliſh* fleet, commanded by the earl of *Denbigh*; it was numerous and potent enough to have attempted any thing, and yet did little or nothing, the dyke being perfectly finiſhed, and flanked by good batteries; two of the *Engliſh* officers exclaimed againſt the cowardice of the reſt, who, notwithſtanding, alleged many excuſes; it may be the beſt of them was, that moſt of the veſſels were preſſed or hired. However, after throwing in ſome little ſupply of corn, they withdrew, with aſſurance of a ſpeedy return [a]. In the mean time, the cardinal omitted nothing that could be attempted in the way of ſurprize or negotiation [b]. But the *Rochellers* were ſo vigilant, that they diſappointed all his enterpriſes; and ſo firm, that, though the common people lived upon ſhell-fiſh and graſs, they would not liſten to diſhonourable terms. In order to haſten the great armament that was making at *Portſmouth*, king *Charles* repaired

[x] Auberi Hiſtoire du Cardinal Richelieu. [y] Bernard Hiſtoire de Louis XIII. [z] Auberi Hiſtoire du Cardinal de Richelieu, liv. ii. c. 17. [a] Rushworth's Collections, vol. i. [b] Memoires du Duc de Rohan.

to

to the neighbourhood, and the duke of *Buckingham* came thither, where, on the twenty-third of *Auguſt*, old ſtile, he was ſtabbed by one *John Felton* [c]. This, inſtead of hindering, promoted the expedition; for the duke of *Rohan* aſſures us, and ſure he is a competent witneſs, by the care and diligence of the king, more was done in ten or twelve days than in many weeks before; ſo that in the beginning of *September* the fleet ſailed [d]. The *Spaniards*, in virtue of their treaty, had ſent a fleet to the aſſiſtance of the *French*, and this, after a ſhort ſtay, in which they did little or nothing, retired; but by the cardinal's extreme diligence, excluſive of thirty galliots that were above the dyke, to keep the *Rochellers* from attempting any thing, he had aſſembled forty ſhips of war, which lay ranged before it in line of battle; the *Engliſh* fleet, under the command of the earl of *Lindſey* is ſaid to have conſiſted of one hundred and fifty ſail of all ſorts; they fought, or rather cannonaded, the fleet two or three times, but no great loſs on either ſide; they negotiated to as little purpoſe as they fought: at length the beſieged, quite tired out, ſurrendered the place on the laſt of *October* [e]. They were to enjoy their fortunes and their religion; but their extenſive privileges, which they had held for three hundred years, were ſuppreſſed, and all their impregnable fortifications demoliſhed. Of twenty thouſand inhabitants that were in the place when inveſted, there were not four thouſand left, and of theſe not an hundred able to carry arms. The king made his entry into *Rochelle* on the 1ſt of *November*, about ten in the morning [f]. About twelve aroſe a ſtorm which conſiderably weakened the dyke; a few days after forty toiſes of it were demoliſhed. If the *Engliſh* fleet under the command of the earl of *Denbigh* had arrived a fortnight ſooner they had relieved the place, or if the *Rochellers* could have held out a fortnight longer they might have been relieved and ſupplied. But Providence diſpoſed things otherwiſe, and *Richelieu* boaſted, that he had taken the place in ſpite of three kings; *Philip* the fourth of *Spain*, who aſſiſted the *Rochellers* with money, *Charles* the firſt of *England*, who waſted immenſe ſums in fruitleſs endeavours to aſſiſt them, and *Lewis* the thirteenth, who, by his inquietudes and deſpondencies, gave him more trouble than both. This important conqueſt, upon which the king was ſolemnly complimented by pope *Urban* the eighth, was at-

[c] CLARENDON's Hiſtory of the Rebellion. [d] Memoires du Duc de Rohan. [e] Memoires de Baſſompiere, tom. ii. p. 516. Memoires de Puyſegur, p. 50. Memoires du Duc de Rohan. DUPLEIX Hiſtoire de Louis XIII. [f] BERNARD Hiſtoire de Louis XIII. AUBERI Memoires du Cardinal Richelieu.

A. D. 1628. chieved without much effuſion of blood, but the expence of it was computed at forty millions of livres [g].

The D. of Nevers becomes D. of Mantua *under the protection of the king of* France.

THE ſiege of *Rochelle* was no ſooner over, and the affairs in that part of the kingdom ſettled, ſo that the king returned with ſafety and in triumph to *Paris*, than the miniſter propoſed a new expedition, not leſs hazardous, and to the full as fatiguing as that which the king had gone through, notwithſtanding the clamours of the courtiers and the murmurs of the two queens [h]. About a year before died *Vincent de Gonzagua*, duke of *Mantua*, and left the ſucceſſion open. He conſidered *Charles de Gonzagua* duke of *Nevers*, his couſin-german, as the right heir, in reſpect to all that he held in the nature of fiefs of the empire, and his niece, the young princeſs of *Montferrat*, of whatever could deſcend to females. He had invited the duke *de Rhetel*, eldeſt ſon to the duke of *Nevers*, to his capital, intending to marry him to his niece, which was actually performed the very night he died, ſome ſay by his expreſs command, others after he had expired. The *Venetians* and moſt of the other powers of *Italy* acknowleged the duke of *Nevers* in quality of duke of *Mantua*; however, the emperor thought fit to give the inveſtiture to the duke of *Guaſtalla*; and the duke of *Savoy* having ſet up a claim to the *Montferrat*, the king of *Spain* entered into a treaty with the two dukes, by which he promiſed to furniſh them with men and money to ſupport their claims, provided they admitted *Spaniſh* garriſons into the two capitals of *Mantua* and *Caſal*, which their intereſt induced them to accept [i]. Cardinal *Richelieu*, who looked upon the Proteſtants as in a manner ſubdued, now turned his thoughts to the other branch of his great project, and repreſented to the king, that, ſince the houſe of *Auſtria* conſidered it as a crime ſufficient to deſtroy all his pretenſions that the new duke of *Mantua* was born in *France*, he was bound to protect him.

The king paſſes the Alps, *and obliges the D. of* Savoy *to grant him a paſſage.*

THE ſmall remains of the *Spaniſh* party, which the cardinal had in a manner extinguiſhed, endeavoured to defeat this ſcheme, and the queen-mother went very cordially into the oppoſition. The duke of *Nevers* had been ever amongſt the malecontents during her regency; and, which affected her ſtill more, the duke of *Orleans* had a paſſion for *Mary de Gonzagua*, the duke's daughter, which hindered him from approving his mother's choice of *Anne de Medicis*, the younger

[g] DUPLEIX Hiſtoire de Louis XIII. AUBERI Hiſtoire du Cardinal de Richelieu. [h] Memoires de Baſſompiere. Memoires du Comte de Brienne, tom. ii. p. 2. [i] Hiſtoire della Republica di Veneta, par BATT. NANI. VITT. SIRI Memoire recondite. Vie de Richelieu.

daughter of the grand duke, which affected her to the laſt degree. But the cardinal, though he ſhewed, upon all occaſions, great complaiſance for the queen-mother, remained firm, and aſſured his maſter, that, if they took the field early, *Caſal*, which was beſieged by Don *Gonzalo de Cordova*, and which was excellently defended, might be relieved in the ſpring; and that the duke of *Roban*, and thoſe that were in arms with him, might, notwithſtanding, be brought to ſubmit before the end of the ſummer [k]. In the middle of *February* the king arrived with his army at *Grenoble*, and ſent to demand a paſſage through the territories of the duke of *Savoy*, who laboured to gain time, in hopes the *Spaniards* would be able to make themſelves maſters of *Caſal*; but, by the cardinal's advice, the king marched and negotiated at the ſame time, paſſed the *Alps* in the midſt of froſt and ſnow, himſelf on foot at the head of his troops, and, on the 6th of *March*, forced the famous paſs of *Suſa*, which, though well fortified, was ill defended; the town and caſtle of the ſame name ſurrendered the next day. The cardinal made ſo good uſe of this ſucceſs, that the duke of *Savoy* quickly conſented to a treaty, by which he promiſed to give a paſſage, and to furniſh ſubſiſtence to the troops that were to march to the relief of the duke of *Mantua*, and alſo to engage the *Spaniſh* general to raiſe the ſiege of *Caſal* [l]. In conſequence of this accommodation Monſieur *Thoiras* was ſent with three thouſand foot and three hundred horſe to take poſſeſſion of that important place, and the king had the ſatisfaction, before his departure, to conclude two very important treaties; the firſt in the nature of an alliance with the republic of *Venice* and the duke of *Savoy*, for maintaining the repoſe of *Italy*; the other, under the mediation of the *Venetians*, with the king of *Great Britain* [m].

Lewis returns into his own dominions, and treats the Proteſtants with great ſeverity.

AFTER all that had happened both before and after the ſiege of *Rochelle*, the duke of *Roban* perſiſted in carrying on the war, always with vigour, and ſometimes with ſucceſs. In order to this he made a treaty with the king of *Spain*, who promiſed him an annual ſubſidy of three hundred thouſand pieces of eight, in conſideration of his maintaining a certain number of foot and horſe, and farther ſtipulating for the free exerciſe of the popiſh religion in all the places within his power during the continuance of the war, and to eſtabliſh a toleration if he ſhould ſucceed in his deſign of forming

[k] AUBERY Hiſtoire du Cardinal de Richelieu. Memoires du Comte de Brienne, tom. ii. Memoires de Baſſompiere. [l] DUPLEIX Hiſtoire de Louis XIII. BATT. NANI. Memoires de Puyſegur, p. 34. [m] BERNARD Hiſtoire de Louis XIII.

an independent ſtate in *France* [n]. This ſhews how much theſe were wars of religion, when his Catholic majeſty treated with the Proteſtants in *France* in arms againſt their ſovereign, with whom he was at peace, and to whoſe aſſiſtance he had lately ſent a fleet againſt them. But what is ſtill more extraordinary, it is acknowleged, in the preamble of this treaty, that the king of *Spain* concluded it from motives of ſtate, and in reſentment of the great aſſiſtance given by the *French* to his heretic rebels in the *Low Countries* [o]. At this time the duke of *Rohan* had conſiderable forces on foot in *Languedoc*, *Guienne*, and the *Cevennes*, and, amongſt other ſtrong places, he had in his power *Nijmes*, *Uſes*, *Montauban*, *Caſtres*, *Privas*, *Alais*, *Milau-Sante-Afrique* [p]. In *May* the king beſieged *Privas*, a ſtrong place in *Vivarez*, which defended itſelf for twelve days with ſuch reſolution, that the king loſt ſome hundreds of his troops before it. At length, hard preſſed, and ſeeing no hopes of relief, the garriſon retired into the fortreſs, and the inhabitants of the town withdrew into the mountains. Thoſe in the fort were obliged to ſurrender at diſcretion; and the firing of ſome powder giving a pretence for ſuggeſting that they had attempted to blow up the troops that had entered the place, they were moſt inhumanly treated, being put to a variety of deaths, and ſome hundreds of them hanged by the king's order, and in his ſight; for that prince was naturally ſevere [q]. The cardinal being ill of a fever, was not preſent, and he took care to appriſe the world ſufficiently of that circumſtance [r]. The fate of *Privas* ſo terrified the people of *Aletz*, that, though the place was well fortified, and the duke of *Rohan* had taken care to furniſh them with every thing neceſſary for their defence, yet he had no ſooner quitted it than they began to treat, and, by the interpoſition of the cardinal, obtained a good capitulation, which was honourably executed.

The D. of Rohan ſubmits, and, in conſequence of his treaty, quits the kingdom.

RICHELIEU took care to let the duke know this, and, at the ſame time, ſent him word, that he might yet treat for himſelf, or for a general peace; but that, if things went much farther, he would expoſe himſelf and the Proteſtants to utter ruin. The duke of *Rohan*, being convinced that this was but too true, and having received no advantage from his treaty with *Spain*, and his intelligence with the duke of *Savoy*, reſolved to take this advice, but he treated honourably for his whole

[n] Memoires du Duc de Rohan. [o] Recueil de Pieces concernant l'Hiſtoire de Louis XIII. tom. ii. p. 522. [p] DUPLEIX Hiſtoire de Louis XIII. Memoires de Puyſegur. [q] Memoires du Duc de Rohan. [r] AUBERI Hiſtoire du Cardinal Richelieu.

party,

party, and with the conſent of the aſſembly. The treaty was ſigned on the 27th of *June* [s], by which the Proteſtants were reſtored to their eſtates, the free exerciſe of their religion, and all the privileges granted by the edict, only they were ſtripped of all their cautionary towns, and conſequently loſt the power of defending themſelves. The dukes of *Rohan* and *Soubiſe* were pardoned and reſtored to their eſtates. The king would not ſee the former, but, on the contrary, inſiſted he ſhould quit *France* for a time, upon which he retired to *Venice*; and, to qualify this exile, he was gratified with a large ſum of money [t]. To ſhun the heats of *Languedoc*, in ſome parts of which the plague was more than ſuſpected, the cardinal adviſed the king to return to *Paris*, while he went himſelf to *Montaubon*, the inhabitants of which had rejected the peace, becauſe their fortifications were to be demoliſhed, and, as they apprehended, demoliſhed by the prince of *Condé*, whom they knew to be capricious and cruel, and againſt whom they would have defended themſelves to the laſt; but they made no ſcruple of admitting the cardinal and his troops. He remained there two days, received every body very graciouſly, and even the Proteſtant miniſters in a body, under the title of men of letters. He cauſed the treaty to be punctually executed, left the town as he found it, permitted them to demoliſh their own works, and paid them for it. When he had ſettled all things, he returned in triumph to *Paris*, where he found the court in the utmoſt confuſion, and himſelf in ſuch a ſituation, that he deſired the king's leave to reſign his employments, the very day after his arrival [u].

Difference between the queen-mother and the duke of Orleans.

We have before mentioned the reſentment of the queen-mother againſt the duke of *Mantua*, chiefly on account of the affection of Monſieur for his daughter, in conſequence of which the duke was protected and perſecuted at the ſame time by *France*; ſometimes he was told that he had nothing to expect unleſs he withdrew her out of the kingdom; when he had ſubmitted to this, and ſent for her, ſhe was ſtopped upon the road by the interpoſition of Monſieur, who threatened the utmoſt extremities if ſhe was ſent away. He then ſuffered his paſſion to ſubſide, or rather ſeemed to ſuffer it; upon which the queen-mother again reſolved to ſend her out of the kingdom, but revoked her orders upon finding that her ſon intended to carry her off upon the road, and to retire with her into *Flanders*. This provoked the queen-mother ſo

[s] Memoires du Duc de Rohan. [t] Dupleix Hiſtoire de Louis XIII. Bernard Hiſtoire de Louis XIII. Memoires du Duc de Rohan. [u] Aubery Hiſtoire du Cardinal Richelieu. Vitt. Siri Memoire recondite.

much, that, while the king was with his army, and ſhe inveſted with the power of regent, ſhe cauſed the princeſs and the dutcheſs of *Longueville*, her aunt to be arreſted, and brought priſoners to *Vincennes*, with all the circumſtances of violence that female reſentment could ſuggeſt: upon this Monſieur retired to *Joinville*, a place belonging to the duke of *Guiſe*; and the king could not help ſhewing that he was not at all ſatisfied with his mother's conduct, though at the ſame time he treated his brother's airs of diſcontent with contempt, highly pleaſed that the cardinal had placed his authority upon ſuch a baſis, as that his ſubjects of all ranks found it neceſſary to pay him equal reſpect [w]. The queen-mother, who thought the cardinal ſhould have entered into all her views, when ſhe found that he did not diſapprove of Monſieur's affection, and thought it ſtrange that ſhe ſhould be wrong with both her ſons at a time, quarrelled with him without the leaſt reſerve, treated him as an inſignificant creature, raiſed by her favour, and ſtiled him, in plain terms, an ungrateful perfidious perſon: at the ſame time the duke of *Orleans* withdrawing to *Nancy*, publiſhed a manifeſto, in which he attributed all his misfortunes to the cardinal; gave him the invidious title of mayor of the palace; charged him with uſurping the royal authority, with being the author of his exile, and the ſource of the miſeries of
A. D. 1629. *France* [x]. In this ſituation the cardinal deſired the king's permiſſion to withdraw; but *Lewis*, who conſidered him as his martyr, as well as his miniſter, refuſed it [y]; and while they were thus embarraſſed by domeſtic follies, foreign affairs took ſuch a turn as obliged the king to make the cardinal what his brother had called him, from whence it appears that ſome princes may, by chance, be prophets, who never can be made politicians.

The cardinal again paſſes the Alps.

THE duke of *Savoy*, as he had been compelled to make the peace of *Suſa*, and to grant a paſſage for the *French* troops to *Caſal*, ſo when he once ſaw the king embarked in the war with the Hugonots, he took it for granted that they might have time enough to diſpoſſeſs the duke of *Mantua* before the *French* troops could paſs the *Alps*; and, upon this ſuppoſition, he, in conjuction with the emperor and the king of *Spain*, renewed the war and beſieged *Caſal* again. In this ſtate of things there was no remedy but that which had been before applied of ſending the army again over the moun-

[w] Memoires du Comte de Brienne, tom. ii. AUBERI Hiſtoire du Cardinal de Richelieu. VITTORIO SIRI. Memoire recondite.
[x] Memoires du Comte de Brienne, tom. ii. Vie de Richelieu.
[y] AUBERI Hiſtoire du Cardinal de Richelieu. [z] DUBL. Hiſtoire de Louis XIII. BATT. NANI.

tains,

taine, and that without delay. The urgency of affairs being ſo great, the king, by letters patents, declared cardinal *Richelieu* his principal miniſter [a]. He had been ſo long in effect; but as this deemed towards from his quality of cardinal, the king thought fit, by thoſe letters patents, to attribute it to his perſon, and to ſtile him therein, not firſt miniſter, which might have been referred to precedency, but his principal miniſter with regard to his confidence. In leſs than a month, as it was determined that he ſhould command the army, he was, by letters patents, created the king's lieutenant-general, repreſenting his perſon, with power to receive ambaſſadors, to give them audience, to make and to receive propoſitions, and finally conclude, as if the king himſelf was preſent and aſſenting [b]. Under him commanded the marſhals *Crequi*, *de la Force*, *Baſſompierre*, and *Schomberg*. To diſtinguiſh him from theſe, and indeed from all other generals, the ſounding title of generaliſſimo was invented, and, for the ſame reaſon, the title of eminence was given by brief to cardinals, by pope *Urban* the eighth, who were before ſtiled moſt illuſtrious. Thus cloathed with greater authority, and graced with higher titles than any ſubject had ever received, he proceeded directly to *Lyons*, and rejecting ſome propoſitions that were made him, and even an interview with the prince of *Piedmont*, he continued his march, notwithſtanding the ſeverity of the weather, and, in the month of *February*, arrived at *Suſa*, with twenty thouſand foot and three thouſand horſe [c]. He ſummoned the duke of *Savoy* to execute the treaty concluded the year before, that is, to grant a free paſſage, to furniſh ſubſiſtence, and to join a body of troops with thoſe of the king, in order to march to the relief of the duke of *Mantua*. The duke of *Savoy* took his meaſures ill, he endeavoured to amuſe the cardinal, who, in return, was very near ſurpriſing him at *Rivoli*, from whence he was glad to retire haſtily to *Turin*, where the cardinal did not let him long reſt, cauſing his artillery to take the route, and marching in perſon at the head of his forces towards that city; but having obliged the duke to take all neceſſary precautions againſt a ſiege, he very unexpectedly inveſted the important place of *Pignerol*, which he took in two days time, and the caſtle that commanded it, by which a direct road was open from *Dauphine* into *Italy* [d]. This great conqueſt did the cardinal as much honour this year as the relief of *Caſal* had

[a] Recueil de Pieces concernant l'Hiſtoire de Louis XIII. tom. ii. p. 590. [b] Aubery Hiſtoire du Cardinal de Richelieu. [c] Memoires de Puyſegur. Batt. Nani. Dupl. Hiſtoire de Louis XIII. [d] Memoires du Comte de Brienne, tom. ii. Memoires des principales Actions du Marechal du Pleſſy, p. 2.

done

done the year before, augmented the king's confidence in him, and diſcouraged his enemies, who, though they were numerous and potent, and ſupported by the queen regent as well as the queen-mother, yet durſt not avow their ſentiments, but contented themſelves with ſecret inſinuations and diſguiſed cenſures, ſaying, amongſt other things, that the king had diſpoſed of his prerogatives, and had only reſerved to himſelf the power of curing the evil. His maſter, on the other hand, was ſo well ſatisfied, that he ſet out, as ſoon as the weather would permit, for *Lyons*, that he might be the nearer to his army and to the cardinal, who was reſolved to make himſelf maſter of *Savoy* [c].

The D. of Mantua is ſettled in the quiet poſſeſſion of his dominions by the treaty of Ratiſbon.

THE cardinal has been cenſured, as if, upon the unforeſeen good fortune of taking *Pignerol*, he had abandoned his original deſign, and the relief of the duke of *Mantua*, who was miſerably oppreſſed, in order to ſeize the duchy of *Savoy*, into which the king entered, and became maſter of it [f], the fortreſs of *Montmelian* only excepted, by midſummer: but it is at leaſt as probable, that the cardinal, who had then a treaty upon the carpet at *Ratiſbon*, might entertain hopes, that, if any thing happened amiſs, he might procure the reſtitution of *Mantua* for *Savoy*; and that if, notwithſtanding this diverſion, he ſhould be at length able to relieve *Caſal*, it might operate ſtill more effectually upon that treaty. There is, however, little reaſon to doubt, that, whatever his notions were, the intereſts of the crown and of his miniſtry always caſt the balance. Some advantages the *French* troops gained in *Italy*; but the negotiations of Signor *Julio Mazarine*, who now firſt appeared on the theatre of the world, in the character of a prieſt and a politician, for he had been ſome time before in that of a captain of horſe, were more uſeful: he procured a kind of ſuſpenſion of arms, upon condition that *Caſal* ſhould be ſurrendered in caſe it was not relieved by the middle of *October* [g]. What was ſtill more advantageous for the cardinal's views, was the death of the duke of *Savoy*, which deprived the *Spaniards* of their moſt faithful ally. But, notwithſtanding all theſe, he had ſtill great difficulties to overcome; the duke *de Montmorency* had conducted a reinforcement of eight thouſand men into *Italy*, which, notwithſtanding, were conſumed in a few months, and, upon his return, he was replaced by *Marillac*, to whom the king had given the ſtaff of

[c] AUBERI Hiſtoire du Cardinal de Richelieu. DUPLEIX Hiſtoire de Louis XIII. BATT. NANI. [f] Memoires du Comte de Brienne. Memoires de Puyſegur. BATT. NANI. [g] DUPLEIX Hiſtoire de Louis XIII. AUBERI Hiſtoire du Cardinal de Richelieu.

marſhal

marſhal at *Aletz* [h]. It was, after all, a very difficult thing to fulfil the king's orders, who was now gone back to *Lyons*, and followed by the cardinal, to march through an enemy's country, to the relief of *Caſal*. However the three marſhals *de la Force*, *Schomberg*, and *Marillac*, found themſelves obliged to undertake it, which they accordingly did. But in the mean time the treaty of *Ratiſbon* came to their relief, in which it was agreed that the emperor ſhould grant the inveſtiture of *Mantua* to the duke of *Nevers*, and, in a fortnight after, hoſtilities [i] were to ceaſe; but the *Spaniſh* army lying ſtill before *Caſal*, and inſiſting upon the execution of the capitulation before-mentioned, Signor *Mazarine* was again obliged to interpoſe, and with more danger to himſelf than either of the armies, riding between them, when they were ready to charge each other, at length procured a convention, which put an end to theſe diſputes, delivered *Caſal*, and intitled Monſieur *Theiras*, for his gallant defence, to the ſtaff of marſhal of *France* [k]. But we muſt now return into that kingdom, where we ſhall ſee the cardinal more in danger from the intrigues of the court than he had ever been in the camp, where he ſometimes expoſed himſelf more than was neceſſary.

The cardinal on the point of being ruined by the endeavours of the two queens.

DURING his ſtay at *Lyons* in the autumn the king was attacked with a ſtrange diſeaſe; he had a ſlow fever, which nothing could allay, an extreme depreſſion of the ſpirits, his belly and ſtomach ſwelling in a manner that amazed and confounded his phyſicians, who very poſitively pronounced that he could not live long [l]; the queen-mother and ſome others thought they had this intelligence a ſurer way from their aſtrologers. In this ſituation the cardinal was in real diſtreſs; he was governor of *Brouage*, a ſtrong place upon the coaſt, but he knew not how to get thither. He had recourſe to *Baſſompiere*, colonel-general of the *Swiſs*, whom he deſired to ſecure that body of troops, but he declined it [m]. The king then applied to the marſhal duke *de Montmorency*, and having ſent for him into his cloſet, recommended the cardinal to him with tears, and the duke promiſed, in the ſtrongeſt terms, that he would conduct him ſafely through his government to his own. In the mean time the king's diſtemper declared itſelf; it proved to be an impoſthume in the bowels, which nature having diſcharged by the ordinary paſſages, he became quickly

[h] DUPL. Hiſtoire de Louis XIII. BATT. NANI. Memoires du Comte de Brienne. [i] AUBERI Hiſtoire du Cardinal de Richelieu. VITT. SIRI Memoire recondite. [k] DUPLEIX Hiſtoire de Louis XIII. BATT. NANI. [l] Memoires du Comte de Brienne, tom. ii. p. 18. [m] Preface des Memoires de Baſſompiere.

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and ſurpriſingly well [n]. Then broke out the deſigns of the great cabal againſt the cardinal, at the head of which were the two queens and the duke of *Orleans*, and yet, in effect, they were but the inſtruments of others. The queen-mother was entirely governed by *Vautier* her phyſician; the princeſs of *Conti*, with whom *Baſſompiere* was in love, the ducheſs *d'Elbeuf*, the marchioneſs *d'Ornano*, the garde des ſceaux, and his brother the marſhal *Marillac*[o]. The counteſs *de Fargis*, exquiſitely handſome, and the moſt adroit woman in *France*, made the queen-conſort act as ſhe thought fit, and the duke of *Orleans* was always in the hands of his favourites, who took care to inflame him as much as poſſible, that they might then ſell his ſubmiſſion at as high a rate as they could. Theſe, ſupported by the *Spaniſh* faction, much ſunk from what it was, but ſtill ſubſiſting, and ſtill countenanced by the *Spaniſh* miniſters, attacked the cardinal with the king, and repreſented to him, that he had ſeized the reins of government into his own hands; that he had brought the greateſt part of the court to depend upon him; that he was negotiating a match for his niece with the count *de Soiſſons*, and, when this was completed, would probably devolve the crown upon his head [p]. Theſe things were ſaid with ſuch confidence, and repeated by ſo many perſons, and the king was ſo jealous of his authority, that he ſometimes leaned, or ſeemed to lean, to this ſide; on the other hand, the cardinal preſſed him to conſider by what ſteps he had recovered his authority out of the hands of the queen, her favourites, and the princes of the blood; her apparent partiality for her younger ſon; her evident connections with the court of *Spain*; the incapacity of her creatures to carry on public affairs; and the perplexities into which his majeſty muſt be plunged, if once his buſineſs fell into ſuch hands [q].

Is ſaved beyond his hopes, and becomes more independent than ever.

All the king could do for his own peace was to get the deciſion of things deferred till he came to *Paris*, where he laboured aſſiduouſly to reconcile the cardinal to his mother, who at length conſented, and a day was fixed when his niece and himſelf ſhould come and aſk her pardon on their knees. Madame *de Combalet* humbled herſelf firſt, and, inſtead of pardon, received a torrent of reproaches. When the cardinal came he met with the like uſage, at which the king was ſtrangely ſurpriſed; but *Richelieu* comforted himſelf with tell-

[n] Memoires du Comte de Brienne, tom. ii. p. 20. [o] Aubery Hiſtoire du Cardinal de Richelieu. [p] Vitt. Siri Memoire recondite, tom. viii. p. 292, & ſuiv. [q] Memoires de Baſſompiere. Memoires du Comte de Brienne, tom. ii. [r] Aubery Hiſtoire du Cardinal de Richelieu.

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ing her that he had ſerved her long enough to know that it was not in her nature to forgive, and therefore, to make the king eaſy, he would demand his leave to retire, and yield up his employments [r]. The king, in his confuſion, ſeemed to acquieſce; but, that he might have time to reflect at leiſure, withdrew to a country ſeat near *Verſailles*. On the 11th of *November* the whole court reſorted to the queen-mother at the palace of *Luxemburgh*, fully perſuaded that ſhe had recovered the dominion of the court. In the mean time *St. Simon*, the king's favourite, made him ſo ſenſible that the queen-mother had not forgot the death of marſhal *d'Ancre*, that ſhe was always enquiring of aſtrologers about the king's death, and that her greateſt quarrel to the cardinal was his ſtrict attachment to his maſter, that *Lewis* ſent for him, gave him the detail of his enemies, and of the charges they had brought againſt him, adding it was his pleaſure he ſhould continue to ſerve him, and he would protect him againſt them all. This was no ſooner known than the queen's palace became a deſart, a circumſtance ſo obvious to all the world, that it was ſtiled, *la journee des duppes*, *i. e.* all fools day [s]: the phyſician *Vautier* was ſent to the *Baſtile*, the keeper of the ſeals was arreſted and deprived of them, his brother the marſhal met with the ſame fate at the head of the army he commanded, the counteſs *du Fargis* was ignominiouſly turned out of the court, and the queen-mother ſaw herſelf compelled to diſſemble a reconciliation, that ſhe might not ſhare the ſame fate; yet though exterior reſpects were preſerved, ſhe plainly ſaw the game was loſt, that cardinal *Richelieu* was in full poſſeſſion of the royal favour, and that the king her ſon did not love but feared her. If, inſtead of receiving compliments, ſhe had followed the king to *Verſailles*, ſhe had triumphed. A. D. 1630.

In the midſt of theſe domeſtic diſputes, the cardinal proceeded with infinite care and vigilance in reſpect to public concerns; in the very beginning of the year he made a treaty with *Sweden*, by which an annual ſubſidy was given to *Guſtavus Adolphus* of four hundred thouſand crowns, in conſideration of which he was to act with an army of thirty-ſix thouſand men, in order to facilitate the re-eſtabliſhment of the princes of the empire, who had been abaſed in their dignities, and deſpoiled of their eſtates, by the houſe of *Auſtria* [t]. In the mean time a negotiation was carrying on in *Italy*, for *The cardinal gains the princes of* Germany *and* Italy *againſt the houſe of* Auſtria.

[r] Memoires du Comte de Brienne. Vie de Richelieu. Aubery Hiſtoire du Cardinal de Richelieu. [s] Memoires de Baſſompiere. Dupleix Hiſtoire de Louis XIII. Le Gendre. [t] Vitt. Siri Memoire recondite. Bernard Hiſtoire de Louis XIII.

ſettling

ſettling the tranquility of that part of *Europe*, in which the cardinal made the *Spaniards* ſenſible that they had loſt the ſuperiority which they had ſo long maintained in point of treaty-making; for at the very time, and in the very place where this negotiation was publicly carried on, he concluded a ſecret alliance with the duke of *Savoy*, in conſequence of which that prince yielded *Pignerol* to *France*, in virtue of a territory which was to be taken from the duke of *Mantua*. This convention was ſigned on the laſt of *March* [u]; and in the middle of *April* was concluded the public treaty of *Queraſque*, in which the *Spaniards* believed they had outwitted the *French*, in procuring for the duke of *Savoy* the diſtrict before-mentioned. By this public treaty *Pignerol* was reſtored to the duke of *Savoy*, who took poſſeſſion of it with a garriſon who did not know that there were ſix times their number of *French* troops concealed in the place. In *May* the court of *France* concluded a treaty with the elector of *Bavaria*, to the ſame intent with that which had been concluded with *Sweden* [w]. In autumn, under pretence that the *Spaniards* had not executed punctually the treaty of *Queraſque*, a convention was ſigned with the duke of *Savoy*, by which he conſented to receive a *French* garriſon for ſix months into *Pignerol*, to cover that which had been in it all this time: a good body of troops was likewiſe ſent to take poſſeſſion of *Caſal*, with the conſent of the duke of *Mantua*, and to the intire ſatisfaction of the *Italian* princes, who began now to ſpeak in the language of liberty, and who made no ſcruple of demanding juſtice from thoſe who, for a long courſe of years, had behaved towards them as if they had been their maſters. Having thus the princes of *Germany* and of *Italy* cloſely connected with him, the cardinal made no ſcruple of aſſerting his maſter's authority in his own dominions, and of making perſons of all ranks ſenſible how much things were changed from what they were when he was placed at the head of the adminiſtration: a circumſtance that multiplied his ſecret enemies, and gained him few real friends.

The queen-mother being arreſted at Compeigne, *makes her eſcape into* Flanders.

IT was not long after the apparent reconciliation, that the queen-mother broke out into freſh complaints againſt the cardinal; the duke of *Orleans* carried it farther; he went with a great train to the cardinal's houſe, with an intent, as was ſuppoſed, to have done ſomething extraordinary, but it ended only in vehement reproaches, after which he withdrew from court [x]. In the month of *February*, the king engaged

[u] DUPLEIX Hiſtoire de Louis XIII. [w] AUBERI Hiſtoire du Cardinal de Richelieu. [x] VITT. SIRI Memoire recondite. Memoires de Baſſompiere.

the queen-mother to come to *Compeigne*, where, after trying all means to ſoften her to no purpoſe, he left the place ſuddenly, and her under a guard [y]. The princeſs of *Conti*, the ducheſſes of *Elbœuf* and *Leſdiguieres*, and Madame *d'Ornano*, were exiled; the marſhal *de Baſſompiere*, and ſome other perſons of diſtinction, were ſent to the *Baſtile* [z]. The duke of *Orleans* retired into *Lorrain*, where he contracted himſelf to the princeſs *Margaret*, ſiſter of that duke, directing letters to the parliament of *Paris*, in which he declared himſelf the proſecuter of cardinal *Richelieu*. The king, upon this, proceeded to extremities, juſtified his miniſter, erected a new court of juſtice, and took meaſures, as it is ſaid, to conduct his mother to *Florence*, upon which ſhe made her eſcape from *Compeigne*, and retired into *Flanders*, about the middle of *July* [a]. By this extraordinary court of juſtice, one *Duval* a phyſician was condemned to the gallies, for having predicted the king's death, the duke of *Rouannes*, the marquis de *Vieuville*, the marchioneſs *du Fargis*, and Father *Chautelute*, were condemned to death, and executed in effigy. Towards the cloſe of the year, the king marched into *Lorrain*, where he compelled the duke to conclude a treaty on the terms he preſcribed, and to expel all who had taken refuge in his territories immediately [b]. A. D. 1631.

THE king and his miniſter, in whoſe favour, in the midſt of theſe troubles, he erected the lordſhip of *Richelieu*, with various other lands and ſeignories, into a duchy, with a limitation to his heirs general, whether male or female, ſo that now he was ſtiled the cardinal-duke [c], as *Olivarez* his rival was the conde-duke, ſtill preſſed the duke of *Lorrain*, whoſe ſincerity they with reaſon ſuſpected, and obliged him to give up *Marſal*, which, however, did not bind him as they expected [d]. The queen mother wrote a letter to the parliament, in which ſhe charged the cardinal-duke, to whom the king had given the government of *Bretagne*, upon the death of marſhal *Themmines*, with aiming at the crown, which had no manner of effect, except that it brought to a diſmal cataſtrophe one of her moſt faithful ſervants, the marſhal *Marillac*, who, by an extraordinary court of juſtice, was condemned to *Marſhal Marillac put to death.*

[y] Memoires du Comte de Brienne, tom. ii. p. 48. [z] Memoires de Baſſompiere. VITT. SIRI Memoire recondite. [a] Memoires du Comte de Brienne, tom. ii. p. 60. Vie de Richelieu. [b] Memoires de Baſſompiere. DUPLEIX. BERNARD. [c] AUBERI Hiſtoire du Cardinal de Richelieu. DUPL. Hiſtoire de Louis XIII. [d] Memoires du Marquis de Beauvau, pour ſervir à l'Hiſtoire de Charles IV. Duc de Lorrain & de Bar, p. 21. BERNARD Hiſtoire de Louis XIII.

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ſuffer death for peculation, and was accordingly brought to his end in the place *de Greve*, on the 10th of *May*. It was one of the harſheſt, and, in the opinion of the world, one of the moſt unjuſt things the cardinal ever did. He was ſaid, to colour it, that, at the inſtance of the queen-mother, he had correſponded with *Spaniards*, to the prejudice of the king's ſervice; but that, out of reſpect to this princeſs, it could not be mentioned in his ſentence, as if there was more regard due to princes than to juſtice: the truth was, that, in the cabal at *Lyons*, he had ſaid the ſhorteſt way to be rid of the cardinal was to kill him, and had even offered to execute what he propoſed. His brother, who had been keeper of the ſeals, died ſoon after of grief[f]. Upon information that the duke of *Lorrain* was aſſembling forces, and endeavouring to procure aſſiſtance from *Germany*, the king and the cardinal marched againſt him with a ſmall army, and reduced ſeveral of his places: being on the point of inveſting *Nancy*, he concluded a new treaty at *Liverdun*[g], by which he confirmed that before made at *Vic*, and, as a ſecurity for the due obſervance of it, yielded *Stenai*, *Jamets*, and *Clermont*, the two firſt for four years, and the laſt for ever. This ſhort war was of very great conſequence, as it hindered the duke, a prince of great abilities, tho' inconſtant, and one of the beſt officers in *Europe*, from executing the project he had formed, which might have been fatal to *France*, ſince, if it had once brought the *Germans* into *Lorrain*, all that happened afterwards had been prevented.

The D. of Orleans *penetrates into* Languedoc, *where he is beaten, and* Montmorency *taken.*

WHILE the king was engaged in *Lorrain*, the duke of *Orleans*, with about fifteen hundred *Flemiſh*, *Italian*, and *Spaniſh* horſe, and five hundred *French*, miſerably equipped, many of them wanting ſwords, and moſt of them boots, entered *Burgundy*, where he publiſhed a manifeſto, in which he ſtiled himſelf the king's lieutenant, requiring all good *Frenchmen* to fall upon cardinal *Richelieu*[h], as a diſturber of the public peace, and as a traitor to the king, his family, and kingdom. He ſummoned *Dijon* to open her gates, and, becauſe this was not done, he burnt the ſuburbs; marſhal *de la Force* following him with a ſmall army, he was compelled to paſs into

[e] Relation virit. de ce qui s'eſt paſſé dans le procès du Mar. de Marillac dans le Journal de Richelieu, tom. ii. p. 1. VITTORIO SIRI Memoire recondite, tom. vii. p. 495, & ſeq. [f] DUPLEIX Hiſtoire de Louis XIII. BERNARD Hiſtoire de Louis XIII. Memoires de Baſſompiere. [g] Memoires du Marquis de Beauvau. [h] Memoires du Comte de Brienne, tom. ii. Memoires du Marquis de Beauvau, p. 26. AUBERY Hiſtoire du Cardinal de Richelieu.

Auvergne,

Auvergne, and from thence he penetrated into *Languedoc* with marshal Schomberg and his troops at his heels [l]. There he was received by the marshal duke *de Montmorency*, the last of that illustrious family; inferior to none of his ancestors in shining qualities, superior to most of them in solid virtue, unfortunate in having pledged his word to support him if he came into his government, doubly unfortunate in believing any engagement could dispense with his duty. He received him with the honour due to his birth, and having drawn together the clergy, nobility, and gentry, who depended upon him, at *Pezenas*, filled them the flame of *Languedoc*, and declared, in harsh terms, against the cardinal [k]. On the other hand, the parliament of *Thoulouse* declared him and them rebels. He quickly assembled ten or eleven thousand men, and with them turned upon marshal *Schomberg*, who had not above four. He took possession of a strong camp, near the village of *Castelnaudari*, where, on the first of *September*, he was attacked by the duke of *Montmorency*, who behaved like a hero, but very unlike an officer. He attacked the intrenchments with horse, without waiting for his foot; he carried them purely by the courage which his example inspired; but attempting to push his success, the best part of the gentlemen who were with him were slain, and, his horse being killed under him, himself covered with wounds, taken prisoner [l]. On the news of his misfortune, the infantry disbanded; Monsieur, with the poor remains of horse, fled to *Bezieres*; there he treated for an accommodation, and concluded it, obtaining pardon for himself, his domestics, and the duke *d'Elbeuf*; promised not to remove a league from the place which should be assigned him for his residence without leave, and that he would sincerely love and esteem the cardinal *de Richelieu* [m]. A conduct so mean, that it did more injury to his reputation than his rebellion.

Who is tried, condemned, and executed at Thoulouse.

This being caused the process of *Montmorency* to be made before commissaries, of whom the keeper of the seals, Monsr. *de l'Aubespine de Châteauneuf*, was the chief. As an ecclesiastic, he was obliged to obtain a dispensation from *Rome*, for being present at a trial where life was in danger; but we know not where he obtained a dispensation to sit in judgment upon a lord, of whose father he had been a page. The duke, by this court, was condemned as guilty of high-trea-

[l] Vitt. Siri Memoire recondite. Bernard Histoire de Louis XIII. [k] Dup. Histoire de Louis XIII. [l] Memoires du Comte de Brienne, tom. ii. [m] Auberi Hist. du Cardinal de Richelieu. Vittorio Siri Memoire recondite. Bernard Histoire de Louis XIII.

ſon; and, though all *France* interpoſed to ſave him, he loſt his head at *Thouloufe*, on the 30th of *October* [o]. He was in his perſon one of the moſt beautiful; from his conduct the moſt amiable; as well as by his birth the moſt noble in that country. He died with equal courage and piety; firm without fierceneſs, humble without fear; he directed his confeſſor to aſk pardon of cardinal *Richelieu*. If it was true, that he gave the king the firſt notice of the cabal of *Lyons*, one would think he had no need to aſk pardon; and that, amongſt the many great qualities he poſſeſſed, the cardinal could not reckon that of gratitude. *Monſieur*, who was at *Tours*, and who had contented himſelf with ſending a gentleman to aſk the duke's life, wrote the king a letter, in which he ſaid he would have redeemed it with his own [p]; and then, to keep up his character for inconſiſtency, retired once more into *Flanders*, which, if he had done before, he might, perhaps, have ſaved *Montmorency*; though, in his excuſe, it muſt be owned, that the hopes of ſaving him was the cauſe of his ſubmiſſion. The king, to ſhew that juſtice was the ſole motive to this act of ſeverity, gave his whole confiſcation to the prince of *Condé*, who had married his ſiſter, which of a poor, made him a rich prince.

True character of the queen-mother and the D. of Orleans.

AT the time the court was in *Languedoc*, the queen-mother ſent ten of the moſt determined perſons in her ſervice to *Paris* to ſeize Madame *de Combalet*, the cardinal's niece, but they were diſcovered and apprehended. The king, upon this, wrote that lady a letter, in which he expreſſed his ſenſe of her danger, and his joy at her eſcape; adding that, if the deſign had taken effect, he would have followed her into *Flanders*, with an army of fifty thouſand men [q]. When Monſieur arrived at *Bruſſels*, his mother retired from thence, to avoid ſeeing him. She pretended to reſent one of the conditions in the treaty he made at *Beziers* [r], which was, that he ſhould hold no correſpondence with her or any of her adherents; but, in reality, ſhe was then governed by Father *Chantelupe*, and, if the reader will compare theſe two incidents, he will ſee the true character of both the ſon and the mother, who,

[n] Memoires du Comte de Brienne, tom. ii. p. 85. Memoires du Marquis de Beauvau, p. 27. Memoires du Sieur de Pontis, tom. ii. liv. ii. p. 99. Amſterdam, 1749. [o] Voyez la Lettre de GASTON au Roi, dattée de Montereau faut yonne le 13 de Novembre, 1632, dans l'Hiſtoire de Louis XIII. par BERNARD, liv. xvi. [p] DUPL. Hiſtoire de Louis XIII. [q] VITT. SIRI Memoire recondite, tom. vii. p. 575. [r] Memoires de Baſſompiere. DUPLEIX, Hiſt. de Louis XIII. VITT. SIRI Memoire recondite, tom. vii. p. 580.

though

though ſo paſſionately fond of power, that they would not ſuffer others to govern, were, notwithſtanding, unable to govern themſelves, and exerted their authority to gratify inclinations and reſentments that were not their own; and hated each other for that diſpoſition which both ſaw in reflection, but which they could not ſee in themſelves. Towards the cloſe of the year, that is on the 16th of *November*, the *Swedes* loſt their king, the great *Guſtavus Adolphus*, and yet gained the battle of *Lutzen*. We have ſaid little of his victories, though they were ſupported by the money, and, in a great meaſure, gained for the benefit, of the crown of *France*, becauſe theſe are tranſactions which muſt be largely treated of in other parts of this work; however, it is abſolutely neceſſary to ſay ſo much of the nature and conduct of this war as may explain the grounds of the cardinal's policy, ſhew the advantages that aroſe from it, and enable us to treat perſpicuouſly of their conſequences, becauſe this cannot come in with propriety any-where elſe.

Account of the cardinal's policy in bringing the Swedes into the empire.

THERE had been, for ſome years, diſputes between the houſe of *Auſtria* and *France*, in which, though arms ſometimes were employed, yet they were not, ſtrictly ſpeaking, in a ſtate of peace or of war. On the one hand, the king complained that the emperor, but more eſpecially the *Spaniards*, had given private aſſiſtance of every kind to the Hugonots, had excited intrigues and even conſpiracies in *France*, and at this time gave a retreat to the queen-mother and the duke of *Orleans*, who had been ſupplied with men and money for his late irruption. On the other hand, the *Auſtrians*, with equal reaſon, affirmed, that the cardinal had aſſiſted their enemies of every kind and every-where, but had more eſpecially maintained the war in *Germany*, and had prevented the *Dutch* from concluding peace. The diſputes about religion had produced a Catholic and Proteſtant league in the empire, at the head of which was the emperor, the elector of *Bavaria*, the eccleſiaſtical electors, the ſpiritual princes in general, a very few of the temporal, and not many of the cities. The latter was compoſed of the elector of *Saxony*, the elector of *Brandenburgh*, the elector *Palatine*, the dukes of *Brunſwick*, *Wirtemberg*, *Mecklenburg*, and *Pomerania*, the landgrave of *Heſſe*, and almoſt all the rich trading cities. However, the emperor and his adherents had met with ſo much ſucceſs, that, in all probability, the Proteſtants had been cruſhed, if *France*, or rather the cardinal *de Richelieu*, had not interpoſed. We have ſhewn that, ſo long as the conſtable *de Luynes* was in favour, he preferred the private intereſt of himſelf and his family to that of the crown, and had ſacrificed the elector *Palatine*, who had aſſumed the title of king of *Bohemia*, and

who, properly ſupported, had certainly preſerved that kingdom and the liberties of *Germany*. At the time *Richelieu* came into power the former was loſt, and the latter was very near it; a war was inexpedient; and therefore he applied money, by the dexterous application of which, and the ſuggeſting plauſible pretences, ſome of the popiſh powers were drawn to declare themſelves neuters, and by the ſubſidy treaty which we have mentioned, the *Swedes* were brought to act ſo powerfully and ſo ſucceſsfully, that the face of affairs was entirely changed, and, in the ſpace of two years and a half that *Guſtavus* remained in *Germany*, he beat the *Bavarian* and imperial troops thrice, and reduced *Pomerania*, *Lower Saxony*, *Franconia*, *Bavaria*, the *Palatinate*, and the territory of *Mentz*, in which ſtate of things that great monarch died [s], who, by his heroic courage and great abilities, had revived the drooping hopes of his party, checked the imperial eagle, and at laſt, it is ſaid, gave ſome jealouſy even to *France*; at leaſt it is certain, that the cardinal declined an interview between the two kings, though he offered to confer himſelf with *Guſtavus*, whoſe high ſpirit taught him to think that all monarchs were equal, ſaving the diſtinction that merit made between them, and who therefore inſiſted, that, if the cardinal conferred with any, it ſhould be with one of his miniſters [t]. Some [u] have inſinuated, that this inſtance of magnanimity coſt him his life; but, if he fell foully, it is more probable that the aſſaſſin had his inſtructions from another quarter [w]. Yet it muſt be allowed, that *Richelieu* expreſſed no deep concern for his death, but took his meaſures as quickly and as prudently as if he had foreſeen it, which proof of his abilities, in all probability, gave riſe to the report that he directed it. His inſtructions to M. *Feuquieres* for renewing the treaty with the *Swedes* [x], and for conducting in the manner he did the negotiations in the congreſs of *Halibron*, preſerved the alliance from being diſſolved, by that ſiniſter event, and put the war on the ſame or on a more advantageous foot for *France*, which, without ex-

[s] Introduction a l'Hiſtoire de l'Univers, par Mr. PUFFENDORFF. VITT. SIRI Memoire recondite. DUPL. Hiſtoire de Louis XIII. BERNARD Hiſtoire de Louis XIII. AUBERI Hiſtoire du Cardinal de Richelieu. [t] SAMUELIS PUFFENDORFF Commentarius de rebus Suecicis ab expeditione Guſtavi Adolphi in Germaniam, anno 1628, ad abdicationem Chriſtinæ, anno 1654. fol. Ultrajecti, 1686. AUBERI Hiſtoire du Cardinal de Richelieu. [u] Introduction a l'Hiſtoire de l'Univers, par PUFFENDORFF. [w] VITT. SIRI Memoire recondite. DUPL. Hiſtoire de Louis XIII. [x] AUBERI Hiſtoire du Cardinal de Richelieu. Recueil de Pieces concernant l'Hiſtoire de Louis XIII. tom. iii. p. 215.

poſing

posing her troops, and by the sole assistance of a subsidy, enervated her enemies, attached the princes of the empire to her interests, and even extended the bounds of her dominions to the *Rhine*, without exciting envy or apprehension. Such was the conduct, such the arts of this great statesman, who, though not excusable in the means he used, had always the grandeur of his master at least as much in view as his own greatness.

At the opening of the year the king caused a new parliament to be erected at *Metz*[y], which answered at once two great views; in the first place it brought in a large sum in ready money from such as purchased their seats in that parliament, and next it released the inhabitants of the three bishopricks from having recourse to the imperial chamber at *Spires*, for which a more convenient season could not be taken than this, when the flame of war raged so terribly in *Germany*, that there was no passing from one city to another, with any tolerable degree of certainty. In *Holland* the king's ministers[z] wrought so effectually, that the negotiations for a truce with the *Spaniards* went on but slowly. The duke of *Rohan*, who was highly esteemed at *Venice*, though he resided there as an exile, received unexpectedly a commission, appointing him ambassador extraordinary to the *Grisons*, and was likewise declared lieutenant-general of the troops the king either had or might have in the *Valteline*[a]. This so alarmed the *Spaniards*, that their ambassador had orders to complain in the strongest terms, which he did, to the king and his minister; alleging, that, under a variety of specious pretences, *France*, without entering into a war, assisted the enemies of the house of *Austria* on every side; that the king his master was desirous of making a stable and solid peace, in consequence of which he expected to see the *French* troops withdrawn out of *Casal* and *Pignerol*, as well as those that, under colour of assisting the elector of *Treves*, carried on an actual war in the heart of the empire. To this *Richelieu* answered, that the king was as desirous of peace as his Catholic majesty; but that he could not desert his allies, or part with *Pignerol*, which, since the treaty of *Queraſque*, he had purchased of the duke of *Savoy*[b]. He added, with an air of freedom, that, if they disliked his manner of conducting affairs, they were unjust to themselves, since he only copied their manner of acting, as he demonstrated by a long train of facts. About midsummer he

A new war with Lorrain, in which the duke is compelled to render his capital.

[y] Dupl. Histoire de Louis XIII. Bernard Histoire de Louis XIII. [z] Vitt. Siri Memoire recondite. Vie de Richelieu. [a] Memoires du Duc de Rohan. Batt. Nani. [b] Aubbri Histoire du Cardinal de Richelieu.

took the field with the king [c] againſt the duke of *Lorrain*, who had frequently given out commiſſions, and, when he had levied troops, he transferred them either to the imperial or to the *Spaniſh* ſervice, without any regard to his laſt treaty. The king quickly made himſelf maſter of *St. Mihel* and *Luneville*, upon which duke *Charles* ſent his brother the cardinal of *Lorrain* to enter once more into a negotiation. The king told him plainly that his reſentment aroſe from his brother's marriage with the princeſs *Margaret*, which was null in itſelf for want of having his conſent, and therefore inſiſted that the princeſs ſhould be delivered to him in order to facilitate the diſſolution of the marriage. But the cardinal, making uſe of the king's paſſports, brought his ſiſter out of *Nancy*, and ſent her into *Flanders* to Monſieur, which ſo provoked the king, that he inveſted *Nancy*, and inſiſted upon having it delivered to him in depoſit. The duke concluded a treaty [d] to this purpoſe with cardinal *Richelieu*, and then revoked it. At length, hoping to prevail upon the king to ſoften the terms he had preſcribed, he went to pay him a viſit: *Lewis*, by the advice of *Richelieu*, under pretence of doing him honour, put a guard upon his perſon, and forced him to deliver up his capital, which otherwiſe had not been eaſily taken [e]. Having gone through the foreign tranſactions of this year, let us turn now to the domeſtic concerns of *France*.

New intrigues, which occaſion new diſgraces at court.

In his return from *Languedoc* to *Paris* the laſt year, the cardinal had been ſo much indiſpoſed as to be once thought at the point of death. It was very natural for many to aim at ſucceeding him, amongſt whom was the keeper of the ſeals M. *de Chateauneuf* [f]. Some ſay that he danced at a ball while the cardinal was in extremity; others, that having an amour with the ducheſs of *Chevreuſe*, he wrote her a letter, in which he treated the cardinal's malady ludicrouſly [g]. However it was, *Richelieu*, whoſe reſentment was as quick and as laſting as that of any miniſter whoſe name finds a place in hiſtory, not only deprived him of his employment, but ſent him priſoner to the caſtle of *Angouleſme* [h]. He cauſed the chevalier *du Jars*, the intimate friend of that miniſter, to be ſent to the *Baſtile*, and, it is ſaid, prevailed upon the judges

[c] Memoires du Marquis de Beauvau. Memoires du Comte de Brienne, tom. ii. Memoires du Sieur de Pontis, tom. ii.
[d] Memoires du Marquis de Beauvau, p. 35. Memoires de Pontis, tom. ii. p. 105, 106.
[e] Memoires du Marquis de Beauvau, p. 44. Vitt. Siri Memoire recondite. Memoires de Pontis, tom. ii. liv. ii.
[f] Memoires du Comte de Brienne, tom. ii.
[g] Vittorio Siri Memoire recondite, tom. vii.
[h] Memoires du Comte de Brienne, tom. ii. p. 86.

who

who were aſſigned him to condemn him on very ſlight evidence, on a promiſe that he ſhould not ſuffer; in which he kept his word, tho' not till the laſt moment, a pardon being produced as the executioner was going to execute the ſentence [i]. A circumſtance that attended this affair will give us an idea of the court of *France* at this juncture. Marſhal *d'Eſtrees* then commanded the army of *France* in the electorate of *Treves*; he was the intimate friend of *Chateauneuf* and *du Fars*; he underſtood, by a private letter, what had happened to them both; he underſtood at the ſame time that his two lieutenant-generals had received packets from the court, though he had none; the fate of marſhal *Marillac* came into his head; he took it for granted that he was undone, and fairly ran away. After four days, finding that no ſuch orders were come, he frankly wrote the cardinal the truth, who, after rallying him in his anſwer, bid him return to his command [k]. It was not in *France* only the cardinal was feared; *Urban* the eighth was obliged, at his requeſt, to ſend a commiſſion to the archbiſhop of *Arles* and the biſhops of *Boulogne*, *St. Flour*, and *St. Malo*, to hear what could be offered againſt the biſhops of *Lodeve*, *Aleth*, *St. Pons*, *Albi*, *Uzez*, and *Niſmes*, who were accuſed of concurring in the revolt of the duke of *Montmorency*; and, upon a full hearing, the three former were acquitted, and the three latter were depoſed [l]. The queen-mother, wearied with her long exile, and piqued at the ill uſage ſhe met with from her ſon, ſolicited the king for leave to return, and at the ſame time aſſured him that ſhe had not the leaſt knowlege of Monſieur's irruption into *Languedoc*. The king gave her for anſwer, that, as to Monſieur's irruption, he could not have made it, if ſhe had not pawned her jewels to ſupply him with money; and that, till ſhe abandoned thoſe who gave her ill counſels to his juſtice, he could not think himſelf ſafe with her in his court [m]. A. D. 1633.

CHARLES the fourth duke of *Lorrain*, finding it impoſſible to comply with the terms of the treaty of *Nancy*, having a ſtrong averſion to *France*, and an implacable hatred to the cardinal, flattered himſelf that he ſhould obtain ſome eaſe for his ſubjects by reſigning his dominions to his brother, which he accordingly did, but it had not the propoſed effect [n]. The cardinal duke of *Lorrain* married the princeſs *Claude*, ſiſter to *Nicola* his brother's conſort [o], and this ſo ir- *The D. of Lorrain reſigns his dominions to his brother the cardinal.*

[i] VITT. SIRI Memoire recondite, tom. vii. [k] Vie de Richelieu. [l] DUPL. Hiſtoire de Louis XIII. BERNARD Hiſtoire de Louis XIII. [m] VITT. SIRI Memoire recondite, tom. vii. p. 693. [n] Memoires du Marquis de Beauvau, p. 37. [o] Memoires du Marquis de Beauvau, p. 47.

sinated *Richelieu*, to whose niece he had been a prisoner more than a year, that he ordered the marshal *de la Force* to invest the new-married couple in *Dunoville*, which he did, and the place being quickly surrendered, brought them prisoners to *Nancy*, where the duchess *Nicole* was before p. On the first of *April*, tired with their imprisonment, the duke and duchess made their escape, he in the dress of a peasant, and she with a basket on her back q. In a little time all the rest of *Lorrain* was reduced, and treated, in all respects, as a province of *France*. The states of *Holland* having broken their negotiation with the crown of *Spain* for a truce, the king signed a treaty r, on the 15th of *April*, with them, by which he promised to give them a subsidy of two millions, provided they did not conclude either peace or truce with the *Spaniards* for a year. The death of *Walstein*, duke of *Freidland* s, was a mortifying stroke to the cardinal, who is thought to have had a great hand in persuading him to revolt from the emperor. On the first of *July* the king, by an edict t, directed his geographers to account the first meridian to pass thro' the island of *Ferro*, which is the most western of the *Canaries*; and at the same time declared all *French* and *Spanish* vessels, taken beyond that meridian, good prize, till such time as those crowns should open their ports, in both *Indies*, to all vessels bearing *French* colours.

The defeat of the Swedes causes a great change in affairs.

On the 6th of *September* the *Swedes*, under the command of the duke of *Weymar* and marshal *Horne*, were totally defeated at *Nerlingen* by the imperialists and their allies, with the loss of twenty thousand men and seventy pieces of cannon u. By this great blow the cardinal was forced to change his conduct; he had hitherto looked upon it as the most necessary and refined policy to make the house of *Austria* feel all the miseries of war from the arms and money of *France*, without declaring openly against her, and on this he had valued himself highly in some of his discourses to the parliament; but the allies of *France*, who had long thought otherwise, were compelled, by the present conjuncture of affairs, to speak their sentiments freely. They alleged, that *France* not declaring, the *Spaniards* found themselves at liberty to assist the

p Vitt. Siri Memoire recondite, tom. vii. q Memoires du Marquis de Beauvau. r Recueil de Pieces concernant l'Histoire de Louis XIII. tom. iii. p. 254. s Memoires du Comte de Brienne, tom. ii. p. 88. Auberi Histoire du Cardinal de Richelieu. t Dupl. Histoire de Louis XIII. Bernard Histoire de Louis XIII. u Vitt. Siri Memoire recondite. Batt. Nani.

imperialists

impeſialiſts, in ſuch a manner as rendered them ſuperior to the allies; that in fact, therefore, this gave the houſe of *Auſtria* an advantage, as the *French* would feel, whenever the Proteſtant princes in *Germany* were reduced to make terms, ſince the impeſialiſts would throw their whole force into *Lorrain*, at the ſame time the *Spaniards* invaded *Picardy*. The cardinal contented himſelf for the preſent with renewing the treaty with the crown of *Sweden*, the duke of *Wirtemberg*, the landgrave of *Heſſe*, and the reſt of the Proteſtant princes who ſtill remained in arms; by which he engaged to furniſh them with a large ſum of money, and, in conſideration of another ſum, procured from the *Swedes Philipſburg* and ſome other places; ſtipulated farther, that whenever *France* ſhould declare war, *Alſace* ſhould be put into her hands by way of depoſit. This treaty was ſigned at *Paris* on the firſt of *November* [w], and towards the cloſe of the year the marſhal *de la Force* recovered the city of *Heidelburgh*, and forced the impeſialiſts to raiſe the ſiege of the caſtle with loſs: ſervices that procured him conſiderable gratifications from his maſter.

THE queen-mother ſtill continued her ſollicitations to return, and even condeſcended to write a letter to the cardinal, to intreat his interpoſition in her favour, which embarraſſed him exceedingly. He gave, however, the ſame anſwer he had done before, except that he now named the perſons whom he expected to have given up, which were Father *Chantelupe*, who had hired ſeveral perſons to aſſaſſinate him, the abbe *de St. Germain*, who had written volumes of libels againſt him, and abbe *Fabroni*, who had caſt the king's horoſcope, and had very confidently predicted he had not long to live [x]. The queen ſaw that, if ſhe ſtooped to this, ſhe ſhould loſe the credit and confidence of all mankind, and therefore rejected the propoſition, which was, very probably, what the cardinal intended. The cardinal ſtill treated with Monſieur, or rather with his favourite *Paylaurens*, and the reconciliation was brought very near; notwithſtanding which, Monſieur, on the 12th of *May*, ſigned the treaty with the marquis *d'Aytona* [y], who commanded in the *Spaniſh Low Countries*, by which he engaged not to return in two years and a half to *France*, let things take what turn there they would; and, on the other, the *Spaniards* promiſed to furniſh him with fifteen thouſand men, to make a freſh attempt; but the true deſign of this alliance was to conceal his negotiation, and to raiſe his terms

The D. of Orleans *quits* Bruſſels *and returns to court.*

[w] Recueil de Pieces concernant l'Hiſtoire de Louis XIII. tom. iii. p. 282. [x] AUBERI Hiſtoire du Cardinal de Richelieu, VITT. SIRI Memoire recondite, tom. vii. p. 761. [y] AUBERI Hiſtoire du Cardinal de Richelieu, tom. i. p. 425.

with

A. D. 1634. with the cardinal. His Catholic majesty's ratification, by the shipwreck of the vessel that carried it on the coast of *France*, fell by that accident into the cardinal's hand, and had actually this effect [a]. However, the parliament, and even an assembly of the clergy of *France*, declared the duke of *Orleans*'s marriage null and void, under pretence that the house of *Lorrain* had committed a rape upon him, and that the two dukes had compelled him to marry their sister. On the 8th of *October* Monsieur [a] stole away from *Brussels*, without taking leave of his mother or wife, and, on his return to court, was very graciously received.

War declared against Spain.

We are now arrived at that period, in which the embarrassed state of foreign affairs had almost frighted the cardinal from the helm, as he was once before on the point of resigning, from the consequences of the intrigues at *Lyons*. The famous Father *Joseph*, and *Bullion*, who had the direction of the finances, kept up his spirits on that, as the same Father and the cardinal *de la Valette* did on this occasion [b]. The year opened with a great misfortune. The imperialists surprized *Philipsburg*, which, exclusive of its great importance, had cost four hundred thousand crowns to the *Swedes*; there was in it half that sum in ready money, and the magazines were completed at an immense expence, all of which passed at once into the hands of the enemy [c]. The *Spaniards* and the imperialists had now so visible a superiority, that, in the beginning of *February*, the king was obliged to conclude a new treaty [d] with the states general, by which he promised to declare war immediately against *Spain*, and to act in conjunction with the *Dutch* in the *Low Countries*, with an army of thirty thousand men. At the same time a plan [e] of partition was made, by which it was determined what part of the *Spanish* provinces should belong to the king, and what to the republic, provided the inhabitants of those provinces did not accept the proposition that was to be made them, of revolting against their masters, and unite themselves, as the seven provinces had done, into a free commonwealth. This treaty between the crown and the republic, which seemed to unite them more closely than ever, proved the first source of those suspicions that alienated the *Dutch* from *France*; for the wise heads in the states, perceiving how earnest a desire the king had to become their neighbour, grew jealous of a power,

[a] Vitt. Siri Memoire recondite, tom. vii. [a] Aubery Histoire du Cardinal de Richelieu. [b] Bernard Histoire de Louis XIII. [c] Batt. Nani. [d] Recueil de Pieces concernant l'Histoire de Louis XIII. tom. iii. p. 280. [e] Ibid. p. 296.

of

of whom, hitherto, they had no apprehenſion. Beſides, *Frederick Henry* prince of *Orange*, for certain reaſons, hated the cardinal, and was the only one of his enemies who could juſtly boaſt of having made him ſenſible of his reſentment. The *Spaniards* had no ſooner an account of this treaty, than they formed the project of ſurprizing *Treves*, which was executed by the governor of *Luxemburg*, who, having ſurprized and cut in pieces the *French* garriſon, plundered the elector's palace, and carried him away priſoner into *Flanders*, for having put himſelf under his moſt Chriſtian majeſty's protection[g]. The cardinal took this occaſion to declare war[h], and publiſhed a long manifeſto, which was quickly anſwered by the *Spaniards*. The queen-mother had written at large to the king her ſon, to diſſuade him from this meaſure, which ſhe repreſented as neceſſary to his miniſter, and fatal to himſelf. This letter was tranſmitted to *Mazarine*, the pope's nuncio, who, after having communicated it to *Richelieu*, delivered it to the king, who, when he had read it, told him, that out of reſpect to his mother he declined writing an anſwer, that he might not be obliged to upbraid her with her partiality to the *Spaniards*, and the ſmall regard ſhe diſcovered for his honour and intereſts[i].

This at the beginning is attended with many checks, and univerſal diſcontent.

In purſuance of the treaty with *Holland*, the *French* army, commanded by the marſhals *Chatillon* and *Breze*, marched to join that of the prince of *Orange*, in the neighbourhood of *Maeſtricht*. The army commanded by the marſhals conſiſted of ſix thouſand horſe and twenty-two thouſand foot. In their march they met with the *Spaniſh* army, under the command of prince *Thomas* of *Savoy*, conſiſting of about ſeventeen thouſand men, but ſo well intrenched, that they were not at all apprehenſive of being attacked. But the *French*, in full ſpirits, and at the opening of the campaign, attacked them with ſuch vigour, that, in a ſhort time, they were totally defeated, four thouſand killed upon the ſpot, nine hundred taken, together with all their baggage and artillery. This, ſtiled the battle of *Avein*, was fought on the twentieth of *May*[k]. The victorious army marched without interruption to *Maeſtricht*, where they joined the prince of *Orange*, and fell under his command. They attacked *Tirlemont*, a place of conſiderable ſtrength, and took it ſword in hand. The army behaved there with the utmoſt cruelty and licentiouſneſs, the *Dutch* throwing the blame upon the *French*, and the *French* upon them[l]. They

[g] Memoires de Holland, par Auberi. [h] Vitt. Siri Memoire recondite. [i] Le Vassor Hiſtoire de Louis XIII. [k] Auberi Hiſtoire du Cardinal de Richelieu. [l] Memoires de Puyſegur. [l] Memoires de Pontis, tom. ii. liv. iii. p. 150.

afterwards

afterwards invested *Louvain*, but, through some misunderstandings between their generals, were constrained to raise the siege; after which they went into winter quarters; but those assigned the *French* were so indifferent, that this flourishing army wasted away in such manner, that they returned home in small parties; which disgrace and disappointment chagrined the cardinal to the last degree, more especially as it created a great clamour in *France*, where, from the weight of their taxes, and other grievous misfortunes, the people in general were too much inclined to murmur. On the side of *Germany* things were like to go worse; the electors of *Saxony* and *Brandenburgh* made their peace with the emperor, and their example was followed by most of the *German* princes: the cardinal had much ado to preserve the *Swedes* in a condition to keep up a diversion on that side, though he sent his great friend the cardinal *de la Valette* to assist the duke of *Weymar*. The king was so impatient at seeing not only his conquest but his dominions in danger, that, after being dissuaded from putting himself at the head of the army in *Germany*, he, in the autumn, put himself at the head of a few troops in *Champagne*, of whom the count *de Soissons* was declared general, and with those he entered *Lorrain*, where he took *St. Mihel*, which had been surprized by the inhabitants [m]. He retired soon after, the count *de Cramail* having shewn him that he ran a great hazard of being carried away by the duke of *Lorrain*: the cardinal, to hide the true cause of this retreat, caused the count to be arrested [n], and sent to the *Bastile*, and disgraced the count *de Soissons*. To put things in a better posture for the future, he concluded, towards the end of the month, a treaty with duke *Bernard* of *Weymar* [o], by which he promised him a subsidy of four millions *per annum*, for the maintenance of an army of eighteen thousand men, and granted him several personal advantages besides.

League of Italy *concluded.*

THE cardinal, to keep the house of *Austria* every where employed, projected and accomplished the grand league in *Italy*, into which entered the dukes of *Savoy*, *Parma*, and *Mantua*, to whose assistance marched the marshal *de Crequi*, with sixteen thousand men. The brothers of the famous marshal *Theirat*, having very imprudently entered into the intrigues at *Lyons*, that great man became suspected, and of consequence disgraced; however, at the earnest desire of the duke of *Savoy*, he was permitted to enter into his service.

[m] AUBERI Histoire du Cardinal de Richelieu. LE VASSOR. Mercure Francois. [n] Memoires du Marquis de Beauvau. [o] VITT. SIRI Memoire recondite. Recueil de Pieces concernant l'Histoire de Louis XIII. tom. iii. p. 335.

Marshal

Marshal *Crequi* invested *Valence* with his forces, to the relief of which the *Spanish* army marched, under the command of Don *Carlo Colonna*. The duke of *Savoy* went with ill will to this siege, and with a worse to attack the *Spaniards*, who were advancing to relieve the place; the marshal, however, attacked them, before they were intrenched, and, in all probability, had beat them, if he had been properly seconded by the duke; as he was not, he found himself constrained to retire, of which he made grievous complaints: it was suspected that marshal *Thoiras* contributed not a little to this check; but however, it is very certain that this misintelligence amongst their chiefs ruined the cardinal's grand design of conquering, in one campaign, the duchy of *Milan*, and would have been attended with still worse effects, if it had not been for the success of the duke of *Rohan* in the *Valteline*, where, immediately after this misfortune, he beat the imperialists, who had otherwise entered the duchy of *Milan* with twenty thousand men, and, on the tenth of *November*, he defeated the *Spaniards* at *Morbaigne*, under the command of general *Serbellon*[p]: services justly esteemed at that time, but which afterwards were but unjustly requited, through the envy borne to his distinguished abilities, and steady attachment to his religion.

We have yet the intrigues of the year to account for. All that had been promised to Monsieur was punctually performed, and, after some delay, his favourite *Puylaurens* was fully gratified; he had a sum of money given him, which enabled him to purchase the duchy of *Aiguillon*: he married mademoiselle *de Pont du Chateau*, the cardinal's relation, and was made duke and peer of *France*[q]. His fortune was great, but of no long duration; for it quickly appeared that the cardinal and he were not capable of a right understanding. The king was bent upon dissolving his brother's marriage; the cardinal desired *Puylaurens* to dispose his master to it, and would not believe that it was out of his power. On the other hand, *Puylaurens* was desirous of sharing in the administration; which disturbed the cardinal so much, that he engaged the king to cause him to be arrested at the *Louvre*, and sent to the castle of *Vincennes*, where he died on the first of *July*, a little suspiciously[r]. To pacify his master, he was admitted into the council; but the loss of his favourite, and the imprisonment of some other persons about him, did not operate at

Puylaurens, the duke of Orleans's favourite, imprisoned and poisoned.

[p] Le Vassor. Batt. Nani. Aubery Histoire du Cardinal de Richelieu. Vitt. Siri Memoire recondite. Mercure Francois.

[q] Aubery Histoire du Cardinal de Richelieu.

[r] Mercure Francois.

all

A. D. 1635. all upon his conduct. He diſclaimed the pretence of a rape by the princes of *Lorrain*; he declared that his marriage was the effects of his choice; that he made it a point of conſcience to adhere to his wife, to whom he remitted five thouſand crowns a month; and ſhewed ſo much calmneſs and ſteadineſs in this, as he had weakneſs and inconſtancy on every other occaſion [s].

The war in Germany and Italy carried on with indifferent ſucceſs.

On the ſide of *Germany* the imperialiſts made themſelves maſters of *Metz*; but they had not the ſame fortune in beſieging *Calmar*, from which they were obliged to riſe by cardinal *de la Valette* and the duke of *Weymar* [t]. The king having ſent the prince of *Condé* to beſiege *Dole* and *Franche Comté*, the imperialiſts made an irruption into *Burgundy*, where they might certainly have done ſomething of importance, if the deſire of plundering the country had not induced them to ſpread their troops abroad, inſtead of reducing and keeping any of the ſtrong places. The king and his miniſter were ſo much alarmed at this invaſion, that it was judged requiſite to make a new treaty with the young queen of *Sweden* [u], and another with the landgrave of *Heſſe* [w], both engaging for the payment of ſubſidies, in conſideration of the forces they were to employ againſt the common enemy. The *Spaniards* attacked the kingdom likewiſe on their ſide, took and burned *St. John de Luz*, and had taken *Bayonne*, if the duke *de la Valette*, taking advantage of their ſlowneſs, had not relieved it; but the fleet ſent to recover the iſlands on the coaſt of *Provence* met with a repulſe. It was commanded by the archbiſhop of *Bourdeaux*, which ſo extremely piqued the marſhal *de Vitry*, who commanded in *Provence*, that he hindered the operations till the *Spaniſh* gallies appeared, by which the deſign was rendered impracticable [x]. In *Italy* things went little better than before; for though the duke of *Savoy* beat the *Spaniards* in the month of *June*, yet he would not improve that victory, becauſe he had engaged by treaty to enlarge the diſtrict about *Pignerol*, in proportion to his conqueſts in the *Milaneſe*, and, to avoid doing the one, he would not do the other. The brave marſhal *Thoiras*, who attended that prince, was killed at the ſiege of an inconſiderable place, as he was giving directions for a battery. The duke of *Parma* had the misfortune to ſee himſelf ſtripped of the beſt part of his dominions by the *Spaniards*, but the duke of *Rohan* was ſtill victorious in the *Valteline*, which hindered the *Spaniards* from

[s] Vitt. Siri Memoire recondite. Vie de Richelieu. [t] Batt. Nani. Memoires de Puyſegur. [u] Recueil de Pieces concernant l'Hiſtoire de Louis XIII. tom. iii. p. 355. [w] Ibid. p. 359. [x] Le Vassor.

puſhing

pushing things on this side with that vigour and advantage which they otherwise would have done [y].

This Cardinal Infant perceiving that, in consequence of the many designs formed on both sides, the frontier of *Picardy* lay in a manner open, resolved to enter *France* on that side, with all the force he could collect. Accordingly he committed the command of the army to prince *Thomas* of *Savoy*, who was joined by *Picolomini*, and *John de Werth*, an enterprising officer, who commanded a corps of irregular troops, who rendered themselves terrible where-ever they came. This army presented itself about the beginning of *July* before *la Capelle*, which surrendered the sixth day of the siege, the baron *du Bec*, who commanded therein, thinking it impossible to defend it longer. *Le Catelet* was taken in two days, Monsr. *St. Leger* having surrendered before a breach was made: the cardinal, to cover the omission in not making suitable provision for the defence of these places, caused the officers who commanded in them to be condemned of high treason, as if they had acted in concert with the *Spaniards*. He even went so far as to treat the duke *de la Valette* with harsh language, for interposing on the behalf of the baron *du Bec*, and caused the duke *de St. Simon* [z], the king's favourite, to whom he had many obligations, to be disgraced, for endeavouring to support Monsr. *St. Leger*, who was his uncle. These severities had not the effect he expected. The *Spaniards* forced a passage over the *Somme*, in spite of the small army commanded by the count *de Soissons*, and immediately after invested *Corbie*, in which commanded Monsieur *Soyecourt*, the king's lieutenant-general of the province, who surrendered in a week, notwithstanding he had a garrison of eighteen hundred men, and the place was reputed strong [a]. The *Parisians* seeing *John de Werth* within two days march of their gates, fell into the utmost confusion. The king was so much chagrined, that he scarce spoke to the cardinal, who shut himself up in his palace, not knowing what course to take. In this situation his old friend *Bullion*, who, by his favour, was at the head of the finances, advised him not only to appear publickly, but to lay aside his guards; "For I," said he, "who am ten times more hated than you, traverse all *Paris* "with a couple of footmen only." *Richelieu* took his advice, and the citizens, taking it for a mark of confidence, tho' they had reviled him the day before, applauded his courage,

The Spaniards *invade* Picardy.

[y] Aubery Histoire du Cardinal Richlieu. [z] Vitt. Siri Memoire recondite. Memoires du Beauvais-Nangis. [a] Memoires de Puysegur. Vie du Cardinal de Richelieu. Memoires du Comte de Brienne.

and

and the populace followed him with loud acclamations [b]. However, this had no effect upon the king; and his coldness so diſpirited the cardinal, that he communicated to Father *Joſeph* his intention to quit the miniſtry, in order to provide for his ſafety. But the cunning capuchin told him that was not the way to be ſafe; and that a miniſter, who had brought the kingdom and himſelf into danger, ought to employ his thoughts how to bring them out. The cardinal, upon this, laboured aſſiduouſly to reinforce the army, borrowed money on every hand, took a footman from every perſon who kept two, and a horſe from thoſe who kept more than two; ſtopped all the new buildings, and ſent the carpenters and maſons for recruits; ordered forces from every quarter, and in a little time aſſembled fifty thouſand men; reſolved to take the command in perſon, if the count *de Soiſſons* would have ſerved under him; but that prince having abſolutely rejected the propoſition, he gave the command to the duke of *Orleans*, ſuppoſing thoſe two princes could not long agree, and that this would afford him a fair opportunity of removing them both, or of bringing one of them at leaſt entirely into his meaſures [c].

The D. of Orleans *and C.* de Soiſſons *form a deſign of aſſaſſinating the cardinal.*

THIS proved one of the moſt dangerous reſolutions he had ever taken. When the king ſaw his brother at the head of an army, he was ſo much out of temper that there was no approaching him. On the other hand, Monſieur and the count *de Soiſſons*, contrary to the cardinal's expectation, agreed perfectly well: indeed ſo well, that, upon comparing their grievances, they came to a reſolution of cauſing the cardinal to be aſſaſſinated, as he ſat in council with the king at *Amiens*. Four of their domeſtics were appointed to perform this baſe action; and they had the cardinal entirely in their power; for on the day fixed the king went early from the council: Monſieur and the count held the cardinal a long time in converſation, the four aſſaſſins ſtanding round him ready to have diſpatched him, if Monſieur had put his hand to his hat, which was to have been the ſignal [d]. But, on a ſudden, the duke of *Orleans* left the hall where they were, and went up ſtairs. One of the four followed him, and aſked him what he meant: he ſaid his conſcience would not permit him to dip his hands in the blood of a cardinal, archbiſhop, and prieſt. The cardinal knew nothing of this danger at the time, but was afterwards informed of it by the duke *de la*

[b] Vie du Cardinal de Richelieu. Memoires Hiſtoriques, &c. par AMELOT DE LA HOUSSAYE. [c] Memoires du Comte de Brienne. [d] VITT. SIRI Memoire recondite. Memoires de Montreſor.

Valette,

Valette, who was embarked in the conſpiracy. The campaign was ſhort; by the middle of *September* the *Spaniards* were obliged to repaſs the *Somme*; on the 10th of *November* *Corbie* was recovered [e]. On the 20th of the ſame month, the duke of *Orleans* and the count *de Soiſſons* fled, at eleven o'clock at night, out of *Paris*, the former to *Blois*, and the latter to *Sedan*; the cardinal cauſing falſe intelligence to be given them, that the king intended to arreſt them, while with his maſter it paſſed for a kind of conviction of their guilt, that they had retired in this abrupt manner; yet both were treated with great lenity, by the cardinal's advice. The count *de Soiſſons* was permitted to receive his rents and his appointments, without being obliged to return; and the king offered his brother to approve his marriage, provided he would give him a promiſe under his hand not to enter into any correſpondence with foreigners, or to attempt diſturbing the public tranquility [f]. In order to gain *Frederick Henry* prince of *Orange*, whom the cardinal had diſobliged by his haughtineſs, and whom he had compelled, which was a very difficult thing, to ſeek his friendſhip by ſubmiſſions, he ordered the embaſſador of *France* to give him the title of highneſs inſtead of excellency, and was ſo fortunate as to ſucceed, which proved, in many inſtances, very beneficial to *France*, and helped to extricate her out of her preſent difficulties [g]. A. D. 1636.

Progreſs of the war in Germany, and diſſolution of the Italian league.

In *Germany* the affairs of the *Swedes* went but indifferently; but the duke of *Weymar* had the good fortune to defeat the troops of *Lorrain* about midſummer. The emperor *Ferdinand* the ſecond dying, *France* made ſome difficulty of owning his ſon *Ferdinand* the third, though he had been choſen king of the *Romans* with the accuſtomed ceremonies; but, when it was found this example was not either followed or approved by other princes, *France* dropped her oppoſition [h]. On the ſide of *Italy* things went very indifferently. The duke of *Parma* being beſieged in *Placencia*, and the *French* not knowing how to relieve him, he was conſtrained to accept the terms offered him by *Spain*, which were not very unreaſonable; by this, and by the death of the duke of *Mantua* and the duke of *Savoy*, the *Italian* league ſeemed to be diſſolved, with which the cardinal was not at all diſpleaſed, becauſe it gave him an opportunity of ſaving, and the unavoidable expences of the war ran ſo high, that he found it equally difficult and neceſſary [i]. He was, however, ſenſibly chagrined at

[e] Le Vassor Hiſtoire de Louis XIII. [f] Memoires d'un Favourite. [g] Memoires de Holland, par Auberi. Memoires de Pontis. [h] Le Vassor Hiſtoire de Louis XIII. [i] Memoires du Comte de Brienne.

the loſs of the *Valteline*, and with reaſon, ſince it was entirely his own fault.

The D. of Rohan *compelled to abandon the* Valteline, *and the iſlands recovered.*

He hated the duke of *Rohan*, and, though he had ſerved the king with equal fidelity and ſucceſs, yet no care was taken to ſupply him with money, which was all he wanted to carry on affairs on that ſide; upon this the *Griſons*, to whom he owed a million for the pay and ſubſiſtence of his troops, entered into a negotiation with the *Spaniards*, for obliging him to evacuate the *Valteline*: he engaged them, however, to give him two months time, and, by way of favour, procured two months more; but the cardinal would not relieve, or ſo much as afford him an anſwer. In this diſtreſs his prudence ſuggeſted an expedient that ſaved his own honour, and his maſter's troops: he undertook they ſhould evacuate the country in a certain number of days, and became a hoſtage for the performance; and thus the blame was wholly and inconteſtably thrown upon the cardinal, and his own honour ſecured [k]. The fleet which, the year before, did ſo little, met this year with better fortune, though ſtill commanded by the count *de Harcourt*, and the archbiſhop of *Bourdeaux*; for, after having made a deſcent in *Sardinia*, towards the end of *February*, they, in the middle of *May*, made a deſcent on the iſland of St. *Margaret*, and, having beat the *Spaniards* from their forts, with great loſs compelled them at length to abandon that of St. *Honorat*, which would have been done the year before, had not the archbiſhop quarrelled with marſhal *de Vitry*, and perhaps would not have been done now, if that marſhal had not been ſent to the *Baſtile* for returning the prelate's ill language with two or three ſtrokes of his cane [l]. The duke *de la Valette*, who, being under the cardinal's diſpleaſure, could have no aſſiſtance from court, by cutting off their proviſions, obliged the enemy to quit two or three ſmall places they had ſeized in *Guienne*, and ſo delivered the province without an army; the *Spaniards*, to revenge theſe loſſes, inveſted *Leucat* with an army. It was a place of no great ſtrength, and the Sieur *de Barri*, who commanded in it, had but fourſcore men; but, notwithſtanding this, he defended himſelf for a month, which gave time to the duke of *Halvin* to march with a body of peaſants, raiſed in haſte, with whom he defeated the *Spaniards*, killed them two thouſand men, took their train of artillery, conſiſting of thirty-ſeven pieces of heavy cannon, for which he was ſoon after rewarded with the ſtaff of marſhal, and

[k] Memoires du Duc de Rohan. Bart. Nani, Vie du Cardinal de Richelieu. [l] Le Vassor Hiſtoire de Louis XIII. Vitt. Siri, Memoire recondite. Memoires du Comte de Brienne.

choſe

choſe to be called by his father's title, *Schomberg*, though duke and peer in right of his wife [m].

On the ſide of the *Low Countries*, the cardinal *de la Valette*, aſſiſted by his eldeſt brother the duke *de Candale*, reduced *Chateau Cambreſis*, *Bavai*, *Maubeuge*, and *Landreci*, ſmall places, but important by their ſituation. The marſhal *de Chaſtillon* took *Yvoi* in the duchy of *Luxemburgh*; and, this being quickly recovered, he inveſted *Damvilliers*, which he likewiſe reduced. The duke of *Longueville* took alſo ſeveral places in the *Franche Comté*. The king was very deſirous of taking the field himſelf, in order to have recovered *la Capelle*; but, according to the report that was made to the cardinal, this was not ſo eaſy or ſo ſure a thing as to venture the monarch's reputation upon it; yet, in the month of *September*, the cardinal *de la Valette*, after taking the ſenſe of a council of war, reſolved to inveſt it, and became maſter of it in ten days [n]. The king, though he was ſenſible of the great importance of this ſucceſs, was, notwithſtanding, diſpleaſed that he had not the credit of taking it; upon which the miniſter found himſelf obliged to ſend for the journal of the campaign, that he might convince his majeſty that it was not undertaken by his orders, but purely by the advice of the council of war, upon finding the ſiege of *Avefnes*, which he had commanded, impracticable; with which the king, in appearance at leaſt, was pretty well ſatisfied. But this was far from being the miniſter's greateſt trouble [o].

Campaign in the Low Countries, and la Capelle recovered.

The cardinal, in the beginning of the year, had prevailed upon his maſter to make a tour to *Orleans*, with the *French* and *Swiſs* guards. This had an admirable effect in fixing the intentions of Monſieur, who had begun to draw the diſaffected about him at *Blois*, and had talked in high ſtrains of the honour and courteſy of the *Spaniards*, as if he had forgot the miſerable end of the duke of *Montmorenci*, and his own ſad ſituation at *Bruſſels*. But now, apprehending his liberty in danger, he was very willing to treat, accepted the offer that was made him of not proceeding farther in the matter of his marriage, took a new oath of fidelity, and was extremely delighted that, at his requeſt, the king had been pleaſed to ſet the chevalier *de Grignan* and the abbe *de la Riviere* at liberty. The *French* wits ſaid of the latter, that he knew the worth of his maſter the beſt of any body, becauſe he had ſold him over and over [p]. The ill humours of the duke of *Orleans* were

Richelieu baffles the projects of his enemies, and puniſhes their attempts to remove him.

[m] Lettres du Cardinal de Richelieu. Le Vaſſor Hiſtoire de Louis XIII. [n] Memoires du Comte de Brienne. [o] Memoires de Payſegur. [p] Vie du Cardinal de Richelieu. Memoires de Montreſor.

troubleſome, but thoſe of the king were terrible, and it was not long before the cardinal experienced theſe. He ſeemed at firſt thoughtful, then melancholy, and at length ſullen. His confeſſor, the famous Father *Cauſſin*, a Jeſuit, was the ſource of all this. He had filled his mind with ſcruples of conſcience, and at length, in reſolving them, furniſhed him with four charges againſt the miniſter; that he had driven the queen-mother into exile, and kept her there without bread; that he had uſurped the royal authority himſelf, having the power, and his majeſty no more than the title, of king; that the people were oppreſſed with taxes in ſuch a manner, that miſery was become univerſal; and that the wealth torn out of the vitals of the people was conſumed in ſubſidies to heretics, ſuch as the *Swedes*, the *Germans*, and the *Dutch*. The king aſked him if he could recommend ſuch another miniſter in point of abilities, which was a thing *Cauſſin* had never conſidered, being moved to this enterprize by bigotry rather than ambition. He anſwered therefore in the negative; but, being preſſed by the king, he undertook to maintain what he had advanced to *Richelieu*'s face, on a day aſſigned [q]. In the mean time looking upon himſelf as commiſſioned to find out another prime miniſter, he communicated the whole of what had paſſed to the duke of *Angoulême*, who promiſed to ſupport him. But knowing the vindictive ſpirit of one prieſt, and having no great opinion of the ſenſe and ſpirit of the other, he went directly to the cardinal, and told him how all things ſtood. The cardinal, in conſequence of this intelligence, managed things ſo well with the king, that, by the time the day came, he ſtood as high in the king's favour as ever; and when Father *Cauſſin* appeared, and demanded an audience, he was told that the king had been for a long time with the cardinal in his cloſet. After waiting, he was ordered to return to *Paris*, and being that evening arreſted, was conveyed to *Quinpercorrent*, in *Bretagne* [r]. He had been prevailed upon to undertake this perilous enterprize by Father *Monoa*, who was confeſſor to the dutcheſs regent of *Savoy*, the king's ſiſter; and the cardinal's vengeance reached him the next year, by a poſitive declaration to the dutcheſs, that the king could not confide in her while Father *Monoa* continued about her perſon; upon which he was arreſted, and ſent priſoner to *Montmelian* [s]. He made the queen alſo feel the effects of his power and influence, on account of her cor-

[q] Vitt. Siri Memoire recondite. Memoires de Montreſor. [r] Memoires du Duc d'Orleans. Vie du Cardinal de Richelieu. [s] Aubery Hiſtoire du Cardinal de Richelieu. Mercure François.

reſpondence with the ducheſs of *Chevreuſe*, once the object of the king's and cardinal's paſſion, and was now inexpreſſibly hated by both. The marquiſate *de la Force* was erected into a duchy and peerage in favour of the marſhal. This year alſo the cardinal inſtituted the *French* academy, which, by its inſtitution, was to be compoſed of forty members, who were to direct their ſtudies ſo as to improve and perfect the *French* language. The true deſign of the cardinal is ſaid to have been to declare himſelf by this means the protector of letters, that men of parts and learning might, in a more eſpecial manner, be attached to him [t]. A. D. 1637.

The king, in the beginning of the year, by a ſolemn act, put his perſon and kingdom under the protection of the Bleſſed Virgin [u]. Duke *Bernard* of *Weymar* having made a tour into *Switzerland*, the duke of *Rohan*, with whom he had many conferences, was ſo charmed with his converſation, that he engaged him to accompany him to his army, with which he beſieged *Rheinfeld*, a ſtrong place, which is conſidered as the chief of the foreſt towns. On the 28th of *February* *John de Werth* forced one of the quarters of his camp with great loſs, took ſeveral pieces of cannon, and obliged him to raiſe the ſiege. The duke, having very exact intelligence, returned on the 3d of *March*, attacked and defeated the imperial army, took twelve pieces of cannon, and their four generals priſoners. To make his court to the king, *John de Werth* was ſent under an eſcorte to *Paris*. In the firſt action the duke of *Rohan* was mortally wounded, and died on the 13th of *March*, in a village belonging to the canton of *Bern* [w]. His corpſe lies interred at *Geneva*. The ſuit of armour he wore was received with great reſpect by the ſtate of *Venice*, to whom it was bequeathed [x]. He was little regretted at court, though one of the greateſt men that age produced. The duke of *Weymar* afterwards reduced *Rheinfeld*, *Friburgh*, and, after twice beating the imperialiſts, and a long blockade, *Briſac* [y]. In *Italy* things went but very indifferently. The ducheſs of *Savoy* was deſirous of concluding a defenſive league only; the cardinal, by threatening that the king would abandon her, obliged her to conclude an offenſive and defenſive alliance with *France* [z]. The *Spaniards* having inveſted *Branca*, marſhal *Crequi* going to reconnoitre his lines, ſtanding againſt a tree, with his perſpective glaſs in his *Courſe of the war in* Germany *and* Italy, *death of the dukes of* Savoy *and* Rohan *and marſhal* Crequi.

[t] Vie de Richelieu. Vitt. Siri Memoirs recondite. Aubery Hiſtoire du Cardinal Richelieu. [u] Lettres du Cardinal de Richelieu. [w] Mercure Francois. [x] Batt Nani. [y] Le Vasſor. [z] Recueil de Pieces concernant l'Hiſtoire de Louis XIII.

hand, an engineer took so good an aim, that the bullet struck off his left hand with the glass in it, and went through his belly into the tree. Thus fell this great man, on the 18th of *March* [a]. The cardinal *de la Valette* was sent to command in his stead, he could not prevent the taking of *Verceil*, and remained afterwards on the defensive. On the fourth of *October* died the young duke of *Savoy* [b], who was succeeded by his brother *Charles Emanuel*. The cardinal of *Savoy* and prince *Thomas* contested the regency, but the dutchess, supported by her brother, prevailed.

The P. of Condé compelled to raise the siege of Fontarabia.

On the side of *Spain* it was resolved to act offensively. The conde-duke had caused *France* to be invaded twice, the cardinal duke resolved on the siege of *Fontarabia*, contrary to the advice of the duke *de la Valette*, who declined commanding the army that was to form it [c]. The cardinal, to mortify that family, declared the prince of *Condé* the king's lieutenant-general in *Guienne*, and the provinces adjacent, ordered the old duke of *Espernon* to keep his house, and the duke *de la Valette* to attend the prince, who entered *Navarre* in the beginning of the month of *July*, took *Iron*, *Figuera*, and *Port-Passage*, in which he found twelve good ships, and one hundred and fifty pieces of cannon. The archbishop of *Bourdeaux*, who had orders to second him with a fleet, defeated that of *Spain*, which was composed of fourteen galleons and four frigates; one only of the latter escaped, the rest were either taken or sunk, and on board them four or five thousand old troops were either burned or drowned [d]. As this fleet was intended for the relief of *Fontarabia*, it was given up for lost, though very gallantly defended. But the prince of *Condé* in the first place made a strange mistake in abandoning *Port-Passage*, which enabled the admiral of *Castile* to march with twelve hundred horse and fifteen thousand militia to the relief of the place. It was in so desperate a state, that he put all things to the hazard, and, on the 7th of *September*, attacked the *French* in their intrenchments, though their army consisted of nineteen thousand old troops. The officers did their duty, but the first intrenchment being forced, all things fell into confusion; the prince of *Conti* and the archbishop of *Bourdeaux* retiring to the fleet, embarked what troops they could, and escaped. The duke *de la Valette*, who had been removed from his command, and was at a distance from the army, returned of his own accord,

[a] Vitt. Siri Memoire recondite. [b] Lettres du Cardinal de Richelieu. [c] Vitt. Siri Memoire recondite. Le Vassor. [d] Aubery Histoire du Cardinal de Richelieu. Vie du Duc d'Espernon.

rallied

rallied the flying remains of their forces, and made a decent retreat. The prince, notwithstanding, threw all the blame upon him, and the duke, who foresaw he should be made a victim, notwithstanding the credit his brother had with the cardinal, withdrew to *England* [f]; upon which his process was made, he was condemned to lose his head, and that sentence publicly executed in effigy at the *Greve*, though the president *Ballievre* and some others, his judges, protested against it. As the cardinal had power to depress even without cause, so he claimed also the prerogative of exalting without merit. His nephew Monsieur *de Pont-Courlai*, with fifteen *French* gallies, attacked as many of the *Spaniards* before *Genoa*, on the 1st of *September*, and, with the loss of three of his own, defeated them totally, and took six, by which he gained great reputation, though his personal behaviour did not at all contribute to the victory [g]. These were the dawnings of the *French* naval power, which this minister had much at heart.

THE marshal *de Chatillon*, with a numerous army, entered *Artois*, and, after wasting that country, in the latter end of *May* invested *St. Omer*; but, after lying before it seven weeks, and losing a great number of men, he was constrained to retire by prince *Thomas* of *Savoy* and general *Picolomini*, with which the king was greatly offended; so that he was ordered to retire to his house, and the command given to the marshal *de la Force* [h]. In autumn, however, Monsieur *de Hallier* recovered *le Catelet*, which was the last of their conquests that the *Spaniards* retained. The disputes at court ran as high as ever this year, and the minister's authority and influence appeared with greater lustre than it had hitherto done. The queen-mother, after spending some little time in *Holland*, made a tour to *Great Britain*, where she prevailed upon the *French* minister *Ballievre*, by the recital of her miseries, to write in her behalf. She desired him to acquaint the cardinal, that, as things were no longer what they were, so her desires were regulated by their present state; that she no longer sought for power, for places of safety, or even the splendor of a court; that she was willing to submit to his will, and receive from it, in what corner of *France* he pleased, bread and peace. The ambassador wrote all she desired in a very pathetic stile, but wrote without effect [i]. The queen-mother had once declared herself before the king implacable towards

The cardinal inexorable to the queen-mother, and insolent to the reigning queen.

[f] Lettres du Cardinal de Richelieu. [g] AUBERI Hiſtoire du Cardinal de Richelieu. Mercure Francois. [h] Memoires de Puyſegur. Lettres du Cardinal de Richelieu. [i] VITTORIO SIRI Memoire recondite.

the cardinal; and either fear or reſentment made him ſo ever after. He mortified the reigning queen almoſt as ſeverely. He diſcovered her correſpondence with her brother the cardinal Infant, and cauſed her to be interrogated upon it[k] by the chancellor, tho' ſhe was then with child. Her dignity thus invaded, the queen ſupported it by her behaviour; ſhe ſaid the ties of nature obliged her to love her brother, and her country; but that ſhe had never written any thing inconſiſtent with her duty to the king, or with the affection ſhe owed to *Frimus*, ſince the ſole end of her correſpondence was to procure a peace. On the 5th of *September* ſhe was delivered at *St. Germain en Laye* of her eldeſt ſon *Lewis*[l], afterwards ſurnamed the *Great*, in the twenty-third year of her marriage, and which filled all *France* with joy to a degree that is inexpreſſible.

Cauſes the duchy of Aiguillon *to be given to his niece.*

THE cardinal, not ſatisfied with ſhewing that he had an intereſt with his maſter ſuperior either to his mother or his wife, went yet farther, and took from him his miſtreſs, Madame *de la Fayette*, and this by corrupting one of his ſervants, and alſo forging billets, by which he forced her into a convent. There the king learned the ſecret[m] from her own mouth; for which the ſervant was diſgraced, but without any diminution of the cardinal's power, as appears from the following inſtance. He procured *Aiguillon* to be erected into a A. D. 1638. duchy and peerage[n], in favour of *Magdalen de Vignerot*, better known by the name of Madame *de Combalet*, with this ſingular clauſe, to be enjoyed by that lady, her heirs and ſucceſſors, as well males as females, in ſuch manner as ſhe ſhould be pleaſed to appoint. In virtue of which, by her teſtament in 1674, ſhe called to the ſucceſſion her niece, *Maria Thereſa*, and at the ſame time ſubſtituted her grand nephew *Lewis* marquis of *Richelieu*, whoſe ſon the count *de Agenois* was, by an arret of parliament in 1731, declared duke and peer of *France*, in virtue of this ſubſtitution; but the peerage is eſteemed no older than this arret[o].

D. Bernard *of* Weymar *dies.*

DUKE *Bernard* of *Weymar*, who had hitherto rendered ſuch important ſervices to *France*, began now to give ſome trouble to the cardinal. He was a prince by birth, a ſoldier by profeſſion; he had learned the art of war under *Guſtavus Adolphus*, but his army was his own, though in the pay of *France*; it was compoſed of all nations, but chiefly of *Germans*: towards the cloſe of the year it was thin and weak, but without any difficulty he recruited it by the ſpring, by the re-

[k] Memoires du Comte de Brienne. [l] Mercure Francois.
[m] VITT. SIRI Memoire recondite. [n] L'Etat de France, tom. ii. p. 303. [o] Abrege Chronologique de l'Hiſtoire de France, ſeconde Partie, par Pr. HENAULT, p. 508.

putation

protection of his generosity, justice, and an exact regard for merit. The count *de Guebriant* and the viscount *Turenne* had served under this prince, and were at once his lieutenants and his pupils. By a secret article in his treaty, duke *Bernard* was to have *Brisac* and a large pension; he was inclined, in the mean time, to keep *Brisac*, and to form a principality by the conquest of several small places round him. This did not suit at all with the cardinal's views: he wanted *Brisac* for *France*, and therefore pressed the duke to come to *Paris*, that they might consider about the operations of the campaign. But of this the duke would not hear; he said the imperialists were making great preparations to oppress and destroy him, and therefore it was not time for journies. The count *de Guebriant* had orders to try if he might not be brought to sell *Brisac*, or to exchange it for the *Franche Comté*, which, if he could conquer, should be preserved to him at a general peace. The duke answered like a soldier, "Monsieur le Comte, to propose to a woman of virtue the sale of her virginity, and to a brave man the purchase of his honour, is the same thing[r]." He sent, however, major-general *Erlach* to *Paris*, to settle the operations of the campaign, and with him the cardinal agreed, that, if the duke died, he should have a certain sum for the surrender of *Brisac*. On the return of that officer the duke opened the campaign in *January*, and prosecuted it with vigour; took several small places, but, on the 18th of *July*, deceased at *Neuburgh* on the *Rhine*, after a short illness[s]. There seems to be no great doubt that he died by poison, and there is as little that the cardinal was not displeased with his death; but it does not follow that he procured it, tho' some have suspected it. He died at thirty-six years of age, and left his succession to any of his brothers who would accept it under the protection of *France* and *Sweden*. He appointed major-general *Erlach*, colonel *Ohem*, the count *de Naſſau*, and colonel *Rozen*, directors of his army. With these directors, after a long negotiation, *France* concluded a treaty, and, in virtue of that, and the money before stipulated, major-general *Erlach* gave up *Brisac*, as another officer did *Friburg*; but of both places they were to remain governors, with a garrison half *German* and half *French*; the elector *Palatine*, who aspired to the command of this army, left *England* with that view; but, being arrested in his passage through *France*, the cardinal prevailed upon the directors to accept of the duke of *Longueville* for their chief[t].

[r] Le Vassor. Le Gendre. [s] Mercure François. Lettres du Cardinal de Richelieu. [t] Le Gend.

THERE

Military and political transactions in Piedmont, with the famous retreat of C. Harcourt.

THERE were, on the side of *Piedmont*, more transactions of consequence this year, than in any of the preceding. About the middle of *March*, the princes of *Savoy*, that is, the cardinal and prince *Thomas*, uncles to the reigning duke, made a treaty with the marquis *de Leganez*, at *Madrid*, by which it was ſtipulated, that the marquis ſhould put them in poſſeſſion of the tutelage of their nephew, which they claimed; that they ſhould uſe their joint endeavours to drive out the *French*; that ſuch places as ſhould upon their quota ſhould belong to the princes; but that ſuch as were reduced by force of arms ſhould be left in the hands of his Catholic majeſty [a]. In conſequence of this treaty, before the end of the month, *Chivas* was ſurpriſed, which ſo raiſed the ſpirits of his party, that *Guiche* and *Montcaillier* declared for him. *Verue* and *Orbeſſantine* ſubmitted ſoon after. In the beginning of *May* he reduced *Trin*, which was very ill defended [b]. Theſe loſſes obliged the ducheſs regent to conclude on the 14th of *June* a treaty with the king her brother [c], by which ſhe conſented to receive *French* garriſons into *Carmagnola*, *Savillan*, and *Quiers*, which were to be reſtored upon the concluſion of a peace. Her affairs, indeed, were in a very bad ſituation, notwithſtanding that cardinal *de la Valette* recovered *Chivas*; but they became ſtill worſe, when, on the 27th of *Auguſt*, the prince of *Savoy* ſurpriſed *Turin*, and this ſo ſuddenly, that the ducheſs had much ado to eſcape with her jewels into the citadel [d]. About a month after, cardinal *de la Valette*, worn out with labour and chagrin, breathed his laſt at *Rivoli*. The pope refuſed the uſual honours paid to the memory of cardinals, becauſe he had commanded armies againſt Catholics, and had ſometimes acted in conjunction with heretics [e]. The command of his army was given to the count *de Harcourt*, who hitherto had commanded on board the fleet. About this time the ducheſs repaired to *Grenoble*, to confer with her brother, where cardinal *Richelieu* repreſented to her in plain terms, that her own ſubjects being better affected to the princes than to herſelf, and the *Spaniards* pouring continually freſh troops into her dominions, there was no meaſure left for her to take with ſecurity and honour, but to put *Montmelian* into her brother's

[a] Vittorio Siri Memoire recondite. Lettres du Cardinal de Richelieu. Le Vassor. [b] Aubery Hiſtoire du Cardinal Richelieu. Vitt. Siri Memoire recondite. [c] Corps Univerſel Diplomatique, tom. vi. part i. p. 174. [d] Vittorio Siri Memoire recondite. Lettres du Cardinal de Richelieu. [e] Memoires du Mareſchal de Bafſom.

hands,

hands, and to send her son the young duke to *Paris*, to be educated with the dauphin. She was preſſed to this alſo by the king himſelf, but, wanting words, ſhe anſwered both with tears, and returned with little other aſſiſtance than promiſes[r]. Count *Harcourt* ſent Monſieur *le Mothe Haydancourt* to ſurprize *Quiers*, which he performed towards the end of *October*, on which the count marched thither with the reſt of his army to aſſiſt in the fortifying it. He continued there about a month, when the marquis de *Leganez* encamped behind him, with the *Spaniſh* army, and prince *Thomas* before him, with all the forces he could aſſemble, ſecure that he could not eſcape either being ſtarved or cut to pieces. He took his meaſures, however, ſo well, that, decamping in the night, he attacked and forced a paſſage through the army of the princes, before the *Spaniards* had any intelligence of his march; and, having in the next night, fortified a bridge, leaving ſome troops and cannon in it, he proceeded ſecurely with the reſt of his army, before the *Spaniards* could force it, which was looked upon as one of the greateſt actions in this war[s].

Progreſs of the war in Spain and the Low Countries.

By the advice of *Richelieu* the king reſolved to act offenſively againſt *Spain*, and accordingly the prince of *Condé* was ſent with a conſiderable body of troops to beſiege *Salces*; while the archbiſhop of *Bourdeaux*, with his fleet, alarmed and inſulted the coaſt[t]. The reaſons which he aſſigned were, that whatever fate attended the *Spaniſh* irruptions into *France*, the ſubjects of that monarchy were made to believe their maſter was invincible and terrible to his neighbours; but, if once attacked at home, they would ſpeedily change their ſentiments, and, loaded as they were with taxes, and diſcontented with the ſurly inſolence of *Olivarez*'s government, ſome of the provinces would not fail to revolt, when they ſaw that ſtrangers were both able and willing to lend them aſſiſtance. It is true, this year's expedition produced not much, though *Salces* was taken, after five weeks ſiege; but, in the end, the cardinal's conjectures were verified in ſuch a manner, that, as a great *Italian* hiſtorian[b] remarks, while in other places human counſels followed events, it looked as if events had followed *Richelieu*'s counſels. But, for all this, things did not go quite ſo happily in all places: the marquis *de Feuquieres*, in the beginning of *June*, had with a ſmall army inveſted *Thi-*

[r] BATT. NANI liv. xi. VITTORIO SIRI Memoire recondite, tom. viii. AUBERI Hiſtoire du Cardinal de Richlieu. [s] VITTORIO SIRI Memoire recondite. BATT. NANI. liv. xi. LE VASSOR. [t] AUBERI Hiſtoire du Cardinal de Richelieu. Lettres du Cardinal de Richelieu. [b] BATT NANI, liv. xi.

enville,

anville, a very ſtrong place, but which he would have infallibly taken, ſince it was equally deficient in proviſions, ammunition, and garriſon. Beſides, he had taken his meaſures ſo well, that the governor, who was abſent upon ſome neceſſary occaſions, could not get in again. However, general *Piccolomini* marched with ſuch diligence and ſecrecy, that he attacked *Fenquieres* unexpectedly in his lines, which he ſpeedily forced, killed and made priſoners ſix thouſand men, and amongſt the reſt took *Fenquieres* himſelf, who died in *Thionville* of wounds and of grief. He then beſieged *Mouzon*, where Monſ. *de Refuge*, with a very ſmall garriſon, ſtood a general aſſault, which ſaved the place, for marſhal *Chaſtillon* having drawn together the remains of *Fenquieres*'s army, advanced to its relief [c]. But the great effort was againſt *Heſdin*, which the marquis *de la Meilleraye*, the cardinal's near relation, beſieged and took, after thirty-eight days open trenches. He received the king ſtanding on the breach, which his majeſty, who leaned on Monſ. *de Puyſegur*'s ſhoulder, took his cane out of that gentleman's hand, and putting it into the hand of the marquis, "For once," ſaid he, "this ſhall ſerve "for a baton; *Meilleraye*, I make you marſhal of *Prance*!" In order to gratify this gentleman with the poſt of grand maſter of the artillery, the old duke of *Sulli* had been made marſhal when he was near fourſcore. On the 1ſt of *Auguſt* the marquis *de Chatillon* took *Ivoi*, in four days, and ruined it; and on the 5th of the ſame month the new marſhal beat the *Spaniards* near the river *Aa*, killed two thouſand men, took three hundred priſoners, and four pieces of cannon [d].

The cardinal gives freſh inſtances of his aſcendency over his maſter.

In regard to the domeſtic concerns of this year, they were ſuch as, if poſſible, gave ſtronger teſtimonies of the miniſter's abſolute power, than any which we have yet ſeen. He thought it neceſſary to give an anſwer to the applications of the queen mother; but he judged it expedient that this anſwer ſhould be in the king's name. The letter was drawn in very ſtrong terms, in which all that could be ſaid either to juſtify or to extenuate the ill uſage ſhe had received was put in the beſt light it would bear, and, in the end, ſhe was told, that the king not being able to ſatisfy himſelf that her mind was at all changed, he could only recommend to her a journey to *Florence*, to which, if ſhe conſented, ſhe might depend upon marks of his favour. This letter, penned by *Charnacé*, was carried to, and ſigned by, the king [e]. The queen of

[c] Memoires de Pontis, tom. ii. liv. iv. Aubery Hiſtoire du Cardinal Richelieu. Le Vassor. Vitt. Siri Memoire recondite. [d] Memoires de Puyſegur, p. 174. [e] Memoires de Pontis, liv. iv. Vie de Richelieu. [f] Aubery Hiſtoire du Cardinal Richelieu.

England

England wrote in very affecting terms on behalf of her mother, and ſent over a perſon of diſtinction to ſupport what ſhe had ſaid, and to offer her ſecurity for the queen's behaviour, if ſhe was permitted to return to *France*; but this made no manner of impreſſion[z]. On the contrary, the cardinal had an agent in *Scotland*, to blow the coals of that rebellion, which afterwards flamed out with ſuch violence through the whole iſland. In the court of the queen-conſort, madame *de Seneçy*, who had the honour of her majeſty's confidence, and who from thence thought it unneceſſary to ſollicit the cardinal's favour, was removed, without any reaſon aſſigned, farther than the king's pleaſure; and when, to avoid this, the queen condeſcended to apply herſelf to the cardinal, ſhe could obtain no other anſwer, than that, ſince ſhe did him the honour to aſk his counſel, the beſt advice he could give her was to obey the king her huſband[a]. After madame *de la Fayette* retired into a convent, the king uſed to divert himſelf with madame *de Hautefort*, with which the queen and the cardinal were for a time equally pleaſed, the former becauſe it brought him often into her apartment, and the latter, becauſe he knew her to be an eaſy good-natured woman, and one who troubled not herſelf with affairs of ſtate. At length perceiving her intimacy with madame *de Chevreuſe*, a lady of great underſtanding, and of a very active ſpirit, he grew uneaſy, and reſolved to ſupply the king with a favourite, who ſhould render him leſs aſſiduous about his miſtreſs; for *Lewis* did not at all reſemble his father; there was nothing criminal in his amours, ſcarce anything gallant; and as the pleaſure of a free converſation was all he deſired, it was indifferent to him whether he indulged this freedom with the ſex or not. The perſon of whom the cardinal made choice was *Henry d'Effiat*, Seigneur *de Cinque-Mars*, the ſecond ſon of marſhal *d'Effiat*, who owed his fortune entirely to the cardinal. This young man was handſome, ſprightly, well verſed in all manly ſports, but of a haughty and intractable temper, which he concealed from the cardinal. He was maſter of the wardrobe, and, in bringing him into his maſter's favour, *Richelieu* croſſed his inclination, for he had ſhewn evident marks of diſlike to *Cinque-Mars*; but theſe, by his patron's inſtructions, were ſoon got over, and, at the ſiege of *Heſdin*, the king gave him the firſt marks of his kindneſs, by beſtowing on him a large penſion, and at his return to *Paris* he was ſo thoroughly eſtab-

[z] Vittorio Siri Memoire recondite, tom. viii. p. 640. [a] Memoires du Comte de Brienne. Vittorio Siri Memoire recondite. Overo Hiſt. de correnti tempi, tom. ii. lib. ii. p. 555. Vie de Richelieu.

liſhed,

liſhed, that the two ladies before-mentioned were baniſhed the court, upon a rumour that they had ſpoken diſreſpectfully of *Cinque-Mars*. His great merit was, that he heard the king's complaints of an evening, and repeated them faithfully to the cardinal [i]. But the ladies were not the only objects of the cardinal's reſentment. He made the pope feel the weight of it continually, by keeping the marſhal *d'Etrées* at *Rome*, with the title of the king's ambaſſador; who, whilſt he bore the title of marquis *de Coeuvres*, had broke the heart of one of his holineſs's predeceſſors, and who lived in a ſtate of hoſtility with the pontiff, from the very moment he appeared in his court. *Urban* the eighth, for this and other reaſons, had ſent Monſ. *Scotti*, with the title of nuncio extraordinary, to *Paris*; and the cardinal, who was as little pleaſed with him as the pope was with marſhal *d'Etrées*, engaged the king to ſend a letter to the parliament, directing them to forbid the biſhops of *France* to have any communication whatever with this extraordinary nuncio, who alſo received greater mortifications than this; ſo little was *Richelieu* inclined to keep meaſures with any to whom he had taken offence [k]. The cardinal aſſigned many, and ſome of them very plauſible, reaſons for the umbrage he ſaid the king had taken at the proceedings of the court of *Rome*: Mr. *Scotti* made no ſcruple of publiſhing, that the true motives were the refuſal of a hat for *Mazarini*, whom *Richelieu* had choſen to replace the famous Father *Joſeph*, and the delay made in ſending the cardinal's own bulls as abbot-general of the order of *Ciſtertian* monks, which he reſolved to have, and the pope had reſolved not to grant.

A. D. 1639.

The chancellor ſent into Normandy to ſuppreſs an inſurrection.

THERE happened this winter an affair, the like of which had not been ſeen in *France*, or perhaps any where elſe. The people in *Normandy*, finding themſelves grievouſly burthened with taxes, the journeymen in the great towns, and the peaſants in the villages, aſſembled together, and refuſed to pay any taxes. This was called the inſurrection *les pieds nuds*, or of the naked feet. But the ſingularity lay in the chaſtiſement: the chancellor *Seguier* went into the province, as a kind of conſtable of the long robe, attended by a corps of ſix thouſand regular troops, commanded by Monſ. *de Gaſſion*, who every evening carried the white ſtandard into the chancellor's chamber, and received the word; he had likewiſe Monſ. *Poilier* with him as

[i] VITT, SIRE Memoire recondite. Memoires de Baſſompierre. Memoires du Comte de Brienne. LE VASSOR. [k] Receuil de Pieces concernant l'Hiſt. de Louis XIII. tom. iii. p. 590. [l] Lettres du Cardinal de Richelieu. Vie de Richelieu. [m] LE VASSOR. LE GEND. P. DAN. Journal Hiſtorique de Louis XIII.

ſecretary of ſtate; and, though the great ſeal was not removed from *Paris*, yet poſterity will believe the contrary; for all that paſſed in for three months was dated from the places where the chancellor happened to be. He began with interdicting the parliament of *Rouen* for not proceeding vigorouſly againſt the rebels, whom he treated in ſuch a manner, as that no blame of this ſort could be fixed upon him. His troops put numbers to the ſword, thoſe who were taken were hanged or broke alive upon the wheel. He declared the privileges of the city forfeited, fined the inhabitants ſeverely, and, in a word, made the people of *Normandy* underſtand the ſpirit of *Richelieu*'s adminiſtration the moſt auſtere and unrelenting, to which this, or perhaps any other kingdom was ever expoſed. After reſtoring peace, by extirpating thoſe who had taken arms, he reſtored the parliament to its juriſdiction, and returned to *Paris*, covered with the hatred of the *Normans*, by which, however, he merited the eſteem of the cardinal miniſter.

In *Germany* there happened nothing of any great moment; for the duke of *Longueville*, with *Weyman*'s army, which he commanded, being obliged to join the *Swedes*, who otherwiſe could not have oppoſed the imperialiſts, great jealouſies aroſe between them, the former endeavouring to debauch the duke's army, and induce them to take ſervice under their crown, and the latter backward in whatever operations were propoſed that had not an immediate tendency to the advantage of *France* [o]. But in *Italy* things went at another rate. The *Spaniards* had in all reſpects a ſuperiority, excepting in the material article of generals. A negotiation for peace, and a kind of ſuſpenſion of arms, kept things quiet in the ſpring, both ſides profeſſing an earneſt inclination to ſee the tranquility of *Italy* reſtored; which both ſides only pretended, that, under this fair appearance, they might puſh their particular points. Cardinal *Maurice* of *Savoy* was in poſſeſſion of the county of *Nice*, in appearance firmly attached to his brother and to the *Spaniards*, but at the ſame time liſtened to the propoſals of his ſiſter and the *French* [p]. Prince *Thomas* was maſter of the city of *Turin* and ſeveral other places, cloſely connected with the *Spaniards* for the preſent, but not averſe to propoſals which he ſometimes communicated to the *Spaniards*, that he might raiſe his reputation and his terms. The marquis *Leganes*, governor of *Milan*, was, in every body's

C. Harcourt raiſes the ſiege of Caſal, and afterwards takes Turin.

[o] Vitt. Siri Memoire recondite. Puffendorf. Rer. Suec. Lib. Aub. Hiſtoire du Cardinal de Richelieu. [p] Vitt. Siri Memoire recondite. Batt. Nani. Lettres du Cardinal de Richelieu.

opinion,

[illegible] able negotiator, but a great general to join his army. He had concluded a secret treaty with the duchess of Savoy, in consequence of which he made no doubt of surprising *Casal*: the *French* governor discovered his correspondence, just as he arrived before it, and prevented his entering it. This obliged *Leganez* to invest and besiege the place in form, which was ill provided, the inhabitants disaffected, and without hopes of relief. However, the governor did his duty, and made a gallant defence. The count *de Harcourt*, with a [illegible] army, at a great distance, having many other disadvantages, resolved to attempt something, and wrote the cardinal word that he would either raise the siege, or perish before the place. He took his measures so well, and marched with such expedition, that, on the 29th of *April*, he attacked the *Spaniards* in their lines, which were not half finished, forced them, though not without an obstinate resistance, and thereby accomplished what he had proposed. *Leganez* had five thousand men killed, drowned, and taken; he lost besides twelve pieces of cannon, with the best part of his baggage; and, what was inexcusable, his papers were taken in his tent, and amongst the rest, the treaty he had concluded with the duchess. After victualling *Casal*, he returned with great celerity into *Piedmont*, where he undertook another enterprize about midsummer, which was truly singular: for while prince *Thomas*, with his forces in *Turin*, besieged the citadel, the count *de Harcourt* besieged him, and was soon after besieged himself in his own camp by the *Spanish* army, under the marquis *de Leganez*. In this situation his safety depended intirely upon the success of his convoys, and it was here that the viscount *Turenne* gave the first proofs of that genius, which afterwards distinguished him as the greatest captain of his time. After infinite toil and danger he carried his point, forced the *Spaniards* to retire, and obliged prince *Thomas* to surrender on the 24th of *September*[t], who soon after entered into a negotiation with *Mazarine*, whom the cardinal sent expressly into *Italy* for that purpose.

Miscarriage of the prince of Conde and victo-

We have before mentioned the principles upon which cardinal *Richelieu* directed the invasion of *Roussillon* by the prince of *Condé*, and his reduction of *Salces*, into which he put a good garrison, under the command of Monsr. *Espenan*, after which he left the command of the army to marshal *Schom-*

[t] Campeggiamenti del Piemonte del 1640, descritti dal Conte EMANUEL TESAURO, volume secundo. AUBERI Histoire du Cardinal de Richelieu. [u] VITTORIO SIRI Memorie recondite. EMAN. TES. volume secondo. BATT NANI.

berg.

berg[s]. The marquis *Spinola*, with a small army, arrived before it on the 20th of *September*, in the preceding year, and carried the outworks by storm, notwithstanding which the place was so well defended, that the prince had time to assemble all the militia of the province, and, marching over mountains the *Spaniards* thought impracticable, arrived in sight of their camp with twenty-two thousand foot, four thousand horse, and two thousand volunteers, which threw them into great consternation, so that, if he had attacked them immediately, they must, in all probability, have been totally defeated; but, being late in *October*, and in the afternoon, he delayed the attack till the next morning, and in the night there happened so violent a storm, which, in that mountainous and marshy country exposed the army to great dangers; in consequence of which the greatest part of the militia disbanded. However, having collected fourteen thousand men, he, on the 9th of *November*, attacked the besiegers in their intrenchments, being assisted by marshal *Schomberg* and the duke *de St. Simon*, but was repulsed and obliged to retire, with the loss of three thousand men. *Espinan*, notwithstanding, defended the place to the 6th of *January* in this year, and then surrendered upon honourable terms[t]. After this there passed little remarkable, at least by land; for at sea the *French* fleet, commanded by the duke *de Breze*, beat the *Spaniards* before *Cadiz*, and burnt two of their ships on the 22d of *July*. This success was particularly pleasing to the cardinal, from the nature of the service, and his kindness for him by whom it was performed.

Victory gained by the D. de Breze.

On the side of the *Low Countries* the king had two armies, one commanded by the marshal *de Chatillon*, the other by the marshal *de la Meilleraie*. The project formed by the cardinal was the attack of *Clermont* on the *Meuse*; but the heavy rains rendering this impracticable, the two generals resolved on the siege of *Arras*, and directed their marches so well, that they arrived before the place on the same day: there were present at this siege three marshals of *France*, *Chaunes*, *Chatillon*, and *Meilleraie*, and almost all the young nobility served as volunteers. The governor was absent when the place was invested, so that the defence was made by colonel *Boyle*, an *Irish* officer in the *Spanish* service, who did all that could be expected from a gallant officer[u]. The cardinal infant, duke *Charles* of *Lorrain*, and general *Lamboi*, assembled a puissant army for

Siege and reduction of Arras.

[s] Vittorio Siri il Mercurio. Batt Nani. [t] Auberi Histoire du Cardinal Richelieu. Batt Nani. Le Vassor. Le Gend. [u] Auberi Histoire du Cardinal Richelieu. Vittorio Siri Memoire recondite. Memoires de Pontis, tom. ii. l. iv.

its relief, which they first attempted by cutting off the besiegers provisions [w]. Orders were sent by the cardinal to Monsieur *du Hallier*, brother to marshal *Vitry*, and who was thought to be the person who killed marshal *d'Ancre*, to escorte a great convoy to the camp; but the king, apprehensive that, if his corps should be defeated, the Spaniards would enter the kingdom, again sent him orders not to move. *Du Hallier* doubted; but the menaces of the cardinal prevailed [x]. He executed his orders with spirit, and the marshals before *Arras*, being apprised of his march, *Maillerais* [y], with three thousand horse and as many foot, was detached to meet him. The cardinal infant seeing this advantage, attacked the *French* camp with such vigour, that he made himself master of fort *Rentzau*, and was very near gaining a complete victory, when the troops of marshal *Maillerais* and *du Hallier* appeared, which obliged him to retire, and of consequence the place to surrender, which it did on the 9th of *August*, after thirty-five days [z] open trenches. The king remained during the siege at *Amiens*, where he had a dangerous fit of sickness [a]. It was generally expected that *du Hallier*'s service would have been rewarded with a baton of *France*; but his having hesitated, on receiving the cardinal's orders, was an unpardonable fault, during his administration; so that, though he continued to serve, and to serve with reputation, yet he never received that honour while *Richelieu* lived.

Measures taken by Richelieu *to embarrass the* Spaniards *on all sides.*

On the twenty-first of *September* the queen was delivered of a son, who had, for the present, the title of duke of *Anjou* [b]. The cardinal, apprehensive that her power would increase, laboured to extinguish the memory of past misunderstandings; but it was ineffectual, and the queen contented herself with general returns, the sense of which were well enough understood by *Richelieu*, who took all kinds of precaution to be in a condition to support himself, in case of the king's death [c]. As he was inclined to put the management of foreign affairs into the hands of *Mazarini*, he intimated to the court of *Rome* that the gratifying this minister with a hat

[w] Vie de Richelieu. Memoires du Marquis de Beauvau. Memoires de Pontis, tom. ii. liv. iv. [x] Auberi Histoire du Cardinal de Richelieu. [y] Lettres du Cardinal de Richelieu. Memoires de Puysegur. Le Vassor. [z] Vitt. Siri Memoire recondite. Auberi Histoire du Cardinal de Richelieu. Lettres du Cardinal de Richelieu. Memoires de Pontis, tom. ii. liv. iv. Memoires de Puysegur. [a] Le Vassor. Le Gend. Pr. Henault. [b] Lettres du Cardinal de Richelieu. Le Vassor. [c] Vitt. Siri. Auberi Hist. du Cardinal de Richelieu.

ſhould be the price of withdrawing the marſhal *d'Etrees*; and, as we ſhall ſee, it was accordingly ſent him, about the middle of *December* in the next year, into *Piedmont*, where, for the preſent, finding their deſign traverſed by the count *d'Aglie*, who had a great aſcendancy over the dutcheſs-regent, *Mazarine*, by the direction of *Richelieu*, cauſed him to be arreſted in the houſe of Monſ. *du Pleſſis Praſlin*, and carried away priſoner to *Pignerol*, from whence he was transferred into *France*[d]. At the cloſe of this year happened ſuddenly, and almoſt at the ſame time, two great events, which were indeed the effects of *Richelieu*'s policy, but not directly and immediately, as ſome have repreſented. Theſe were the revolt in *Catalonia*, and the revolution in *Portugal*; the former was intirely owing to the licentiouſneſs of the troops that had been employed in reducing *Salces*, who after the campaign was over, took winter-quarters in that province, where being ill paid, they lived, in a manner, at diſcretion. Upon this the whole province took up arms, killed their viceroy, and reſolved to detach themſelves from their obedience to the crown of *Caſtile*; but finding this above their own ſtrength, determined, as we ſhall ſee hereafter, to ſubmit themſelves to *France*. As for the latter, it was ſo far from being concerted or managed by one of his agents, that, when the news of it firſt came to *Paris*, the cardinal did not believe it; but when he could doubt of it no longer, it is very certain that he not only gave king *John* the fourth the ſtrongeſt aſſurances of ſupport, but ſuch advices alſo as did not a little contribute to fix him effectually on the throne [e], as the diverſion he gave was of infinite conſequence to *France*. A. D. 1640.

THE *French* forces in *Germany* were commanded by the count *de Guebriant*, and acted in conjunction with the *Swedes*, commanded by the marſhal *Banier*, the *Heſſians*, and the forces of the houſe of *Lunenburgh*: towards the end of *January* they bombarded *Ratiſbon*, though the emperor and the dyet were in that city. On the 29th of *June*, the army of the allies, commanded by count *Guebriant*, for general *Banier* was dead, defeated the imperial army, commanded by the archduke *Leopold* and general *Picolomini*; notwithſtanding which advantage the imperialiſts began to recover ſtrength, and the *Swediſh* army, now commanded by *Torteuſon*, found ſufficient employment in defending what they had acquired; the princes of the houſe of *Lunenburgh* alſo made a ſeparate peace, and on *Chriſtmas*-day the plenipotentiaries of the emperor

Campaign in Germany and Italy with no ſignal advantage.

[d] Vie de Richelieu. VITT. SIRI Memoires recondite, tom. viii.
[e] AUBERI Hiſtoire du Cardinal de Richelieu. LE VASSOR. BATT NANI.

peror and *Spain* on one side, and of the crowns of *France* and *Sweden* on the other, signed the preliminaries at *Hamburgh*, referring the conclusion to the congresses of *Munster* and *Osnabrug*. The very same day the treaty between *France* and *Sweden* was renewed, that these negotiations might be managed without any jealousy on either side, or any fear of separating the interests of the two crowns [f]. In *Piedmont* prince *Thomas* of *Savoy*, notwithstanding the treaty he had concluded with *France*, closed again with the *Spaniards*, who had the complaisance, upon his representations, to remove the marquis *Leganez* from the government of the *Milanese*, and to send in his place the count *de Servela*, with whom the prince did not agree better, and under whom affairs went much worse. The viscount *Turenne* made himself master of *Monte Calvo*, and afterwards besieged *Ivree* [g], the only place of consequence that prince *Thomas* had in his own power. It was gallantly defended by his bastard brother, which gave time to the prince to engage the *Spaniards* to march to his relief, about the time that the count *de Harcourt*, returning from *Paris*, resumed the command of the *French* army. Upon the approach of the *Spaniards*, he raised the siege of *Ivree*, and marched to give them battle; which was all that prince *Thomas* wished, as their army was double the number of the *French*. When almost in sight, the prince ranged the cavalry in order of battle, at the same time that the count of *Servela* ordered the infantry to retire; so that count *de Harcourt* attacked the horse with some advantage, and afterwards returned to his siege. Prince *Thomas* then engaged the *Spanish* army to form the siege of *Chivas* [h], to the relief of which the count *de Harcourt* coming with his army, such a reinforcement was thrown into *Ivree*, that he was constrained to abandon all thoughts of taking it. In the autumn, however, he invested *Coni*, and took it on the 15th of *September*, after forty-six days open trenches [i]: prince *Thomas* and the *Spaniards* in the mean time recovered *Monte-Calvi*, which, however, was no equivalent, since *Coni* was a place of very great importance; yet, to remove the jealousies of the *Italian* princes, this was immediately put into the hands of the duchess-regent [k]. Before we leave *Italy*, we must observe, that the prince of *Monaco*, of the house of *Grimaldi*, having been ex-

[f] Puffend. Rer. Fuec. l. xiii. Vie de Richelieu. Le Vassor. [g] Vitt. Siri il Mercurio. Eman. Tesauro, volume tertio. Batt Nani. [h] Vie de Richelieu. Vitt. Siri il Mercurio. Le Vassor. [i] Batt Nani. Le Vassor. [k] Aubery, Histoire du Cardinal de Richelieu. Batt Nani.

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tremely ill treated by the *Spaniards*, resolved to put his place into the hands, and himself under the protection, of *France*. It is generally believed that the treaty was negotiated by the nuncio *Grimaldi*, who passed through *Monaco* in his way to *Paris*; it was signed on the 8th of *July* [l], and the king engaged to give the duke lands in *France*, as an equivalent for his estates in the kingdom of *Naples*, part of which were to be erected into a duchy, with the title of *Valentinois*, and the rest into a marquisate and county for his son. These two princes managed their affairs with great dexterity, surprized and turned out the *Spanish* garrison, and, on the 18th of *November*, admitted the *French* [m]. *Antonio de Grimaldi*, the great grand son of this duke, having no heirs male, married his daughter *Louisa Hippolita* to Monsieur *de Matignon*, who by virtue of letters patents, registered in 1716, became duke and peer of *France*, by the title of duke of *Valentinois* and prince of *Monaco* [n].

THE first project of the *Catalans*, after their revolt, was to have rendered themselves a free state, with the assistance of *France*; but, having been vigorously attacked by the *Spaniards*, and being very sparingly supplied by the cardinal, they quickly discovered the impossibility of succeeding in that design, and, if they had been treated with any tolerable degree of lenity, had, in all probability, submitted again to their own sovereign. But the *Spaniards*, having branded the inhabitants of some places of which they became masters with hot irons, as if they had been slaves, the people in despair fortified *Barcelona*, and, by a treaty, submitted themselves to the crown of *France*, stipulating only the preservation of their privileges [o]. Upon this the count *de la Mothe-Houdincourt* was sent to their assistance, with five thousand men, and it was he who advised them to fortify the fort of *Montjuic*, which covered *Barcelona*. Towards the latter end of *March* the *French* had the good fortune to take five men of war and two gallies in the bay of *Roses*. About the middle of *May* the count *de la Mothe* became master of *Constantin*, and several other places, and soon after formed the siege, or rather the blockade, of *Tarragona*, in which he shut up the prince *de Bottera*, with the best part of the troops the *Spaniards* had in the province, where they defended themselves with admirable bravery [p].

Campaign in Catalonia, Tarragona besieged, and the archbishop of Bourdeaux disgraced.

[l] Recueil de Pieces concernant l'Histoire de Louis XIII. tom. iii. p. 423. [m] BATT. NANI, l. xi. [n] Abrege Chronologique de l'Histoire de France, seconde part, par President HENAULT, p. 515, 516. [o] VITT. SIRI il Mercurio, tom. i. l. i. Memoire recondite. tom. viii. AUB. Histoire du Cardinal de Richelieu. [p] Vie de Richelieu.

The duke *de Ferrentina*, who commanded the *Spaniſh* gallies, reſolved to ſuccour the place, notwithſtanding Monſieur *Sourdis*, archbiſhop of *Bourdeaux*, lay before it with a fleet. He made an effort on the fourth of *July* with forty-one gallies, of which he loſt twelve, without any other advantage than that of ſhewing as much courage and conduct as it was poſſible for man to exert. However, he did not loſe his ſpirits, but having, with infinite pains, reinforced his fleet, he, on the 20th of *Auguſt*, ſurpriſed the archbiſhop, deſtroyed three men of war, and threw a large ſupply into the place, upon which the count *de la Motte* retired, after he had lain more than three months before it. The archbiſhop of *Bourdeaux*, at his return, found himſelf diſgraced without a hearing. His people on board the fleet mutinied, all the enemies of the cardinal clamoured aloud, and his friends clamoured louder than they; ſo that *Richelieu* found himſelf obliged to give him up, and the prelate no ſooner landed, than he received an order to retire to *Carpentras*[q]. In *September* the treaty with the *Catalans* was ratified; the king ſwore to obſerve their privileges, and the marquis *de Breze* was named their viceroy. The cardinal perceiving that it was a thing impoſſible to ſupport theſe people effectually without being maſter of the county of *Rouſſillon*, ſent orders to the prince of *Condé* to invade it with what troops he could collect, who made himſelf maſter of *Elna*, and the viſcount *d'Arpajou* was ſent to block up *Perpignan*, a place ſtrong in itſelf, well fortified, and which, it was reſolved, ſhould be beſieged and reduced in the ſucceeding year[r].

A new treaty with the D. of Lorrain, and an alliance with Portugal.

BEFORE we proceed to the operations in the *Low Countries*, it is neceſſary to mention a new treaty made with the duke of *Lorrain*. Amongſt other ſtrange flights of this unfortunate prince, he had taken it into his head to marry the princeſs of *Cantecroix*, though his firſt wife, in whoſe right he held *Lorrain*, was yet living. His affairs being in a deſperate ſituation, without money, without dominions, and with a body of hungry troops about him, who made him enemies wherever he came, ſhe perſuaded him to treat with *France*. Accordingly he came, upon the faith of a ſingle paſſport, to *Paris*, where he found himſelf better treated than he had reaſon to expect; for the cardinal found, that the ſeizing of *Lorrain* had given ſo bad an impreſſion of *France* to all the little princes her neighbours, that he was glad of an opportunity to give it him back again, as he did by a treaty, ſigned

[q] AUB. Hiſtoire du Cardinal de Richelieu. [r] VITT. SIRI il Mercurio, tom. i. l. ii. BATT NANI. Vie de Richelieu.

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at St. Germain en Laye, on the 20th of *March*[s], his capital, together with *Clermont*, *Stenay*, *Jametz*, and *Dun*, being left in the hands of *France*, by way of depoſit, with the duke's conſent, that they ſhould be united to the crown, in caſe he violated the treaty: he alſo agreed to the demolition of the fortifications of *Marſal*, and to allow the dutcheſs his firſt wife a penſion of one hundred and twenty thouſand livres. On the 23d of *April* he ſwore to the performance of this treaty; on the 30th he did homage for the duchy of *Bar*; and then returned into his own dominions. The princeſs *de Cantecroix*, who had been the cardinal's inſtrument to perſuade the duke to this ſubmiſſion, was exceedingly diſpleaſed that no care was taken of her[t], which indeed was out of the cardinal's power, as he knew that ſhe could not be mentioned either to the king his maſter, or to the court of *Rome*. On the 1ſt of *June* the king concluded an alliance offenſive and defenſive with *John* the fourth, king of *Portugal*[v], and, by the interpoſition of this court, the ſtates general, who were invited to become contracting parties in the treaty, concluded in the mean time a truce for ten years with that prince, which was ſigned on the 10th of the ſame month[x], and by which they engaged to act jointly againſt the *Spaniards* in the *Mediterranean*.

The war of Sedan, *death of the count* de Soiſſons, *and ſubmiſſion of the duke of* Bouillon.

We have before mentioned the retreat of the count *de Soiſſons* to *Sedan*, where, under the protection of the duke of *Bouillon*, and in conjunction with the archbiſhop of *Rheims*, now by the death of his father, and the prince of *Joinville* his brother, become duke of *Guiſe*, he aſſembled all the malecontents that had not fled out of the kingdom[y]. The enemies of cardinal *Richelieu* affirm, that he compelled theſe princes to demand aſſiſtance from the *Spaniards*, that he might have an opportunity of deſtroying them; it is much more certain that they entered into ſuch a league to deſtroy him. It was apparently with this view that they drew up a moſt outrageous manifeſto[z],

[s] Memoires du Marquis de Beauvau, liv. i. p. 60, 61. l. ii. p. 72, 73. Vitt. Siri il Mercurio, tom. i. l. ii. p. 289, 291. Auberi Hiſtoire du Cardinal de Richelieu. Recueil Pieces concernant l'Hiſtoire de Louis XIII. tom. iii. p. 397. [t] Lettres du Card. de Richelieu. Vitt. Siri il Mercurio, lib. ii. p. 296. [u] Memoires du Marquis de Beauvau. Vie de Richelieu. [v] Recueil de Pieces concernant l'Hiſtoire de Louis XIII. tom. iii. p. 411. [x] Vie de Richelieu. Le Vassor. [y] Memoires de Montreſor. Auberi Hiſtoire du Cardinal de Richelieu. [z] Vitt. Siri il Mercurio, tom. ii. Memoires de M. de Montreſor, p. 373. Batt. Nani. liv. xi.

in the name of the count *de Soiſſons*, who therein paints his whole adminiſtration in the blackeſt colours, which poſſibly might have had ſome effect, if it had come ſeaſonably. The cardinal, who was perfectly informed of all their deſigns, had ſent marſhal *Chatillon*, with ten or twelve thouſand men, to block up the place, which he performed with equal ſkill and ſucceſs [a]. On the other hand, general *Lamboi*, by order of the cardinal Infant, marched to the aſſiſtance of the princes of peace, for ſo the chiefs of the malecontents at *Sedan* ſtiled themſelves. Upon this marſhal *de Chaſtillon* poſted himſelf in ſuch a manner, that the enemy would have found it difficult to attack him; but the cardinal ſent him orders to fight at any rate, and his orders were not to be diſobeyed. This brought on the battle of *Marfee*, fought on the 6th of *July*, in which the marſhal was clearly routed, and his army diſperſed; but, in the heat of the action, the count de *Soiſſons* was, ſome way or other, ſlain [b]. There are ſo many various accounts of this matter, that it is ſafeſt to agree with a great hiſtorian [c], who ſays it is a myſtery which has never yet been cleared up: however it happened, this gave the advantage of the victory to the vanquiſhed, and Monſieur *de Puyſegur*, going to treat for the exchange of priſoners to *Sedan*, procured ſome propoſals [d] from the duke of *Bouillon*, which brought about a peace. It was retarded a little by the king's obſtinacy, in refuſing to allow funeral honours to be paid to the corpſe of the count *de Soiſſons*; a proceſs had been ordered [e] againſt his memory, and the duke of *Bouillon* abſolutely refuſed to treat, unleſs this was dropped. The cardinal told the king, that the prince was *Lewis de Bourbon* as well as he [f], and that ſome reſpect was due to his name as well as his blood. At length things were adjuſted; and the king coming in perſon before *Dancheri*, which *Lamboi* had taken after the battle, it was ſurrendered, and the duke *de Bouillon* came to pay his reſpects to the king [g]. By this treaty, ſigned the 8th of *Auguſt*, the duke procured an indemnity for all who had followed the party of the princes, a neutrality for his ſovereignty of *Sedan*, and the reſtitution of his penſions and appointments. He was extremely well received by the king and by the cardinal, who, at his depar-

[a] Aubery Hiſtoire du Cardinal de Richelieu, tom. ii. p. 735. [b] Memoires de M. de Montreſor, p. 398. Memoires de Puyſegur, p. 207. [c] P. Dan. Journal Hiſtorique de Louis XIII. tom. x. p. 56. [d] Memoires de Puyſegur. [e] Recueil de Pieces concernant l'Hiſtoire de Louis XIII. tom. iii. p. 429. [f] Aubery Hiſtoire du Cardinal de Richelieu. Memoires de Montreſor. [g] Vitt. Siri il Mercurio, tom. ii. lib. i. p. 15.

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tant made him this compliment; "You have made war like a "soldier, and peace like a statesman; and, setting aside your "having taken arms against your sovereign, I would rather "have the credit you have obtained by the management of this "affair, than of all *Spinola*'s atchievments." Monsieur de *Hallier* was immediately ordered to attack *Lorrain*, the duke having been embarked in the affair of the count *de Soissons*, and no care taken of him in the treaty, so that he was again dispossessed of his dominions[l].

MARESCHAL *de la Meilleraie*, the favourite and the relation of the cardinal, commanded on the side of the *Low Countries*, and, after several marches and countermarches to perplex the enemy, at length invested *Aire*, one of the most important places in *Artois*, and began to raise his lines on the 25th of *May*, which, however, did not hinder general *Bec* from throwing five hundred choice foot into the place[m]. The governor did not defend some of the forts in the neighbourhood, or even the outworks, with any vigour, which gave the marshal hopes that he should soon become master of the town. He found, however, that this was done only to save his garrison; for, when he came to attack the body of the place, the governor defended himself with equal resolution and spirit. The cardinal Infant was very desirous to relieve him, but found himself exceedingly embarrassed; the *Dutch*, in consequence of a new treaty they had made with the king, besieged *Gravelines*[n]. All the diversions he attempted proved of no effect. He was obliged to wait for the return of *Lamboi*, who had been sent to *Sedan*, before he could march to his relief, and then it was too late, for the marshal having offered the governor very advantageous terms, he surrendered the place on the 26th of *July*, when the cardinal Infant was in his neighbourhood, with a full intent to have hazarded a battle for his relief. It is thought the governor made his peace by giving the cardinal Infant to understand, that he would find it more practicable to recover than he would have done to have saved *Aire*; and upon this he took his measures so well, that marshal *de la Meilleraie* was obliged to leave the place in a hurry, that his army might not be incommoded by the want of provisions; which was all the excuse he could make for leaving the lines in part undemolished, out of which he had no sooner drawn his troops than they were occupied by the *Spaniards*[o].

Campaign in the Low Countries.

Reduction of Aire, which is recovered by the Spaniards.

[l] AUBERI Memoires du Cardinal de Richelieu, tom. ii. p. 736. [m] Memoires du Marquis de Beauvau, p. 79. VITT. SIRI il Mercurio, tom. i. l. ii. [n] Memoires de Puyſegur. [o] VITT. Siri il Mercurio, tom. i. l. iii. [p] Vie de Richelieu, BATT. NANI.

He had a better excuse for leaving the garrison with very little powder, because he had it not. The cardinal pushed the siege but slowly, knowing well the governor could not hold out long; but being taken extremely ill in the camp, he removed to *Brussels*, where he died [n]. *Francisco de Mello*, who succeeded him in the government, persisted obstinately in the same design, though the *French* made several diversions in hopes of raising the siege. At length being reduced to extremity, *Aire* returned again to its old master, on the 17th of *December*, to the great regret of the cardinal and his master, who, except the taking *Bapaume*, and some other small places, gained nothing on this side. The prince of *Orange*, at the desire of the cardinal, had entered *Flanders* with his army, with an intention to have taken *Sas Van Ghent*, but the count *de Fontaines* having thrown himself under the cannon of the place, with seven thousand foot, obliged the prince to retire to *Bergen op Zoom* [o]. It was thought that if any other marshal had been in the place of *la Meilleraie* he would have been disgraced.

Singular instance of the minister's prosperity during the course of this year.

In the course of the cardinal's long administration, there seems not to have been any year pregnant with so many favourable events towards him as this. In the beginning of it, the king, and Monsieur *Cinque Mars* his favourite, who, by the demission of the duke *de Bellegarde*, had acquired the post of grand ecuyer, or master of the horse, and from thence, according to the mode of the *French* court, stiled Monsieur *le Grand*, had a very high quarrel, which would have infallibly ended in the favourite's disgrace, whose temper, of all others, was least suited to that of his master, if the cardinal had not interposed and reconciled them [p]. This, for some time, had the best effect imaginable, and kept them all perfectly easy. The king told his grievances to Monsr. *le Grand*, he told them again regularly to the cardinal, who squared his conduct accordingly; but, as we shall see hereafter, this calm did not last long. All his endeavours to push the fortune of his niece *Combalet* (except in making her a duchess), having failed, the cardinal brought forward the younger niece, madame *Clara Clementia de Maille Breze*, daughter to the marshal, whom, in the month of *February*, he married to the duke *de Anguien* [r], son to the prince of *Condé*, which marriage was celebrated with royal splendor, particularly a splendid balet, in which were ex-

[n] Vitt. Siri il Mercurio. [o] Memoires de Puysegur. Memoires de Pontis, tom. ii. liv. v. [p] Aubery Histoire du Cardinal de Richelieu. Le Vassor. Le Gend. [q] Aubery Memoires du Card. de Richelieu, tom. ii. p. 838. [r] Vittorio Siri il Mercurio, tom. i. l. ii. p. 231.

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hibited the glories of *Erance*, or, in other words, the triumphs of the miniſter's adminiſtration. It was this that overcame the patience of the count *de Soiſſons*, who thereupon aſſumed the title of firſt prince of the blood, and did not forget this incident in his manifeſto. Another affair of conſequence, but of a very different nature, happened alſo this year. Some hermits, who, under pretence of retiring from the world, lived in an obſcure part of the duchy of *Vendoſme*, where they committed an infinity of crimes, were arreſted by the duke's order, and committed to priſon, from whence having made their eſcape, they were retaken and conducted to *Paris*; where, to ſave themſelves from an ignominious death, they charged the duke of *Vendoſme* with having cauſed them to be ſet at liberty, in order to murder the cardinal [s]. That prince was no ſooner informed of this infamous accuſation, than he ſent his ſecond ſon the duke of *Beaufort*, not only to give the ſtrongeſt aſſurances of his innocency, but to offer to come in perſon and confront them, which was accepted [t]. But then, being ſeized with a ſudden panic, he and his ſon made their eſcape into *England* [u], and joined there with the dukes of *Soubize* and *de la Valette* in their practices, which gave an air of probability to an accuſation that, after all, perhaps, was deſtitute of truth. Towards the cloſe of the year the court of *Rome*, in return for ſome marks of complaiſance ſhewn by the cardinal, gratified him by beſtowing a hat [w] upon his friend *Mazarini*, to whom he had, in a great meaſure, reſigned the conduct of foreign affairs, or at leaſt ſuch as regarded *Italy*, which *Mazarini* perfectly underſtood. A. D. 1641.

We muſt proceed with the intrigues of the court, in order to ſhew by what ſteps that miniſter, who, but the laſt year, was at the higheſt point of grandeur, came in this to ſtand on the very brink of diſgrace, and even to place his ſafety in withdrawing himſelf from his maſter. The great cauſe of the quarrels between Monſieur *le Grand* and his maſter, was the amour the former had with one *Marion de l'Orme*, a very beautiful woman at *Paris* [x], but not very illuſtrious in point of fame or family. So long as he was occupied with his pleaſures, he remained firm in his attachment to the miniſter; which induced him to reject ſome propoſitions that were made him by the count *de Soiſſons*, as incompatible with his *Monſieur* Cinque Mars *quarrels with the cardinal, and reſolves to attempt his ruin.*

[s] Recueil de Pieces concernant l'Hiſtoire de Louis XIII. tom. iii. p. 395. [t] Vitt. Siri il Mercurio, tom. i. l. i. p. 223. [u] Batt Nani, liv. xi. Le Vassor. [w] Vie de Richelieu. Hiſtoire du Miniſtere du Cardinal Jules Mazarine, par le Comte Galazzo Gualdo, part. i. p. 26, 27. [x] Vitt. Siri il Mercurio, tom. ii. l. ii. p. 558.

gratitude

gratitude due to the author, the promoter, and the preſerver of his fortunes: but touched by a new paſſion, which he conceived for *Mary Gonzaga*, princeſs of *Nevers*, and by her inflamed with ambition, who told him it would be time enough to think of her when he was a duke and peer, it equally turned his head and his heart too. Upon his mentioning his high views to the cardinal, he read him ſo harſh a lecture on the meanneſs of his origin, and the obligations his whole family were under to himſelf, for drawing them out of obſcurity, and prohibited, in ſuch very ſtrong terms, any overtures of the like nature for the future, that it determined the young man to lay a new and odious foundation of greatneſs, in the diſgrace and deſtruction of his benefactor. Some marks of unkindneſs had paſſed between them before; the favourite having cauſed the diſgrace of the king's firſt gentleman of the bed-chamber, who was in the cardinal's intereſt, and on the other hand the cardinal prevailed upon the king not to call Monſieur *le Grand* into his council, after he had done it once. But theſe were wounds that might have been healed; whereas, after the reproach before-mentioned, they were ſcarce in terms of civility. Monſieur *le Grand* had not the will, and if he had, he wanted the prudence, to conceal his reſentment.

He joins the dukes of Bouillon *and* Orleans.

As ſoon as this was perceived, with another remarkable circumſtance, that the king was not diſpleaſed with it, all the cardinal's enemies became immediately friends to Monſieur *le Grand*, who, if he had been a man of parts and prudence, might, very probably, have carried his point, but who could never have carried things ſo far as he did, if it had not been for two of his friends, who had much better talents than his own. Theſe were Monſ. *de Thou* and Monſ. *de Fontrailles*. The former was the ſon of the celebrated hiſtorian, and was himſelf a young man of great endowments and extraordinary learning, which rendered him univerſally beloved. It is however certain that he had a great ſpirit of intrigue; for having formerly managed a correſpondence between the queen and the ducheſs of *Chevreuſe*, and being detected in it, the cardinal paſſed it by with an admonition. As for the latter, he had the misfortune to be crooked, and the cardinal, with all his great qualities, ſometimes ſunk ſo much beneath himſelf as to divert himſelf at this gentleman's expence, who from thence thought himſelf at liberty to let him ſee, that what-

y Auberi Hiſtoire du Cardinal de Richelieu. Vitt. Siri il Mercurio, tom. ii. z Vie de Richelieu. Batt. Nani, liv. xii. Le Vaſſor. a Vitt. Siri il Merc. t. ii. p. 567. Auberi Hiſtoire du Cardinal de Richelieu.

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ever defect he had in his shape, he had none in his head. At the time the duke of *Bouillon* made his last treaty with the king, Monsieur *le Grand* made some overtures to him, which were not well received; but by the interposition of Monsieur *de Thou*, they were made friends, and at the very time that the duke was preparing to come to *Paris*, upon the invitation of Monsieur *le Grand*, he received an order from the cardinal to repair thither for the king's service. On his arrival he was told, that the king had cast his eyes upon him to command his forces in *Italy*; a proof that the cardinal's compliment at their last meeting was not insincere [b]. Monsieur *de Thou* brought his two friends to confide in Monsieur, but was not present at any of their meetings. In one of these it was agreed, that they should all act against the cardinal, and that, in case of necessity, the duke should receive Monsieur into *Sedan*. The duke of *Orleans* proposed a league with *Spain*, which, at first, *Bouillon* disapproved. He said, that he knew by experience the *Spaniards* were ready enough to conclude leagues, but very slow in performing them; however, considering how much *Sedan* might be exposed, if the duke of *Orleans* retired thither without any support, he consented, and Mons. *Fontrailles* was dispatched to *Madrid*, either with full powers from Monsieur, or with a blank signed with his hand, which he might fill up as he thought fit; and it was agreed by all three, that the duke of *Bouillon* should accept the command of the army. He went accordingly to thank the minister for the confidence reposed in him by the king, who at parting used these remarkable words, "All past failings are forgot, "but take care how you offend again; in that case you "have no favour to expect."

The cardinal engages the king to go in person into Rousillon against the Spaniards.

The cardinal had not the least suspicion of these intrigues; but as he knew that Monsieur *le Grand* was become his enemy, and saw that he was not at all less in favour with the king for it, he determined to carry that prince to *Rousillon*, in order to form the siege of *Perpignan*, for which expedition he had prepared a puissant army, under the command of the marshals *Meilleraie* and *Schomberg*. It is said the king had a great repugnance to this journey, and that he was dissuaded from it by his physicians; if so, the cardinal must have still had a great ascendency over him, and no less influence over them, since he not only engaged him to undertake it, but the physicians to approve it. *Richelieu* intended likewise that

[b] Vide de Richelieu. Bayt Nani, liv. xii. Memoires de Montresor. Aubery. Histoire du Cardinal de Richelieu. Vol. II. Siri. Mercurio. Vie de Richelieu. Le Vassor.

the queen and his brother ſhould have accompanied him, and that the two young princes ſhould be ſent to *Bois des Vincennes*, of which *Chavigni* was the governor. This ſome writers have magnified as a great crime in the cardinal, as if he deſired to have the whole royal family in his power. We ſhall ſee hereafter, that whatever ſuſpicions he had of the queen, they were not ill founded, though by her tears ſhe obtained leave to remain with her children at *St. Germains* [e]. The duke of *Orleans* avoided going, by having, or pretending to have, the gout. The king left *Paris* in the beginning of *February*, and tho', in all their former journies, the cardinal had avoided taking the ſame quarters with the king, from a foreſight of its being inconvenient to both, he was now ſo apprehenſive, that he never quitted him upon the road, which, though prudent in one reſpect, was very near proving fatal in another; for Monſieur *le Grand*, who, amongſt other ways of being rid of the cardinal, had thoughts of diſpatching him with his own hand, would have executed his baſe purpoſe at *Briare* on the *Loire*, if Monſieur had not been abſent, whoſe preſence he thought abſolutely neceſſary to ſupport him. In his way to *Narbonne* he gave the cardinal's hat with his own hand to *Mazarine* [f] at *Valence*, and from thence continued his march to the firſt-mentioned city, where he arrived the 21ſt of *March*. There the cardinal fell ſo ill, that he could not accompany the king to the ſiege of *Perpignan*, at which having taken ſo much pains to be preſent, he would not have the complaiſance to remain with the cardinal, though the phyſicians thought his caſe deſperate. The politicians had the ſame opinion of his favour; they knew that Monſ. *le Grand* ſpoke ill of him to the king, and was well heard; but they did not know that he was only well heard in this, and that his own favour declined every day. Some of his beſt friends perceived it, and adviſed him to be more aſſiduous, to which he made this ſtrange anſwer, "That the king's breath was ſo offenſive, that he could "bear to be near him [g]." However, when he found the king bore his abſence without trouble, he uſed to remain an hour or two alone in an antichamber after the king was gone to bed, and then come out as if he had been with him, as he was wont to be in the height of his favour.

Campaign of Perpignan.

We will now ſpeak of the operations of the war in *Rouſſillon*, and the great object of this campaign. We have explained the political reaſons of the cardinal's carrying the king

[e] Batt Nani. Vitt. Siri il Mercurio. Auberi Hiſtoire du Cardinal de Richelieu. Hiſtoire du Miniſtere du Cardinal Mazarine, par Galeazzo Gualdo, part i. p. 26, 27. Siri il Mercurio.

[f] Vitt. Siri il Mercurio.

[g] Vie de Richelieu. Vitt.

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to ſuch a diſtance from his capital; but it was a rule with him not to have recourſe to any pretences that might not be ſo well ſupported as to appear the proper motives of the actions they were intended to colour. The project of this expedition was ſo well laid, that it forced his rival the conde duke, much againſt his will, to abandon his own notions, and to follow his, that is, to bring his Catholic majeſty into the field, and, abandoning all other cares, to employ the whole force of the monarchy to ſave *Perpignan* [h]. The marſhal *Breze*, with the title of viceroy of *Catalonia*, and the marſhal *de la Motbe Haudincourt*, who commanded there, gave the *Spaniards* infinite vexation, by embarraſſing the paſſage of their troops, which were to croſs *Catalonia*, in order to reach *Rouſſillon*. Monſieur *de la Motbe* particularly killed and made priſoners a corps of three thouſand five hundred horſe, commanded by Don *Pedro d'Arragon*, who was taken amongſt the reſt, towards the end of *March* [i]. The marſhal *de la Meilleraie*, at the opening of the campaign, found it abſolutely neceſſary to be maſter of *Colioure*, a good port, well fortified, and covered by a caſtle, held to be impregnable. It was defended by a numerous garriſon, commanded by the marquis *de Mortara*, who made a very gallant defence: this ſiege, preparative to that of *Perpignan*, coſt a whole month, ſo that the place did not ſurrender till the thirteenth of *April* [k]. It was believed that the caſtle could not be taken but by blockade; however, it was reſolved to attempt ſomething by mining the rock; which promiſing little, it was determined to ſpring the mines, after a ſmall progreſs, to ſee whether they would or would not have an effect. Upon making the experiment they were judged to have done little; but it was quickly found they had done all; for though the fortifications ſuffered nothing by theſe mines, yet the ſprings which ſupplied the garriſon with water being choaked, they were obliged to capitulate [l]. When the king came before *Perpignan* in *May*, he drew the lines of circumvallation and contravallation himſelf; but being perſuaded by the concurrent teſtimonies of ſeveral perſons who had been in the place, that the garriſon were in want of proviſions, he determined to proceed ſlowly, in order to ſpare his troops. This was owing to an artifice of Don *Flores d'Avila*, the governor, who knowing the diſtreſſed ſituation of his maſter's affairs, and being deſirous of giving as long time as poſſible to provide for his relief, he diſtributed

[h] Batt Nani, liv. xii. [i] Auberi Hiſtoire du Cardinal de Richelieu. [k] Vittorio Siri il Mercurio, tom. ii. l. i. Le Vassor. Batt. Nani, liv. xii. [l] Vie de Richelieu.

proviſions

proviſions ſtrictly and ſparingly at the beginning, though, in reality, he was well provided [m]. All this time the cardinal continued ill at *Narbonne*, and in ſuch danger, that on the 23d of *May* he made his teſtament [n], from a perſuaſion that he could not recover. The king, not long after, was very dangerouſly indiſpoſed; inſomuch that Monſieur *le Grand* openly ſollicited the troops to declare for the crown; the marſhals *Meilleraie* and *Schomberg* exhorted them, in general terms, to do their duty. From hence two factions aroſe in the camp, one ſtiling themſelves royaliſts, and the other cardinaliſts [o]. In this ſituation Monſ. *de Thou* arrived; who wrote to the count *de Brienne*, ſecretary of ſtate, to deſire the queen to ſend him blanks ſigned with her name, that he might frame ſuch letters as he ſhould find neceſſary, and addreſs them to ſuch officers as he thought proper, which at the firſt motion ſhe would have done, if the count, very honeſtly, had not adviſed her againſt it [p]. In his journey to the camp, Monſ. *de Thou* had met with *Fontrailles*, who gave him a long detail of his negotiation in *Spain*, of which he knew not a word before; and it had been happy for him he had not heard it then; for though he diſapproved it in the ſtrongeſt terms, the bare liſtening to *Fontrailles*'s ſtory coſt him afterwards his life. The king recovering, received an earneſt invitation from the cardinal to come to him to *Narbonne*, where, by this time, he had received a dark account of a *French* agent that had been at *Madrid*; but the king's mind was now ſo indiſpoſed towards his miniſter, that he received theſe ſollicitations very coldly [q], and yet, in a few days, he returned to his old ſentiments again, for very preſſing reaſons, which we muſt fetch from *Flanders*.

The defeat of marſhal Gram-mont *alarms the king, and obliges him to a recon-*

AT it was impoſſible to furniſh large armies on every ſide, the king, by the advice of the cardinal, reſolved to act only on the defenſive towards the *Low Countries*, and with this view the count *d'Harcourt* was ſent with a ſmall army to cover *Picardy*, while the count *de Guiche*, whom, in his journey, the king declared marſhal of *France*, and who is commonly ſtiled the marſhal *de Grammont*, commanded another ſmall corps of troops, with the like intent, in *Champagne* [r]. Don

[m] BATT NANI, l. xii. LE VASSOR. [n] AUBERI Hiſtoire du Cardinal de Richelieu. [o] Memoires du Comte de Brienne, tom. ii. p. 145. VITT. SIRI il Mercurio. BATT NANI, liv. xii. [p] Memoires du Comte de Brienne, tom. ii. p. 146. [q] AUBERI Hiſtoire du Cardinal de Richelieu. Memoires du Comte de Brienne. [r] Memoires de Puyſegur, p. 230.

Franciſco

Franciſco de Melle, who commanded the army of *Spain*, recovered *Lens* in two days, and then beſieged *La Baſſe*, which he took after twenty-ſix days open trenches. By this time both the *French* armies had joined, in order to give a check to his conqueſts; but Don *Franciſco*, ſeparating his army into two bodies, the *French* were obliged to take the ſame method, the count *de Hartourt* marching towards *Heſdin*, and the marſhal *de Grammont* to *Honnecourt*: there he intrenched, having the *Scheld* behind him, a wood which he thought impregnable on his right, and a deep hollow way, which reached to the river, on his left [s]. Monſ. *de Puyſegur*, an officer who had ſeen much ſervice, adviſed him to paſs the *Scheld*, and he afterwards received the ſame advice from count *Rantzau*; but he thought to cover the country, and that the *Spaniards* would not have the courage to attack him [t]. In this he was miſtaken; Don *Franciſco* took his meaſures ſo well, that, on the 26th of *May*, he attacked him on all ſides with all his forces. The marſhal *de Grammont* defended his lines very gallantly, till the enemy penetrated through the wood, and then they fled on every ſide. The loſs was very conſiderable, fifteen hundred killed, two thouſand taken priſoners, with all the cannon and baggage, and one hundred thouſand crowns in ready money [u]. It was the fault of the *Spaniards* that they did not deſtroy the whole army, the marſhal *de Grammont*, in deſpair, remaining ſome time at an abby behind his camp, deſirous of hiding his ſhame in a priſon or in a tomb. It was the news of this defeat, that induced the king to write a very kind letter to the cardinal, aſſuring him that he was as much in his favour as ever, and intreating him to give the neceſſary orders for repairing this misfortune, at which he was exceſſively chagrined [w]. Many of the *French* writers, as if they believed that all events were in the cardinal's power, have aſſerted that the marſhal ſuffered himſelf to be beat by his order. It is certain that he had married his relation, and was his great favourite; it is no leſs true, that, inſtead of blaming, he wrote a letter to comfort him [x]. But they who ſay this, ſhould ſay more, and tell us, that he had ſome influence alſo over the *Spaniards*, ſince, though there was nothing to oppoſe their going directly to *Paris*, they made little or no uſe of this victory.

ciliation with his miniſter.

[s] Vie de Richelieu. Batt Nani, liv. xii. [t] Memoires de Puyſegur, p. 232. [u] Auberi Hiſtoire du Cardinal de Richelieu. Vitt. Siri il Mercurio. Batt Nani. Le Vassor. Le Gend. Pr. Henault. [w] Memoires de Puyſegur. [x] Vie de Richelieu.

Monſ. le Grand *and* *Mouſ.* de Thou *arreſted.*

WHILE the king was alarmed with this loſs, the viſcount *de Fontrailles* arrived in the camp, to preſs Monſ. *le Grand* to provide for his own ſafety. He had ſent to Monſieur to deſire that he would retire to *Sedan*; but they were ſo imprudent, that they had taken no order from the duke *de Bouillon* for his admittance; upon which they ſent one Monſ. *de Montmor* into *Italy*, to deſire ſuch an order: but, being entirely unknown to the duke, he refuſed to truſt him; upon which they were conſtrained to ſend the count *de Aubijoux*, one of Monſieur's domeſtics. *Fontrailles*, who ſaw the conſequence of theſe delays, told Monſ. *le Grand*, that, being a tall handſome man, he might make a tolerable figure without a head, but that, his own being taken away, he ſhould become more the ſubject of laughter than he was at preſent; upon this he privately withdrew, firſt into *Spain*, and then into *England*[1]. In the mean time the cardinal had received a copy, nobody knows how, of the treaty concluded at *Madrid*, dated the 13th of *March*, in which his Catholic majeſty promiſed to furniſh Monſieur with twelve thouſand foot, and five thouſand horſe, a great ſum of money, and large penſions to the duke *de Bouillon* and Monſ. *le Grand*[2]. The king, under pretence of a fever, removed to *Narbonne*, where, on the 13th of *June*, Monſ. *de Thou* was arreſted. Monſ. *le Grand* abſconded, but was taken the next day, and on the 23d of the ſame month the duke of *Bouillon*, who likewiſe endeavoured to make his eſcape, was ſeized at *Caſal*[3]; the cardinal, who had embarked at *Agde*, and who had prepared for his retreat to *Italy*, was now at *Tarraſcon*, to which place the king went to viſit him, and being both ill, they lay in the ſame room. The cardinal reproached him bitterly for deſerting him when he was dying; the king wept, and told him all he knew, which was a great deal, ſince his favourite is ſaid once to have propoſed diſpatching the cardinal to his maſter. *Richelieu* having procured from the king full powers to act as he thought fit, without conſulting him, adviſed his majeſty to continue his

[1] VITT. SIRI il Mercurio. Memoires de Montreſor. AUBERI Memoires du Cardinal de Richelieu. [2] VITT. SIRI il Mercurio. Memoires pour ſervir à l'Hiſtoire d'Anne d'Autriche Eſpouſe de Louis XIII. Roi de France, par Madame de MOTTEVILLE. Edit. 1750, tom. i. BATT NANI, liv. xii. LE VASSOR. [3] Memoires de Montreſor. VITT. SIRI il Mercurio. AUBERI Hiſtoire du Cardinal de Richelieu. Memoires de Madame de MOTTEVILLE, tom. i. p. 92. Vie du Cardinal de Richelieu. BATT NANI. Memoires du Comte de Brienne, tom. ii. p. 161.

journey

journey to *Paris*, and took upon him to do what was not so fit for a monarch to have done [b].

As to Monſieur, his conduct was much of the ſame ſtamp as it had always been; he endeavoured, to prevent being arreſted, to hide himſelf in *Auvergne*, and in the mean time ſent the abbe *de la Riviere* to ſee how things ſtood; making moſt humble ſupplications to the cardinal, and Monſ. *de Chavigni*, confeſſing and begging pardon, but in general terms, which ſhewed it was downright fear, which he would have taken for repentance, but they did not part with him ſo eaſily. On the contrary, though he had burnt the original treaty, he made a long and ample confeſſion of its contents, and of all the previous and ſubſequent circumſtances that attended it [c]. *Monſieur confeſſes all, and Meſſieurs* le Grand *and* de Thou *are convicted and beheaded.*

While the cardinal was at *Tarraſcon*, arrived the news of the death of the queen-mother; he ſhewed a deep concern, and caused a ſolemn ſervice to be celebrated for her ſoul [d]. The king's tenderneſs revived upon the ſame occaſion, and he could not help ſhewing his ſorrow, for having been the author of her miſeries who was the author of his birth. The cardinal went from *Tarraſcon* to *Lyons*, and having ſent for the chancellor, placed him at the head of the commiſſioners, before whom Monſ. *le Grand* and Monſ. *de Thou* were to be tried. They both ſtoutly denied the treaty; and as it could not be produced, or any witneſſes to prove it, for Monſieur threatened to fly to the ends of the earth, rather than be confronted with his friends, they knew not what to do. But *Lambardmont*, one of the judges, drew them out of this perplexity, by perſuading Monſieur *le Grand* that Monſieur *de Thou* had told all, upon which he made a confeſſion that deſtroyed them both [e]. While their proceſs was making, arrived the long expected news of the ſurrender of *Perpignan*, after a ſiege of more than three months, by which *France* gained a place of the utmoſt importance, in excellent condition, with arms and ammunition for twenty thouſand men [f]. On the 12th of *September* Monſieur *le Grand* and Monſieur

[b] Memoires de Madame de Motteville, tom. i. p. 92. Memoires de Montreſor, p. 161. Auberi Hiſtoire du Cardinal de Richelieu. Batt Nani, liv. xii. [c] Memoires de Montreſor. [d] Auberi Hiſtoire du Cardinal de Richelieu. Memoires du Comte de Brienne, tom. ii. p. 147. Batt Nani, liv. ii. [e] Vitt. Siri il Mercurio. Memoires de Montreſor. Memoires de Madame de Motteville, tom. i. p. 94. Le Vaſſor. [f] Auberi Hiſtoire du Cardinal de Richelieu. Vitt. Siri il Mercurio. Le Gendre. Pr. Henault.

de Thou loſt their heads [g]. Both were exceedingly regretted, more eſpecially the latter. They died with great firmneſs and piety, and with a juſt deteſtation of that ambition, which, if it had not been fatal to their lives, might have proved ſo to the ſtate, as is confeſſed by thoſe who, in other reſpects, were not averſe to this deſign.

The duke de Bouillon ſurrenders Sedan and receives an equivalent.

On the day theſe unfortunate gentlemen ſuffered, the cardinal ſet out from *Lyons*, and at the firſt ſtage, not being able to write much, gave his maſter the ſtate of his affairs in a ſingle line; "Your troops," ſaid he, "are in *Perpignan*, and your enemies in their graves [h]". His actions were all in the ſame ſtile. He was ſo ill that he could not ſit. He cauſed a magnificent bed, in which he lay, to be placed in a ſmall room, with a table on one ſide to hold what he wanted, and a chair on the other for the perſon who was to converſe with him. This huge litter was carried on the ſhoulders of fifteen or twenty men. He intended to have hired peaſants, but his guards would not allow them that honour [i]. In this new kind of triumph he moved by ſlow journies towards *Paris*, entering the towns and the houſes where he was to lodge through the breach, affecting, as he had imitated *Alexander* in his firſt exploit of the dyke before *Rochelle*, to follow him alſo in his laſt act, by imitating the manner in which he was carried to *Babylon*. By his advice the king conſented to accept the principality of *Sedan*, and to grant a pardon to the duke of *Bouillon*, who had been tranſferred from *Italy* to the caſtle of *Pierre-Amiſe* [k]. The king was moved by intereſt, the cardinal by his reſpect for the prince of *Orange*, who, when the cardinal was falling, had frankly acquainted the *French* miniſter, Monſ. *d'Eſtrees*, and deſired him to inform the king, that he had liſtened to ſome propoſals from *Spain*, as not conceiving that the allies of *France* could truſt her, if the cardinal was diſgraced. *Richelieu* himſelf was aſtoniſhed at the ſervice, and confeſſed, that, in the plenitude of his power, he knew not how to expreſs his gratitude [m]. The duke of *Bouillon* made a ſimple ceſſion of *Sedan*, of which *Mazarine* took poſſeſſion on the 20th of *September*, upon which the duke had his liberty, and a full

[g] Memoires de Montreſor, Memoires de Madame de Motteville, tom. i. p. 95. Memoires du Comte de Brienne, tom. ii. p. 147. Vitt. Siri il Mercurio, tom. ii. l. iii. [h] Auberi Memoires du Cardinal de Richelieu, tom. ii. [i] Vie de Richelieu. [k] Vitt. Siri. Auberi Memoires du Cardinal de Richelieu, [l] Batt Nani, liv. xii. [m] Vie de Richelieu.

abolition

abolition for every thing that was paſſed. The cardinal, however, thought it incompatible with his maſter's dignity to take ſuch a preſent as *Sedan*, without a proper return, and by a contract of exchange gave him the duchies of *Albret* and *Château-Thiery*, together with the counties of *Auvergne* and *Evreux*, and reſerved his rights on the duchy of *Bouillon*, of which the family have been ſince put in poſſeſſion [a].

Laſt ſickneſs and death of cardinal Richelieu.

In the month of *October* the cardinal made a kind of triumphant entry into *Paris*, though ſtill in a low and languiſhing condition. Reſt, though it gave no hopes of recovery, afforded a kind of temporary relief, in which he reſumed the diſpatch of buſineſs, and his ordinary diverſions, ſo that many of thoſe who were moſt attached to him began to feed themſelves with flattering hopes. He would have the operations of the next campaign ſettled in the king's preſence, but he would not go to *St. Germains* where the king was: he thought the place open and inſecure; for this reaſon he deſired the king would remove, that he would permit him to come attended by his guards, and that, while he remained with him, they ſhould be mingled with his. Through reſpect for his paſt ſervices, or through the weakneſs of his own temper, the king yielded to theſe demands [o], but did not liſten with the ſame complaiſance to thoſe which he made when he came, and which were indeed very exorbitant. He proſcribed four of the king's captains of the guards by name, and inſiſted they ſhould be diſmiſſed, though he acknowleged their fidelity to the king, but he ſuſpected them to have been friends to Monſ. *le Grand*, as they had never ſought his favour. The king promiſed him ſatisfaction, and a few days after the cardinal ſent Monſ. *Chavigni* to urge the performance of this promiſe, and to deſire they might be immediately diſcharged. The king told Monſ. *Chavigni*, that the cardinal had perſons about him whom he did not like, and whoſe diſmiſſion he deſired. Upon his requeſting to know their names, the king mentioned himſelf and Monſ. *de Noyers*, both ſecretaries of ſtate. Having carried his majeſty's meſſage, he returned with the miniſter's deſire in writing to quit his employments, which the king refuſed; and directed his captains to tell, but privately ſignified to them that it was againſt his will; and promiſed that, at a proper time, they ſhould receive proper marks of his favour [p]. This was the laſt, and perhaps

[a] Vittorio Siri il Mercurio, tom. ii. l. iii. Auberi Memoires du Cardinal de Richelieu, tom. ii. p. 766. Pr. Henault, ſeconde partie, p. 520. [o] Vie de Richelieu. Vittorio Siri il Mercurio. [p] Auberi Hiſtoire du Cardinal de Richelieu, Batt Nani, lib. xii.

the largeſt ſtretch of the cardinal's power, for towards the end of *November* his diſeaſe became deſperate. In the beginning of his miniſtry he had been at the point of death, with the hæmorrhoids, of which being cured by a painful operation, the acrid humour in his blood diſcharged itſelf on his arm, and being forced from thence by baths and fomentations, fell upon his lungs, and formed two abſceſſes, of which he died on the fourth of *December*, in the fifty-eighth year of his age, and the eighteenth of his adminiſtration. He bore his malady with invincible patience, and met death with a firmneſs and ſerenity that was amazing. The king went twice to comfort him in his laſt moments, when the cardinal, in the moſt ſolemn manner, aſſured him, that he had done nothing but with a view to his majeſty's honour, and the welfare of his kingdom, gave him many counſels of great importance, and recommended to him his relations, and his dependents [q].

Progreſs of the war in Germany, Italy, Lorrain, Rouſſillon, *and* Catalonia.

WE have been obliged to defer part of the operations of the campaign to the cloſe of the year, though too important to be omitted: the count *de Guebriant*, on the 17th of *January*, forced the imperial generals *Lambai* and *Merci* in their lines at *Kimpen*, killed two thouſand men, took five thouſand priſoners, with their baggage and cannon, and, which did him ſtill more honour, their generals alſo, and merited thereby the baton. During the remaining part of the campaign, he made himſelf maſter of the electorate of *Cologn*, made a powerful diverſion in favour of the *Swedes*, who, under the command of *Leonard Tortenſon*, defeated the imperialiſts in two battles, and made themſelves maſters of the caſtle of *Leipſic* [r]. Things, however, did not go at this rate in *Lorrain*, where Monſieur *du Hallier* was conſtrained to raiſe the ſiege of *la Motte*, with the loſs of almoſt all his men [s]. On the ſide of *Piedmont* the princes of *Savoy* ſigned a treaty in the month of *June* with *France*, and with their ſiſter, by which they abandoned the *Spaniards*. In conſequence of this prince *Thomas* was declared general of the troops of *France* in *Italy*, with whom he took *Nice*, *Verrue*, and *Tortona*, before the cloſe of the year [t].

[q] Auberi Hiſtoire du Cardinal de Richelieu. Memoires de Comte de Brienne, tom. ii. p. 151. Memoires de Pontis, tom. ii. liv. vi. p. 360, & ſeq. Memoires de Madame de Motteville, tom. i. p. 112. Batt Nani, liv. xii. Vittorio Siri il Mercurio. Le Gendre. Pr. Henault. [r] Vittorio Siri il Mercurio, tom. ii. l. i. p. 4. [s] Memoires du Marquis de Beauvau, p. 86, & ſeq. [t] Vittorio Siri il Mercurio. Memoires du Duc de Noailles & de la Valette, p. 25.

In

in *Rouſſillon*; after taking *Perpignan*, the marſhals *Schomberg* and *Meilleraie* reduced *Salces*, and, which was as honourable an action as any of the year, the marſhal *de la Motte Haudincourt* gained, on the 7th of *October* [t], a victory over the marquis *de Leganez*, at *Lerida*, though he had double his number. This finiſhed the diſgraces of that unfortunate officer, and made way for that of the conde duke *de Olivarez*; which may be looked upon as a new advantage to *France*, ſince, after the death of his old antagoniſt *Richelieu*, it is highly probable he would have recovered his reputation, if he had not loſt his power. A. D. 1642.

THE new year opened with a new proſpect; and thoſe who had been long tired of the ſtrict and ſevere conduct of the cardinal, promiſed themſelves freedom and eaſe under the reign of *Lewis* the thirteenth. Some ſay that the king himſelf thought in the ſame manner; that he declared he would have no governor; and that, for the little time he had to live, which he foreſaw without diſquiet or deſpair, he would purſue his own ſentiments. But others with greater truth aſſert, that, for the ſhort remainder of this reign, the ſpirit of *Richelieu* governed the king, as abſolutely as he did himſelf while living. It is, however, very poſſible, that the king might make ſuch declarations, and it ſerved not a little to confirm them, that the priſoners in the *Baſtile*, ſuch as the marſhals *de Vitri* and *Baſſompiere*, the count *de Carmail*, and many others, were diſcharged [u], and the exiles, ſuch as the duke of *Vendoſme*, and his ſon the duke of *Beaufort*, with many more, were recalled. But ſtill this makes nothing againſt the poſitive declaration of the king to all the ſovereign courts in his own dominions, and to the miniſters of foreign princes, that he meant to make no change in his adminiſtration. As a proof of this, cardinal *Mazarine* was introduced into the council the very day the cardinal died; the reſt of the miniſters were continued, and he directed his late will to be punctually executed [w]. Monſieur, who, by an edict, had been declared incapable of the regency, deprived of his government, his troop of gens d'armes and light horſe ſuppreſſed, had, however, leave given him to come to court, where, notwithſtanding, he was not at all careſſed [x]. The war was car- *Priſoners diſcharged and exiles recalled.*

[t] AUBERI Hiſtoire du Cardinal de Richelieu. VITT. SIRI, il Mercurio. [u] Memoires du Comte de Brienne, tom. ii. p. 161. Memoires de Madame de MOTTEVILLE, tom. i. p. 114. [w] Memoires du Comte de Brienne, tom. ii. [x] Memoires de Madame de MOTTEVILLE. VITTORIO SIRI il Mercurio.

ried

ried on with vigour in *Catalonia*, where the *Spaniards* were obliged to raiſe the ſiege of *Flex*, and, ſoon after, that of *Mirabel*, by the marſhal *de la Mothe Haudincourt*. On the twenty-ninth of *March* the prince of *Monaco* did homage to the king for the duchy of *Valentinois*, and received aſſurances of his majeſty's intentions to ſupport his allies in *Italy* [y]. Soon after he gave the ſtaff of marſhal of *France* to Monſieur *du Hallier*, ſtiled afterwards marſhal *Hopital*, which was one of the laſt acts of his government [z].

Diſpoſition of the king and court after the death of the cardinal.

He had, for the four laſt years of his life, been ſubject to many infirmities, which ſome think were increaſed by his frequent journies, and his fatiguing himſelf beyond the ſtrength of his feeble and delicate conſtitution. He was more ſenſible than any body about him, of the decline of his health, which induced him to think very ſeriouſly of ſettling the government during the minority of his ſon and ſucceſſor. His court was divided into two factions, one for the queen, and the other for Monſieur. *Lewis* liked neither of them, but he did not hate his queen; and beſides, experience had taught him that affairs could not be in worſe hands than thoſe of his brother. Father *Sirmond*, his confeſſor, forgetting what had happened to his predeceſſor *Cauſſin*, preſſed the king to eſtabliſh her majeſty and the duke of *Orleans* joint regents; but that monarch thought that different talents were required to direct conſciences and counſels, and, ſince he would interfere in both, diſmiſſed him the court [a]. The king, who in the life-time of the cardinal had ſhewn ſome diſlike to Monſieur *Chavigni*, relied upon him ſo intirely after his deceaſe, that Monſieur *de Noyers* deſired leave to reſign his poſt of ſecretary of ſtate, preſuming he ſhould be refuſed, and that the king would allow him a greater ſhare of his confidence, in order to retain him in his ſervice; but in this he was miſtaken, for his demiſſion was accepted [b], and Monſieur *le Tellier* appointed to execute his office by commiſſion; he had been intendant of the army in *Italy*, and was by that means known to cardinal *Mazarine*, who found him ſo uſeful, that he would never part with him. The count *de Brienne* reſigned from another motive; he was attached to the queen; he found he could not ſerve her effectually, and choſe, as the higheſt proof of his zeal, to reſerve his talent for her regency; Mon-

[y] Batt Nani, liv. xii. [z] Vittorio Siri il Mercurio. [a] Abrege Chronologique de l'Hiſtoire de France, ſeconde partie, par Preſident Henault, p. 524. [b] Memoires du Comte de Brienne, tom. ii. p. 165, & ſeq.

ſieur

ſieur *Poitier*, biſhop of *Beauvais*, had the queen's confidence; the duke of *Beaufort* was ſtrongly attached to her; ſo was the duke *de Rochefoucault*, who grew to her like wiſe the duke of *Anguien*, ſon to the prince of *Condé*, who began now to make a figure. *Chavigni* finding the king determined with reſpect to his brother, began likewiſe to court the queen; and the prelate before mentioned, to give a proof of his abilities, brought the cardinal to make a tender of his ſervices, though the count *de Brienne* went farther than courtiers are wont to do with each other, in telling him he would repent it: the queen accepted his offer, and this, with the recommendation of the nuncio, was the introduction of that miniſter, who made ſo great a figure in the next reign [e].

His declaration in regard to the form of the regency after his deceaſe.

At length, after mature deliberation, the king, on the nineteenth of *April*, publiſhed the form of the regency, the plan of which had been drawn by *Chavigni*, and put into order by the chancellor. According to this declaration, the queen was ſole regent, and had the cuſtody of her children. Monſieur, the former order againſt him being revoked, was declared head of the council, and lieutenant-general throughout the kingdom; in his abſence the prince of *Condé*; in the abſence of both, cardinal *Mazarine* [f], *Bullhillier*, ſur-intendant of the finances, and his ſon *Chavigni*, were of the council, where all was to paſs by plurality of voices. The queen had the nomination of all officers, except ſecretaries of ſtate, for which ſhe was to take the advice of the council. The nomination to benefices was reſerved to the cardinal. After it was read, the queen and Monſieur ſwore to the obſervance of it, and the next day it was regiſtered in parliament, a circumſtance which, in reſpect to its authority, was ſtrong in appearance, but weak in effect. In order to make his brother the more eaſy, the king gave his intire conſent to his marriage with the princeſs *Margaret* of *Lorrain*, provided it was ſolemnized again in *France*, which order took place, but not till after the king's deceaſe [g]. The command of the army, by the advice of the cardinal, who was deſirous of making his court to the prince of *Condé*, was given to the young

[e] Vittorio Siri il Mercurio. Memoires du Comte de Brienne, tom. ii. [f] Corps Univerſel Diplomatique du droit des gens, tom. vi. part i. p. 269. Vitt. Siri il Mercurio. [g] Memoires du Comte de Brienne, tom. ii. p. 170. Hiſtoire du Miniſtere du Cardinal Mazarin. [h] Vittorio Siri il Mercurio. [i] Idem ibid. & auctor ſupra citat.

duke of *Mayenne*, under whoſe orders the marſhal *Hoſpital* was to act. The king left no public acts of diſpleaſure upon any except *Chateauneuf* and the ducheſs of *Chevreuſe*; the former was ſtill in priſon at *Angoulême*, and the latter in *England*; he directed that neither ſhould return to court. The deceaſed cardinal had poſſeſſed him with an opinion of the ingratitude of *Chateauneuf*, who, when he little expected it, had the ſeals delivered to him, received one hundred thouſand crowns in gratification, in the ſpace of a year, and was made governor of *Tourains*, which did not hinder his entering into intrigues. The ducheſs of *Chevreuſe* had a great influence over the queen, and was the principal inſtrument of the miſunderſtandings between them; ſhe was a woman of gallantry and intrigue, and the ſecret hiſtories of thoſe times ſhew clearly that ſhe had a large ſhare in thoſe tranſactions that gave the king infinite diſquiet [h]. But theſe, like moſt of the directions of dying princes, were very little regarded, and the conſequences ſhewed, that, independent of his royal character, they deſerved to have been treated with great reſpect.

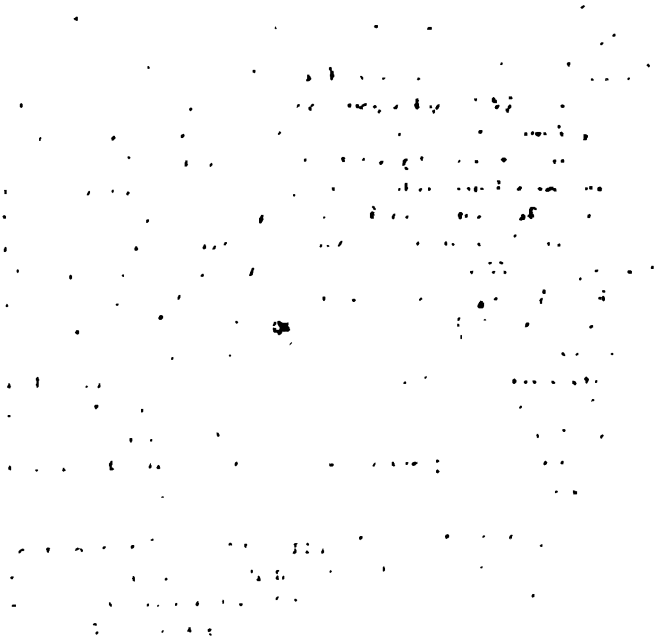
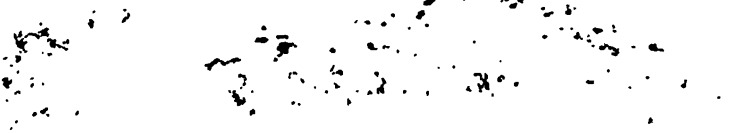
Death of Louis XIII.

THE king, having taken theſe ſteps, had nothing to do but to die, which he did leiſurely, and with amazing calmneſs and fortitude. Seeing the duke of *Beaufort*, and ſome others, who he thought did not love him, in the room when the declaration for ſettling the regency was read, he ſaid to one who was near him, "Thoſe people are come "to ſee if I am making haſte in my journey." One day, opening the windows of his chamber that looked towards *St. Denis*, he ſaid, without the leaſt emotion, "Yonder's the "place where I ſhall lodge a great while: my body will be "well ſhaken, for at preſent the roads are very bad [i]." His diſtemper was a ſlow fever, which wore him gradually to ſkin and bones. One morning he called Monſieur *de Pontis* to him, and unbuttoning his ſhirt, ſhewed him his arms, emaciated to the laſt degree: "Here, *Pontis*," ſaid he, "take hold of my hand; ſee what arms theſe are that be-"long to a king of *France* [k]." About two hours before he died, ſeeing Dr. *Seguien*, the queen's phyſician, near his bedſide, he made a ſign to him to approach, then gave him his arms: "*Seguien*," ſaid he, "feel my pulſe, and tell me "how many hours I have yet to live; but feel it carefully, "for I ſhould be glad to know as exactly as poſſible." The

[h] Memoires de Madame de MOTTEVILLE. VITTORIO SIRI il Mercurio. [i] Memoires de Madame de MOTTEVILLE, tom. i. p. 118, & ſeq. [k] Memoires de Pontis, tom. ii. liv. v. p. 363.

doctor

doctor did as he was bid, and then told him he thought he might live two or three hours at the moſt. The king then joining both his hands, and looking ſtedfaſtly to heaven, ſaid ſoftly, "Well! my God, I conſent with all my heart[l]." He deceaſed on the 14th of *May*, 1643, in the forty-ſecond year of his age, and the thirty-third of his reign, dying on the day of his acceſſion[m]. An excellent writer[n] has given us a very juſt character of him in few words: he was as valiant as *Henry* the fourth, but his valour was without heat and without eclat, and no way proper for the conqueſt of a kingdom. Providence placed him therefore preciſely where it was proper for him to be placed; ſooner he had been too weak, later too circumſpect; ſon and father of two great kings, he fixed the throne, yet tottering, of *Henry* the fourth, and prepared the way for the wonders of the reign of *Lewis* the fourteenth.

[l] Memoires de Madame de Motteville, tom. i. p. 119, 120. [m] Memoires du Comte de Brienne, tom. ii. p. 173. Memoires de Pontis. Memoires de Puyſegur, p. 240. Le Vaſſor. [n] Abrege Chronologique de l'Hiſtoire de France, ſeconde partie, par Preſident Henault, p. 526.

The End *of the* Twenty-fourth Volume.